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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,

1806.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS, which is the *Tenth* Volume of the Political Register, contains, like those immediately preceding it, *Thirty-three Sheets.*—The Sheets, when sold separately, are retailed at Tenpence each; and, when collected in a volume, the thirty-three sell for £1. 7*s.* 6*d.* making the *annual* cost of the work £2. 15*s.* 0*d.*——There are, during each half year, seven *double numbers* published; because, without obtaining this room, somehow or other, it would be impossible to include all the official political documents, which appear within the six months, and without which the work, as a Register, would be greatly incomplete.——The Table of Contents and the Index will be found very useful; and, as to the Tables, at the end of each volume, they are such as are not to be found, except in cases of imitation, in any other work. —— In presenting this volume to the public, I cannot refrain from suggesting to my readers the necessity of using great care in the preservation of their single numbers; because, when once a chasm is made, it is very difficult to be filled up, without breaking into a complete volume, which no one can reasonably expect me to do. When in my power, I am always happy to save, in this or in any other way, expense to my readers; but it frequently is not in my power, and when it is not, their cost or vexation is always a subject of my regret.

Botley, 27th December, 1806.

Wm. COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" Ye Army-Rats, from Murray learn to vote:
" First get the cloathing, and then turn the coat."——FITZPATRICK.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.——The statement of this gentleman's case has too long been kept from the public; and, especially when we consider, that, during the present session of parliament, measures have been taken, laws have been passed, for increasing the number of officers of the regular army, and for adding to the income attached to those situations, of which it is, at any moment, in the absolute power of the Crown to deprive the possessors, with or without cause assigned. Upon the danger to be apprehended from a power like this, unchecked by any responsibility any where, and exercised over the officers of an army of, at least, 250,000 men, formed into more than 300 separate regiments, or corps, each of which has a Colonel, or other Commander, deriving, from cloathing &c. about 1,200 l. a year *profit*, exclusive of his *pay*, and the whole number of Commissioned Officers of which army cannot be less than *ten thousand*, whereunto must be added the double Commissions arising from Staff and other situations inseparable from military rank; an army, in short, that is to cost *twenty millions* of money annually; upon the extreme danger to be apprehended from a power like this, unchecked by any responsibility, exercised over a department which swallows up nearly *one half* of the taxes that are annually raised, I have frequently had occasion to remark, and I have as frequently, besought Mr. Windham not to forget, in his new arrangements, to make provision for some degree of *security* for the officers of the army, pointing out to him, that, if they were left as they now are, liable to be, at any moment, cashiered, with or without cause assigned, every shilling added to their income, every mark of honour upon them bestowed, was so much added to this absolute power of the Crown. It has been, upon such occasions, answered, that to dismiss military officers at his pleasure was *always* the prerogative of the King; but, an argument like this, to be good for any thing, must be made to apply to all cases; and, may we not say, that it was always the prerogative of the King to dismiss the *Judges* at pleasure? It was so, until *a law was*, in the reign of William III. *passed to take the prerogative away*. The same argument might have been urged against this great improvement in the constitution; and, indeed, against every measure involving any change whatever in cases where the power of the Crown is concerned. But, how would this doctrine of immutable right sound, if brought forward on the side of the people? They, the whole of them, *always*, previous to the reign of Henry VI., voted for members of parliament, unless they were mere servants, mere bondsmen. They *always* had annual elections, until a certain time. They *always*, at a later epoch, had triennial elections, until the reign of George II. Of all these privileges they were deprived by *law*; and, shall we be told, that *no law can be passed* to circumscribe the prerogative of the Crown with regard to the officers of the army? Shall we be told that this prerogative must always exist *merely because it has hitherto existed?* No one but a desperate shoe licker will seriously urge such an argument; but, there may be, and, doubtless there are, very honest and independent men, who entertain doubts as to the *expediency* of making any alteration; who ask, *why* any alteration is proposed; why the prerogative may not as safely remain undiminished *now* as it did formerly? The answer is this: the prerogative has *increased* in power beyond what was formerly thought possible; formerly, the army was voted annually in *substance* and not in mere form; formerly, it was not only annually declared that it was unlawful to keep up a standing army in time of peace without consent of parliament, but, in reality, nothing worthy of the name of army was kept up in time of peace; formerly, the militia, which was then the only body to which the defence of the kingdom was committed, was officered exclusively by the counties, and not, in great part by the Crown; formerly, the army was so small as to require, no longer than *twenty years ago*, not more than 3,000 Commissioned Officers, instead of 10,000 Commissioned Officers; formerly, the annual military expenditure, over which this prerogative extended, was even in the most expensive years of the American War, about 7 millions

a year, instead of 20 millions a year, as it now is; formerly, after the peace with America, the establishment of the regular army was about 36,000 men, instead of about 150,000 as it now must be, and as it actually was during the last peace; formerly, the army was so little numerous as to make it probable that it would, in great part, be officered by men of fortunes comparatively independent, and, of course, not likely to be so much influenced by the prospect of losing their commissions; formerly, no one ever dreamt, that England would become "a *military nation*," and therefore no one formally and openly objected to the King's having the absolute power over the fortunes of all military men; but (and having asked this question we may leave the reader to give what further answer is necessary) if one half of the taxes of the nation be expended upon its army, if the nation be "a military nation," and if the King have the absolute and sole power over the fortunes of all military men, *what* must, in reality, be the *government* of that nation?——From the impression produced in my mind by this view of the subject it was that I was led, always when I spoke of the forming of a large regular army, to propose such *conditions of service* as should connect both officers and men with *the people* by ties so strong that nothing should be able to break; as should, in the words of PALEY, "maintain, upon all occasions, as much alliance of interest, and as much intercourse of sentiment, between the military part of the nation and the other people, as should be consistent with the union and the discipline of an army." The soldiers I would have sent back, in quick succession, and after short service, into civil life, *there* to receive and enjoy their reward, upon which reward I would have fixed their prospective attention all the while they had arms in their hands. For the officers, who all must, in some degree, have *fortune* and *reputation* at stake, I would have provided not only rewards in civil life after service, but a *security* for their fortune and reputation *during good behaviour* in the service, and, for the deciding with respect to that good behaviour I would have provided a competent tribunal, or, at least, an adequate *responsibility* somewhere or other, insomuch that their fate should have depended upon *law*, and not upon mere *will*, which, though exercised by the wisest and the best of men, can never be regarded as leaving to the object whereon it is to be exercised any security at all.——Leaving these general remarks to the reflection of the reader, I shall now proceed to state the case of MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, who, I think it will be believed, would still have been, what he long was, a most valuable officer in the army, had a system such as I would have proposed, been adopted previous to the date of his quitting the army.——This gentleman was, in the year 1801, a Colonel in the army, Colonel of the 8th West India regiment (Blacks), and Governor of the Island of Dominica, where he then was and where his regiment also was. From his early youth MR. JOHNSTONE has been active in the service of his country; he has served in America, in the East Indies, in the West Indies; has always been distinguished for his ability as well as his zeal, and, when a person worthy of great confidence was wanted to carry to His Royal Highness the Duke of York *the dispatches* from Mr. Dundas, in consequence of which His Royal Highness *came home from Flanders*, MR. JOHNSTONE *was the person selected to be the bearer of them*, a service which he performed with a degree of *celerity* and of *resolution* that entitled him to the admiration of the army and the thanks of the public.——It will be recollected, that, in the year 1801, there was a mutiny in the Black regiment at Dominica. In consequence of this and of other occurrences in that Island, MR. JOHNSTONE was called home, and soon after his arrival in England, he preferred charges against JOHN GORDON, the Major of his regiment, and who was in the immediate command of it at the time of the mutiny. MAJOR GORDON was, after more than a year of attendance, on the part of MR. JOHNSTONE, brought to a court-martial and tried in the month of January, 1804; but, he was not tried upon the charges as originally given in to the department of the Duke of York, but, as they were *there modified*, and, let it be well observed, that one of the charges, namely, that the accused had "*absconded* from Dominica, in order to "escape from justice, and had behaved "with insolence and disrespect to his Colo-"nel," was *entirely omitted* in this new-modelling of the charges for the court-martial! The court, however, pronounced Major Gordon's conduct to be irregular, culpably negligent, and highly censurable. No bad consequence followed to *this* man. Nothing was done to him. He remained, and still remains, in full possession of his rank and pay!——During the time between the preferring of charges against MAJOR GORDON and the assembling of the court-martial for his trial, to wit, in the month of October, 1803, there was a brevet promotion of Major Generals, and,

upon examining the list of this promotion, Mr. Johnstone was surprized to find those of officers *junior* to himself in it, and *his own name omitted*; whereupon he complained to the Duke of York, stated that he could not believe that he was thus punished without some offence being supposed to be imputable to him, and earnesly requested that an investigation into his conduct might speedily take place. This earnest request, proceeding from the anxious and wounded mind of an officer of high rank earned by long and most arduous services, lay before the Duke of York unanswered for *nine weeks*, at the end of which time he wrote to Mr. Johnstone thus: "it is an invariable "rule of the service, not to include in any "general brevet promotion, an officer "(whatever may be his rank) against whom "there *exist charges*, the merit of which "has not been decided. Whenever an in-"vestigation shall have taken place; and, "should the result prove *favourable to you*, "there will *not be any difficulty in your re-"covering the rank* to which your seniority, "as Colonel, entitles you." This letter, which was dated on the 10th of December, 1803, was not very satisfactory to Mr. Johnstone, who naturally was not a little anxious that the investigation should take place as soon as possible; but who was informed, that it could not take place, until the conclusion of Major Gordon's trial, which trial, observe, Mr. Johnstone *had in vain been endeavouring to bring on for above a twelvemonth!* But, what surprized Mr. Johnstone most, was, the information, now for the *first time* given him, of there being *charges existing* against him; and, it will, I imagine, appear most surprizing indeed to the reader, that an officer should be *punished* (for to be left out of his place in the brevet promotion is most severe and disgraceful punishment) upon the ground of mere *charges*, and of charges, too, of the existence of which he has not been informed, and, moreover, of the *existence* of which the person who has thus punished him does not inform him until nine weeks after he complains of his punishment!——After the receipt of this letter from the Duke of York on the 10th of December, 1803, many and most earnest were the inquiries on the part of Mr. Johnstone to know the nature and purport of the charges, to which the Duke of York had alluded, and upon which he, Mr. Johnstone, had been, by anticipation, punished; but, no satisfaction, nay, *no answer* whatever, could he obtain, until the *28th of the ensuing month of May*, having been kept in a state of suspense and of disgrace for nearly *six months*. He now received a letter from Colonel Clinton (one of the select gentlemen about the Duke of York) informing him, by "the *command*" (for that is the phrase) of His Royal Highness, that Major Gordon was the accuser; that he had, from time to time, transmitted letters and verbally made general accusations against Mr. Johnstone; and that His Royal Highness had felt it incumbent upon him, to call upon Major Gordon, as soon as the proceedings against him had been concluded, to state, whether he *meant* to bring forward any specific charges against Mr. Johnstone. Thus, at last, this gentleman, who had for six months been requesting to be informed what those charges were, which, as the Duke of York told him, *existed* against him on the 10th of December, 1803, was informed . . . . . of what? Not of the nature of the charges; no, but that the Duke of York had not yet ascertained whether Major Gordon *meant* to bring forward any charges at all; or, in other words, whether there were in existence *the grounds* whereon to form any charges; though, observe, as you must have observed from the Duke of York's letter above quoted, that the Duke of York had actually disgraced Mr. Johnstone, upon the ground, as stated by himself, that charges *existed* against Mr. Johnstone in the month of *the preceding October!*——Upon this no comment is necessary.——Mr. Johnstone, conscious that no criminal charge against him could be substantiated, eagerly waited for the day of trial, which day of trial he was, however, obliged to wait for until *the month of March*, 1805, though, according to the Duke of York's account, in his letter to Mr. Johnstone of the 10th of December, 1803, the *charges existed*, actually *existed*, in the month of October, 1803, a year and a half before it was thought proper to proceed upon them, though an officer of Mr. Johnstone's rank was kept all the while idly waiting for the day of inquiry, though both he and the public were suffering for the delay, and, which is of still more importance in the eyes of just men, though two brevet promotions had now passed him over and stigmatized him previous to his going before his judges!——Previous to the assembling of the court-martial, however, there was a circumstance arose that merits particular notice.——Mr. Johnstone having thought it right to object to Mr. Oldham, the Deputy Judge Advocate General, as the person to officiate at his trial, an objection founded, as it has since appeared, partly upon the hostility manifested by that gentleman towards Mr.

JOHNSTONE at, and after, the trial of MAJOR GORDON; this objection having been made by MR. JOHNSTONE TO SIR CHARLES MORGAN, the Judge Advocate General, this latter informed him, that he had had an intention of appointing some other person to officiate at the court-martial; but, that he had recently received *an application from the Duke of York*, requesting that Mr. Oldham *might officiate*, and that *this* had *determined* him (Sir Charles Morgan) to employ Mr. Oldham upon the occasion! MR. JOHNSTONE succeeded, at last, in setting this determination aside; but, will not the reader think it wonderful, that the Duke of York, the Commander in Chief, the person to whose sole care was committed all the army and all the means of defence of this nation; will not the reader think it almost incredible, that this person should find leisure to attend to matters so very minute as that of the selecting of a man to take down the proceedings of a court-martial!——The court-martial was, at first, ordered, by the Duke of York, to be holden at *Canterbury*, whither towards the end of February, MR. JOHNSTONE, together with his witnesses repaired. Several members of the court had also arrived, and they as well as MR. JOHNSTONE and his witnesses, had taken lodgings. Some of the witnesses, summoned from a distance, had actually driven through London to Canterbury, and were now obliged, by counter order of the Duke of York, issued on the 20th of February, to post back again to Chelsea, at the expense of themselves or of MR. JOHNSTONE. As no *reason* was given for this sudden change of place, the *motive* must be left to the reader to discover; but, it is right to observe, that MR. JOHNSTONE, in his letter to Sir Charles Morgan, dated on the 21st of Feb. 1805, states that great "inconvenience and expense will be occa- "sioned by this change, as well as *the im-* "*possibility of transmitting timely notice of* "*it to the witnesses, particularly those re-* "*sident in distant parts of the kingdom.*"—— At Chelsea Hospital, however, the court-martial assembled, with LORD HARRINGTON at its head, on the 1st of March, 1805. The charges were then and there exhibited, and were as follow:

"FIRST CHARGE.——Having contrary to "his duty, and to the great injury of the "service, in or about the month of Octo- "ber, 1801, when he knew that the ac- "counts of the regiment were in confusion, "clandestinely obtained for his own use, "from Richard Seward, paymaster of the "5th West India regiment, by bill drawn "upon the agent of the corps, and by him "charged to the paymaster's regimental "account, the sum of five hundred pounds "sterling, being money due by government "to the corps, under the false pretence that "he would write to the agent immediately "to place the same to his own private ac- "count, and that it should not in any man- "ner affect the accounts or credit of the "paymaster with the agent or public; and "having afterwards falsely promised to the "commanding officer to transfer his pay as "Colonel to the paymaster to liquidate the "above sum of five hundred pounds, none "of which engagements he performed, "whereby the confusion of the accounts "was increased, and the paymaster was de- "prived of the means of regularly paying "the regiment. The accounts of the men "were unsettled, and, as would appear, dis- "content was excited in the corps.——And "having, in or about the months of March "or April 1802, when he knew that the "paymaster was in arrear to the regiment, "directed above one hundred and forty "pounds to be stopped from the paymas- "ter, out of the subsistence due to the re- "giment, under the false pretence that the "same was justly due to him, whereby the "difficulty of paying the regiment was in- "creased, contrary to his duty, and to the "injury of the regiment and service.

"SECOND CHARGE.——Having contrary "to his duty, and to the prejudice of the "service, at times between the month of "July, 1801, and the end of April, 1802, "suffering the resident paymasters, who "were his secretaries, unwarrantably to re- "tain, or neglect to issue regularly and "agreeable to general orders, a part of the "subsistence of the troops, under pretence "that the same was not received from the "deputy paymaster general; and in parti- "cular, having suffered resident paymaster "Charles Kerr, who was his secretary, to "retain, or unwarrantably to neglect to "issue, under the above false pretence, in "the months of March and April, 1802, "immediately preceding the mutiny of the "5th West India regiment, sums of money "due on account of subsistence, to that "corps, to the amount of about one thou- "sand pounds sterling, being nearly equal "to two months pay of the regiment, "whereby the men's balances were unpaid; "and, as would appear, discontent and mu- "tiny were excited among them. It fur- "ther appears, that Colonel Andrew Coch- "rane Johnstone asserted, both in word "and writing, a falsehood unbecoming his "rank and the character of an officer, to "vindicate Mr. Kerr's conduct, in not is-

" suing the money due to the regiment.

" THIRD CHARGE.——Having employed, " or directed to employ, soldiers of the 8th " West India regiment in manual labour, " on his own lands, and on other works, and " neither paid nor directed them to be paid " for their labour; contrary to his duty, and " to the injury of the service. In particular, " having repeatedly so employed, and " not paid for their labour, a considerable " part of a detachment of recruits belong- " ing to the 8th West India regiment, con- " sisting of about seventy or eighty men, " while quartered at Roseau, the residence " of Colonel Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, " for some months immediately preceding " the month of Sept. 1801, and having, " although under his immediate inspection, " totally neglected to have them instructed " and trained to discipline, as his duty and " the good of the service required.——And " having in the months of March and April, " 1802, immediately preceding the mutiny " of the 8th West India regiment, directed " the regiment to be employed in cutting " wood, and clearing some swampy ground " in the neighbourhood of Prince Rupert's, " in the island of Dominica, with the view " (as would appear) to convert the same to " his own use; and having neither paid the " men, nor directed them to be paid, for " their labour, to the great injury of the " service; as thereby, it appears, discontent " and mutiny were excited in the regi- " ment

" FOURTH CHARGE.——Having, in di- " rect opposition to his duty, as command- " ing officer of the troops in Dominica, " availed himself of his military power to " violate the laws, and to infringe the rights " and liberty of the subject, between the " month of August, 1801, and the end of " July, 1802. In particular, having in " violation of law, and of the rights of " the subject, on or about the 14th day of " December, 1801, caused James Ryrie, " a civil inhabitant of the island of Domi- " nique, to be illegally arrested by an " armed military detachment, and to be " confined in a military fort and guard- " house; and having suffered the said " James Ryrie to be insulted, beaten, and " maltreated, by persons under his imme- " diate influence and command, without " taking steps to prevent the same, or to " discover and bring to justice the authors " of such outrages, or the person or persons " who employed them.——And having " further, in opposition to his duty as com- " manding officer, as aforesaid, and in " violation of the laws, and the liberty of " the subject, in or about the month of " July, 1802, authorised and permitted " his own menial servant in his presence, " to insult and threaten with a pistol, Mr. " Etienne La Caze, residing in the island " of Dominica, and formerly a lieutenant " in the Loyal Dominica regiment, and " authorising or permitting his servant " forcibly to drag the said Etienne La Caze " to Fort Young, and to deliver him " illegally a prisoner to the guard, and to " have him there confined, and a centinel, " with a drawn bayonet, placed over him. " These instances affording proof of abuse " of military authority, and of conduct " unbecoming an officer and a gentle- " man."

Such were the charges, at last exhibited, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that, according to the acknowledgement of the Duke of York and his Secretary, these charges had been preparing from, or be- fore, the month of October, 1803, and were not actually exhibited until the 1st of March, 1805! The decision of the court, at the end of a twenty-five days' trial was as follows:——" The Court Martial having " weighed the whole of the evidence ad- " duced by the prosecutor Major Gordon, " and that brought forward by the Honoura- ble Colonel Andrew Cochrane Johnstone " in his defence, is of opinion, that the " 500l. bill, mentioned in the First Charge, " was not clandestinely obtained by Colonel " Johnstone, and that it doth not appear, " that his Majesty's service, or the good of " the regiment was in any degree injured " by that transaction; and therefore the " Court doth honourably acquit him of the " former part of the First Charge.——With " regard to the second part of the First " Charge; viz. directing 140l. to be stop- " ped from the paymaster, out of the sub- " sistence due to the regiment, the Court is " of opinion, that no blame whatever at- " taches to Colonel Johnstone in this trans- " action, and they therefore also honour- " ably acquit him of the same.——With " regard to the first part of the Second " Charge, the Court is of opinon, that it " hath not been proved, and therefore ac- " quits Colonel Johnstone of the same—— " And with regard to the second part of the " Second Charge; viz. the having asserted " a falsehood unbecoming his rank, and the " character of an officer, the Court doth " most honourable acquit him.——With " respect to the first part of the Third " Charge, it appearing that the offence set " forth therein, took place (if at all) above " three years prior to the date of His Ma-

" jesty's warrant for holding this Court " Martial, the Court is of opinion, it hath " no power to take cognizance of the same. " ——With regard to the second part of " the Third Charge, the Court sees no rea- " son whatever to believe, that Colonel " Johnstone had any intention to derive in- " dividual benefit by the labour of the men " from working in the swamp, and they " therefore acquit him of the charge; al- " though they cannot approve his having " ordered the work on the swamp, under " all the circumstances of the case.—— " With respect to the Fourth Charge, the " Court is of opinion, that it is not sub- " stantiated, and therefore acquit him ac- " cordingly."——Now, I wish to be un- derstood as not resting at all upon this ac- quittal, upon this decision of LORD HAR- RINGTON and his fellow judges. Mr. JOHNSTONE's cause and character scorn such a defence. I rest upon the *evidence*, as taken down before the court and as since published at large; and, having read that evidence with great care, I assert, that not only were the charges, *all* the charges, un- founded, and totally unfounded, but that there was not produced before the court any fact to show, or to cause it to be believed, that, in any one instance, the prosecutor, MAJOR GORDON, *could possibly believe the charges to be true.* I assert, that, instead of demerit; instead of neglect of duty, instead of selfishness, instead of tyrannical conduct; it was *proved* that Mr. JOHNSTONE had been, through the whole of his com- mand, a most vigilant and zealous officer, just, liberal, kind, and generous to his re- giment and to every description of persons under him, whether as a military or civil officer. These assertions I make after a most attentive examination of the whole of the proceedings of the court martial, and for the truth of these assertions I appeal to the printed account of those proceedings. ——Let us now recall to mind, then, the letter of the Duke of York to Mr. JOHN- STONE, dated 10th December, 1803, in which the former, in order to pacify the latter, assured him, that, if the result of the investigation should be favourable to him, there would " *not be any difficulty* in his " recovering the rank to which his seniority, " as Colonel, entitled him." The result be- ing now known: that result being decid- edly favourable to Mr. JOHNSTONE, his rank, one would have expected to see instantly re- stored to him. That this was not the case the public already know; and, we are now about to see upon what ground it was re- fused.——On the 15th of April, that is to say, in about three weeks after the trial was over, Mr. JOHNSTONE, went to the Horse Guards to wait upon the Duke of York; but being informed that he " *could* " *not have access to the presence*" of that Royal Personage, he applied, on the 19th, by letters to the Adjutant General, for the restoration of his rank. After a good deal of procrastination, he obtained the infinite honour of coming into the presence of the Duke of York, whom he begged to tender his commission (as Colonel) to His Ma- jesty, as he could not think of remaining in the army with a stigma fixed upon him. His Royal Highness was most graciously pleased to tender the Colonel's commission to His Majesty, of which His Royal Majesty was most graciously disposed and pleased to ac- cept.—But, now for the *grounds* upon which the Duke of York refused to restore Mr. JOHNSTONE to his rank.—And here the rea- der will please to observe, that the sentences, or decisions, of all General courts-martial are communicated to the King by *the Judge Ad- vocate General*, who, when he has received the commands of the King, communicates them to the Commander in Chief together with *the King's remarks* thereon. Sir Charles Morgan, having first laid the decision of this court-martial before the King, next commu- nicated it to the Duke of York, subjoin- joining thereunto the following remarks on the part of the King:——" And I " am to acquaint Your Royal High- " ness, that His Majesty has APPROVED the " decision of the Court Martial upon the " several points brought under their conside- " ration.——With respect to the circum- " stance of the Court having been inhibited " from taking cognizance of one of the " most material articles of charge, by reason " that it appeared, upon explanation, that " the supposed fact, which the prosecutor " had in contemplation, and which he ex- " pected to have been able to establish by " evidence, certainly did not take place " within three years antecedent to the date " of the warrant for this trial; *His Majes- " ty considers* this lapse of time to have been " owing to an *improper conduct of the pro- " secutor*, who, instead of making *general " accusations*, highly reflecting upon the " character of Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, " might and ought to have set forth in sub- " stance the particular instances of crimi- " nation which he had in view.——In re- " gard to another article of charge imput- " ing to Col. Cochrane Johnstone his hav- " ing, in the months of March and April " 1802 (a period within the cognizance of " the Court Martial), employed soldiers of

" the 8th West India regiment in work to-
" wards clearing the swamp *without paying*
" *them or directing them to be paid for their*
" *labour*, His Majesty perceived with satis-
" faction, that the evidence has not fur-
" nished any reason to suppose, that he de-
" rived, or had in prospect, any individual
" advantage, as the prosecutor had by his
" charge suggested: His Majesty however
" *expressed much disapprobation* of the sol-
" diers having been so employed and un-
" paid, more especially as Colonel Coch-
" rane Johnstone acted therein upon his
" own sole authority, and without the as-
" sent or privity of General Sir Thomas
" Trigge who commanded in chief, and
" whose sanction, it was his duty to have ob-
" tained before any such measure was taken."
——The remarks, given in the name of, and *as coming from*, His Majesty, observe, the Duke of York, in a letter which Mr Johnstone, at last, got from him, on the 16th of May, 1805, asserts to be the grounds upon which he refused Mr. Johnstone his rank. His words are these: " I must however, ob-
" serve, that in consequence of the public
" letter of the Judge Advocate General,
" transmitting to me the decision of the
" General Court Martial (*on which letter*
" *alone I must form my opinion on the whole*
" *matter of your case*), and which the Judge
" Advocate General conveys to me His
" Majesty's approbation of such decision,
" together with the *remark* which his Ma-
" jesty was pleased to express upon your
" conduct, I cannot conceive, that so long
" as the *strong displeasure* of His Majesty
" remains upon the public records of the
" army, that I should be warranted to take
" upon myself to recommend to His Majes-
" ty, that an officer, *labouring under such*
" *high censure*, should be promoted in His
" Majesty's service. I have, therefore, in
" conformity to your request, laid the re-
" signation of your commission as Colonel
" at His Majesty's feet, and am command-
" ed to acquaint you, that His Majesty
" has been graciously pleased to accept
" the same,"——Thus we see that where a court-martial has *acquitted*, the king may make a *remark* upon the decision, and that remark may be the ground of *punishment*! But, supposing, for a moment, these remarks to have come from the king, and taking the latter remark first, how does it agree with the opinion of the court-martial? The court say, that they wholly acquit Mr. Johnstone of all criminality upon the charge; but, that, under all the circumstances of the case they *cannot approve* of his having ordered the work upon the swamp; but, they do not even hint that the men ought to have been *paid* for it, as is suggested in the remark; and, indeed, they ought not to have been paid for it, it being a mere duty of *Fatigue*, for which soldiers are never paid. It was a duty similar to that of cleaning a Barrack-yard, or levelling a parade; and does not every one perceive, that if soldiers were to be paid for work like this, that there would never be any end of payment? If, indeed, Mr. Johnstone had employed the men in making exhibitions, in preparing diversions for himself or his friends; if he had employed them in dancing attendance upon, in working for, in removing the goods, of a strumpet, for instance, or of any other person not belonging to their corps; then, indeed, he would, have deserved censure. It was *proved* upon the trial, that the men were ordered to perform work conducive to their own health; that the land they worked upon belonged to the public; that if the work had been paid for the public must have paid; that the work was one which the ministers at home anxiously wished to have performed; and the only question was, whether it was *advisable* for Mr. Johnstone, under all the circumstances of the case, to employ *his men* upon this work or not. I think it is clearly *proved*, that it *was* advisable! but, as the court thought otherwise, let us *suppose* that it was *not advisable*; and, then, it will, I think, be agreed, that when the court said that they could *not approve* of the men having been so employed, they went quite as far as the case would warrant. But when this *not approving* comes to His Majesty, it rises into " MUCH *disapprobation*;" and, when it comes to the Duke of York, it towers up to " *strong displeasure*." and " *high censure*;" and becomes the ground of *punishment* and *disgrace!*——But, it is the *former* of the two remarks, made in the name of, and as coming from, the King, that we have chiefly to notice. The Judge Advocate General, Sir Charles Morgan, tells the Duke of York, and through him the whole army (upon the public records of which the letter was put), that *His Majesty* remarks that it appeared that the " supposed fact which the prosecutor
" *expected* to have *established by evidence*
" did not take place within three years of
" the date of the warrant for the trial,"
and that " *His Majesty considers* this lapse
" of time to have been owing to the improper
" conduct of the prosecutor, who, instead
" of making general accusations, might and
" ought to have set forth particular instances
" of crimination."——First, observe, that

the supposed *fact*, here alluded to, and which, as it is expressed in the remark, referred to "one of the most material "articles of charge," was, that Mr. Johnstone had *employed his men to work upon his own land and for his own private emolument and advantage*, as it is stated above in Charge III. Who, upon reading the decision of the court and the remark made in the name of the King; who, upon reading these (which, observe, have been *put "upon the records of the army"*) would not imagine, that this "lapse of time" was fortunate for Mr. Johnstone; and that, if his prosecutor could have got him sooner to trial, he *might*, upon this charge, at least, have been convicted? Is not this the impression which these documents are calculated to give? But, let the following facts be, then, known, and let them be remembered: 1st, that the act charged was alleged to have taken place *previous to September*, 1801; 2d, that an investigation into the conduct of Mr. Johnstone was contemplated by the Duke of York in October, 1803, and upon that contemplation he withheld Mr. Johnstone's name from the brevet promotion; 3d, that, between September, 1801, and October, 1803, only *two years* and one month had elapsed; 4th, that, between October, 1803, and August, 1804, when the warrant for the trial was, at last, issued, Mr. Johnstone had made repeated and urgent requests to the Duke of York that his trial might take place *without delay*; and 5th, that Mr. Johnstone expressly requested, in a letter to the Adjutant General, dated 22d June, 1804, that "*no part* "*of the grounds*, on which Major Gordon "had proposed to found his charges against "him, *should be kept back* from examination." Whose fault was it, then, that the court-martial were, as the remark, in the name of the King, expresses it, "*inhibited* "*from taking cognizance* of one of the "most material articles of charge?" But, the most important circumstance relative to this remark remains to be noticed. Who would not imagine, from reading it, that the court-martial had *not examined* into the *truth or falsehood* of this charge? The fact is, however, that they did fully *examine* into it, and that the charge was *proved to be utterly false and destitute of the semblance of foundation!* The court, upon discovering the date of the alleged act, found that they were by law inhibited from taking cognizance of it; but, they had previously examined all the evidence as to the *fact*; and, as it was necessary to make the remark, it was necessary to put "upon the records of the army" the remark above quoted, as to the *lapse of time*, and as to the *expectation* which Major Gordon had of *establishing the charge by evidence*, should it not also have been remarked, that ALL THE EVIDENCE WAS PRODUCED, and that the charge was *proved to be false?* Should not this also have been "put on the "records of the army?"——Such, reader; such, Englishmen, were the grounds, upon which the Duke of York refused Mr. Johnstone the restoration of his rank; such were the grounds, upon which this gentleman, after a life of arduous military service, in divers parts of the world and against divers enemies, without ever having once *run away* or brought *disgrace upon the arms of England*, was refused his rank, was punished in a manner the most severe by the Duke of York.——The *remarks* communicated to the Duke of York in the King's name, and as coming directly *from the King*, were, the reader will have perceived, regarded by the Duke of York as so imperiously binding, that it was out of his power not to act in rigid conformity to their spirit. He tells Mr. John Stone, in the letter above quoted, that the letter, transmitted to him by the Judge Advocate General, is that on which he must form his opinion on the whole matter of *Mr. Johnstone's case*. That his Royal Highness was not entirely and in all cases, submissive to the opinions of the Judge Advocate is pretty clear from the fact, as stated by the latter himself, that his Royal Highness did so far possess weight with him as to *determine* him to appoint Mr. Oldham to officiate at the trial, contrary to the first intention of the Judge Advocate. Who, then, would not suppose, that the *remarks*, the famous remarks, above quoted, *did actually proceed from the King?* Whether they did or not the reader may judge, when he has read the following letter from Sir Charles Morgan to Mr. Johnstone, dated 20th of April, 1805:——"Sir, Aware of your "anxious and natural wish to receive early "information of the result of the proceed-"ings of the Court Martial upon your trial, "I did not hesitate, on the same day on "which the original was penned, to send to "your house in town the substance (I be-"lieve, a copy) of the letter, which noti-"fied to the Commander in Chief the sen-"tence, and his Majesty's pleasure respect-"ing the same. I think it proper now to "intimate to you, that *I have since seen "occasion to recal that letter, and to sub-"stitute another in lieu thereof*: in which "last-mentioned letter (the only diffe-"rence which I know between the two)

" the whole paragraph which contains the " remark upon the article of the charge, " whereof the Court did not think itself " authorized to take cognizance, is " omitted, *I have taken upon myself* to " explain to His Majesty, and I have " *confidence* in being able to explain *satisfactorily*, the occasion of this remark " being now omitted."——So, here is a person, who has the power to communicate to the Commander in Chief the decision of every general court-martial, accompanied with *His Majesty's* remarks thereon, from which remarks *alone* the Commander in Chief " must form his opinion upon the " *whole matter of each case*," and must, of course, act towards the parties accordingly; and this same person has the further power of *altering those remarks* whenever he pleases, not only without the orders, but even *without the knowledge* of His Majesty! And, yet, observe, this same powerful person; this person who can " *take upon himself*" to alter public remarks of His Majesty intended to be put " upon the " records of the army;" this same person is, we find, so much under the influence of the Duke of York, as to change, at the Duke's bare request, his intention as to the person whom he shall employ to officiate in his stead at a court-martial!——Any further comment would be superfluous. The reader is now in possession of the case of MR. JOHNSTONE, and it only remains for me to remind him of the steps therein taken by the Spartan General, FITZPATRICK, whose couplet upon a turn-coat member of parliament, who quitted Lord North, after he was out of power, upon condition of getting a regiment from Mr. Pitt, I have taken for a motto to the present number.—— In the month of June, 1805, Mr. JOHNSTONE having failed in all his endeavours to obtain redress from the Duke of York, made known his intention of bringing the subject before parliament. General FITZPATRICK undertook; I say, he undertook to bring it before parliament. I assure the public, that both General FITZPATRICK and Mr. FOX *promised* Mr. JOHNSTONE, that, whether in power or out of power, they would use their utmost endeavours to obtain him redress. It was, in consequence hereof, settled, that General FITZPATRICK should open the subject in the House of Commons, as soon as an opportunity offered, and that he should propose a specific proceeding thereon at the commencement of the then next session of parliament. The former he did, on the 28th of June, in the following speech: —— " I rise, Sir, " to mention a subject, on which it is " my intention hereafter to submit a motion to the House; and I wish to take the " present opportunity of doing so, because " it relates to that military administration " which is to form part of the business of " this day's discussion. The present advanced State of the Sessions will prevent my " being able to bring forward any motion, " though *I wish it much*. It is, however, a " subject of such *extreme importance*, that " it is necessary for me to take some notice " of it. The House may be assured I shall " state it in form on a future occasion, and " *as early as possible*. The subject consists " of a very *gross and alarming evil*;—one " which, I apprehend, has but lately crept " into the administration of the Military " Law of this country. I trust, the practice " to which I allude is an innovation of not " many years standing. I am informed it " is. It respects the execution of the duties of the office of Judge Advocate General of the army. I find, that under the " present practice, there is in the office of " Judge Advocate, the assumption of a power, which I conceive is not consistent with " that office, and *not warranted by the laws and constitution of this country*.—Every " gentleman who hears me, knows how " great the extent of the Royal Prerogative " is with respect to the Military Government. Every one knows the power of " His Majesty to dismiss, without a Court " Martial, any person who bears a commission in the army.—I should be the last " man to call in question the Royal Prerogative; but I am sure no man will contradict me when I say, that a Prerogative " of such extent ought to be exercised *under the advice of responsible Ministers*. The " law of this country enables His Majesty to " appoint Courts Martial for Military offences. The law places in his Majesty " the right of confirming or remitting their " sentences, but I do not believe that the " law or the constitution of this country " could ever intend that the officer of the " Crown, in the exercise of such a Prerogative, should be the Judge Advocate of the " army. I believe he is at present the sole " adviser of the Crown. I believe that this " practice has prevailed only during a part " of the time the Right Hon. Baronet has " been in possession of it.—Formerly the " transmission of sentences of Courts Martial was through the office of the Secretary at War. The Secretary at War of " course became responsible for the advice " he gave. With respect to his decision, I " am not sure that I think that was sufficient

" ently solemn for a decision of so impor-
" tant a point. *I cannot conceive why the*
" *lives, fortunes, and characters of His*
" *Majesty's Military officers, should not be*
" *entitled to as solemn a consideration as those*
" *of every other subject in the country.*—
" Every one knows that those important
" concerns, as they affect other classes of
" His Majesty's subjects, are decided by His
" Majesty in Council. I think the same
" solemnity ought to be observed with re-
" gard to the Sentences of Courts Martial;
" but that will be a question for future con-
" sideration. That this practice does pre-
" vail, and has been attended with great hard-
" ship to individuals, I shall be enabled to shew
" in a case that has lately occurred, *and has*
" *spread the greatest alarm throughout the*
" *whole army.* I allude to the case of
" COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, a
" gentleman, who, *after a Trial by a Court*
" *Martial, and an honourable acquittal,*
" *has, at the instance of the Judge Advo-*
" *cate, been exposed to the penalties and*
" *punishment attendant upon guilt.*——
" This is what I shall submit to Parliament.
" I am aware that an appeal from the Sen-
" tence of any Court Martial to this House
" is a delicate question; but in the present
" case the appeal is in favour of the Court
" Martial, and seeks redress against the
" effects of *undue influence.* I beg pardon
" for dwelling so long on the subject. I
" have risen to give this notice, and *I shall*
" *bring forward the motion early next Ses-*
" *sions.* It will consist of two branches;
" one will be a complaint against the
" exercise of the office; the other will
" refer to the means of defining the
" power of the officer, and will suggest
" some provisions as to the manner of
" his conducting himself in future."——
——Now, I ask the reader, if any pledge could possibly be more solemn than this? The sequel is told in a few words: the General, the Spartan Chief, was then out of place; soon after parliament met again he was in place; soon after that he gave notice, from the Treasury Bench, that he should *not bring forward* the motion of which he had given notice from the Opposition Bench; and soon after that he, who had *sold his company in the Guards twenty years before,* and who had never served a single day since, *had a regiment given him by the Duke of York!* And, let it be observed, that, as *Secretary at War,* it is with himself alone to sign and pass his accounts and vouchers, as *Colonel of a Regiment!*——Many are the applications which MR. JOHNSTONE has made, to him and to Mr. Fox, to know whether they mean to fulfil their promise; never has he been able to obtain any direct answer; but, their intentions have been fully explained by their conduct, and of that conduct I now leave the world to judge.

BARRACK-ABUSES.——Next in importance to economy in the expenditure of the public money is the subject above treated of; and I shall make no apology for excluding all others in order to leave room for these; for, on the way in which they shall be finally decided, will depend very much what ought to be the objects of our hopes, and of our fears.——The BARRACK ABUSES have, thanks to Mr. Robson, attracted general attention. The subject is simple. Every one understands it; and it has not been rendered unintelligible by any attempts at fine reasoning and elegant speechifying. We have now a specimen before us, not only of the waste of the public money, but of the disposition of the *present* ministers relative thereunto. There is no such thing as blinding the people here; and the effect will, I trust, be finally greatly beneficial to the country.——On Monday last, the 30th ultimo, General FITZPATRICK asked Mr. ROBSON, in his place in parliament, whether he meant to make any motion upon the papers which *he* had moved for, and which the House had granted? Mr. ROBSON answered, that the motions were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had condescended to become his imitator, but without acknowledging it; that he, Mr. ROBSON, had anxiously waited to see what the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do with the papers; and that, unless the business was seriously taken up by ministers on an early day and sifted to the very bottom, he, Mr. Robson, should think it his duty to submit a motion to the House on Friday. Before this sheet goes to the press, Mr. ROBSON will, in all probability, have made his motion; and, in the meanwhile, General FITZPATRICK has moved for the producing and printing of certain letters that passed between him and the Barrack-Master General (Hewett) upon the subject of MR. ATKINS's dismission; upon which we may, by anticipation, safely observe, that, unless these letters will prove, that the order for dismissing MR. ATKINS was given *previous to his proposition for saving the public money,* they will not alter, in one jot or tittle, the public opinion upon the subject. Mr. ROBSON never boasted of the *character* of his informant; he took upon himself no responsibility for the character or the conduct of any man; he called for papers to give the House information as to facts, quite inde-

pendent of persons; it was Lord HENRY PETTY, who *gratuitously* called for a paper relative to the man, who had been so *indiscreet* as to make the economical proposition; till then neither the unfortunate man nor his starving family were heard of; neither Mr. ROBSON nor any one else even stated the bare fact of his having been dismissed; and, therefore, if the affidavit against MR. ATKINS, brought forward by the ministers, and printed by order of the House of Commons, has led to a discussion in public that has created uneasy sensations at the Horse Guards or any where else, let those ministers thank themselves for it; for, as to Mr. ROBSON, I repeat, that he has never laid any stress upon the *character* of Mr. ATKINS or any *other person*, high or low, in the Barrack Department. He may *believe*, as I do, that Mr. ATKINS is innocent of any serious offence; but, he has never said so; and, if the Spartan hero should vanquish Mr. ATKINS, which I am firmly persuaded he will not do, I take upon me to say, that he will not take one feather from the plume of Mr. ROBSON, who will, I trust, go on undismayed, until he has brought about a thorough reformation in this most expensive department, and has thereby saved us, in some degree, at least, from the pressure of additional burdens.——*Botley, July* 3.

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.

SIR,—— Without stopping to inquire whether it be more consistent with public utility, that the retrospective investigation that is about to take place into the expenditure of the public money, should be performed by parliament itself, rather than by a board constituted for that express purpose; I would beg leave, as the latter mode seems about to be determined on, to propose an expedient which, if my view of the matter be correct, would remove the most prominent objections to the business being conducted by a Board of Auditors. Hitherto, analagous inquiries have been carried on by persons sitting in apartments accessible to none but themselves, or parties immediately concerned: but, as such inquiries bear a very intimate analogy, both in the object, and in the mode of attaining that object, to proceedings that are carried on before courts of justice, prudence dictates the grafting on these courts such features (and they will not be very numerous) as in the courts of law have been found by experience to contribute towards the attainment of the ends of justice. The capital feature then in these courts, and that which so happily pervades the whole system of our government, is publicity: and to this it is, probably, that we are indebted for such blessings as we have catered out for ourselves, or as have been handed down to us from our forefathers.—What I would propose then is, that the Board of Auditors of Public Accounts should sit, not in a private apartment, but in a room into which every body should have free access; that all examinations should be conducted in the presence of such as might choose to attend; and that, in fact, the auditors should take every means in their power to give the utmost possible immediate publicity to their proceedings; not merely byplacing themselves in a room of glass, as it was the wish of the Roman to have done, but so arranging matters as that people may *hear* as well as *see* what is going forward.—Even this of itself would perhaps be sufficient to insure the diligence and probity requisite for such a purpose: but what would afford an additional security for the completeness of the examinations that might be made, would be the giving the members of both Houses of Parliament the power of putting questions to any parties while under examination, similar to the power which each of the members of the House of Lords possesses, and frequently exercises, of putting questions to examinees while their House sits in its capacity of a court of judicature. With the assistance of these expedients, the public acting as a check to undue favour being shewn; the members of parliament supplying any defect they may observe, whether arising from incapacity or undue favour in the auditors; we may look forward with a tolerable degree of confidence to the seeing accomplished as much good as can be expected from the proposed investigation.—It may perhaps, be observed, that the subject upon which the inquiry in question is to take place, is of a nature so little likely to afford amusement, and therefore attraction, to casual visitors, as that such an audience, as would be any way useful, would scarce ever be collected: but to this it may be answered, that the advantages to be expected from publicity do not arise merely from the *number* of the visitors, but from the state of ignorance in which the persons exposed to such publicity remain, with regard to *who* its is that may be witnesses to their proceedings. The end of publicity may be effected by the presence of one person; that one person not being known by the functionaries but to possess in the most eminent degree, capacity, inclination, and interest, to expose any defects he may observe in their mode of proceeding. It may be further objected to the proposed publicity, that the public mind

might thus come to be prejudiced against an individual whose conduct might appear less reprehensible when it came to be fully developed. If this, however, is to be considered as a valid objection against publicity with regard to the courts in question, so must it be considered as against publicity in Courts of Law. All that is contended for here is, that the proposed court of military inquiry should be put on the same footing, with regard to publicity, as courts of justice.—But, independent of all other advantages, independent of the increased efficacy that such security for publicity would be calculated to insure, as it is the public money the abusive expenditure of which is under consideration, the public, notwithstanding, resulting from it, is entitled to receive the earliest possible information of the proceedings of the persons they pay for inquiring into such expenditure, and that the powers with which they are invested are applied in the most efficient manner. Nothing can be more cheering, nothing more desirable, nothing more just, than the placing it in the power of the people themselves, to witness that the money they have contributed towards the support of the state has not been misapplied. The pursuing a secret mode of inquiry, is of itself a sufficient cause for alarm, and under favour of this precedent, there are no abuses to the concealing of which this principle may not be extended. If it be proper to conduct such proceedings as those in question in a room which to the public is inaccessible, may it not be said, with equal truth, that courts of justice should also be rendered inaccessible to the public. If the principle of secrecy be properly applied in one case, it is equally proper to apply it in the other.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.—DECIUS.—*June* 25, 1808.

BREWING TAX.

SIR,——In Scotland, we have been greatly surprised at the lament with which in England, one set of persons has bewailed, and the outcry with which another has execrated, the proposed, and for the present abandoned, tax upon *private breweries*. Here, where few private families exercise the trade of a brewer, we conceive it to be a matter of the most trivial consequence, whether the ale brought to table be the produce of the labours, or of his neighbour the Brewer: honestly, and we think that man can be [illegible] brave who drinks the beer of the wholesale dealer as that of his own. With you, however, different opinions seem to be entertained. But whether they be the offspring of an disinterested, or of a rational conviction, I do assure you there is here very little hesitation in deciding. Though, however, I thus consider the real merits of the question as extremely plain, yet, as I observe, that the senseless clamours of the English public, have occasioned the abandonment of the tax, I am induced to lift my voice in its defence; with an expectation, if not of producing conviction, at least of drawing forth argument.—But before submitting to you my ideas on this subject, I beg leave to make this preliminary observation, that I defend the *principle* of the tax, not any particular mode of levying it. I shudder, indeed, at the notion of a discretionary power vested in a truly contemptible set of men, of disturbing the peace of the most respectable families throughout the empire, by a vexatious and abominable excise. But I *may* express my opinion, that to the mode last proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, no solid or sufficient objection can well be made.—From what, then, does the unpopularity of the measure arise? ——Your correspondents and you yourself, unceasingly attempt to unite, as if they were inseparable, the preservation of our civil liberties with the fate of this tax. "Enact the private brewing law, you say, and the liberties of England are gone; if you do not allow John Bull to drink beer that he himself has made, he is no more fit for opposing the encroachments of despotism: *home brewed ale* rouses him to a sense of his independence, invigorates his system, and renders him terribly fierce against the abettors of slavery; while the noxious and contaminating produce of the *public brewery* is a soporific which makes him dead to his blessings, indifferent to his friends, and submissive to the yoke of bondage." That this, joined to an undefined and unintelligible notion of the decrease of hospitality attendant on the measure, is the real source of the public clamour, you are acute enough to perceive, and I dare say candid enough to allow. And if it be, truly it affords a caricature on liberty What! do the liberties of Englishmen depend on, or are they in any way to be affected by a cann of beer? Do they in any measure owe their continuance to that rough and barbarous incivilisation, or to that mean and selfish affection for these physical comforts, in which, perhaps, our liberties at first originated? Are we not rather indebted for their preservation to the universally diffused knowledge of the blessings of independence, and to the uninterrupted view, in the situation of all our neighbours, of the despicableness and unworthiness of slavery? An argument founded on such a

basis is intolerable. We can submit, indeed, to see John Bull *in a caricature*, pourtrayed as a huge, swollen fellow, growling (as fiercely as a chained mastiff at a beggar) at any one who lays violent hands on his jug of beer, or pipe. But to introduce his *fierceness* as a serious argument, is utterly contemptible.—That, indeed, a tax on private brewing is in no way connected with the preservation of civil liberty, is to an impartial person, I conceive, a plain proposition. Assuming it, therefore, as incontrovertible, I shall state shortly the immediate advantages that attend the proposed tax on home breweries.——1. In England it will be very productive. That at present there is a large number of private breweries, is past doubt: and if the practice of private brewing be really attended with all those comforts which are said to accompany it, and if it be so dear to Englishmen as it is represented to be, trust me the number of private brewers will be no way diminished by the imposition of a tax upon them. In this argument, you will observe, I allow the inordinate attachment of the English to this practice to be well founded. But, as I conceive that attachment to be altogether absurd and groundless, I am prepared to show that the *decrease* of private breweries to be expected from the measure, will in no way hurt either the revenue or the country. If Englishmen continue (and as long as the hop grows in England instead of the vine, *they must* continue) to drink strong beer; and if they abandon the private brewing of it, they certainly will buy it from a public brewer. Now, as a duty is laid on the *latter*, the revenue receives that benefit, through the manufacturer, which, by the continuance of the practice of private brewing, would flow directly from the consumer; and the amount of duty would be equal in either case. But, say *the Englishmen*, "we use, "in the manufacture, twice as much malt, "and twice as much hops, as the public "brewer does. And, of course, the duty "on a smaller quantity of both will be paid, "if private breweries be suppressed, than if "they be not." (See W. D.'s paper. Reg. Vol. IX. p. 940.) Here, Sir, I beg leave to ask, whether the private brewer, when he consumes twelve bushels of malt in a hogshead of ale, takes of that article *more than is necessary*, or *just enough*. If, on the one hand, *too much* be used, then is the private brewer guilty of a most ruinous and reprehensible waste of grain; the universally extended and severely felt effects of which, on the country at large, far overbalance the small increase of revenue gained by this superfluous consumption of a necessary article of subsistence. The misapplication of any article, never can *essentially* benefit either the country or the revenue. As well might it be said, that the man of fortune would confer a real benefit on his country who should purchase a quantity of British cloths, and (for the encouragement of trade and the good of the revenue) burn them to ashes, as that such a superfluous consumption of malt could in the end serve either government or the farmer. If, on the other hand, the private brewer puts *just enough* of malt into his hogshead of ale, is it to be supposed that when there is an effectual demand for a good article (as there must be when the rich buy from the public brewer, as well as the poor) the *public* brewer will not be as lavish, and make his ale equally good? It cannot be said that he will not: and if so, then is there no possibility of loss to government by a decrease of duty, while it is equally impossible that the country should suffer by a wasteful and extravagant use of grain. —Here, I am led to observe a notable argument urged by your wise correspondent, to whom I have referred, who deprecates this tax, because if this duty be imposed, "either we must adopt some beverage or "other in lieu of beer" (does the gentleman propose *claret or port*?), or we shall be compelled to purchase from the public brewer, "who, *having no competition to* "*mind*, will deal out any article he pleases "to his customers." Upon what system of political economy, think you, is this gentleman's opinion founded, who augurs a *diminished competition* from an *increased demand*? At present, it is undoubtedly true that little competition exists, because none but the poor purchase from the public brewer. But if this tax have its expected effects, it can only produce an increased competition by sending the rich into the market, and of course effecting an improvement in the quality of beer.——2. That this tax, therefore, possesses the quality of permanent productiveness (and that, in the end, it will serve the *grower* of the materials of the manufacture as well as the *consumer*), appears incontrovertible. Added to this, it is one which throws the burden of the beer tax equally on rich and poor; a burden which at this time oppresses the latter alone. They, unable to maintain a brewing establishment, must content themselves with the produce of the public brewery; and they, of course, must, as consumers, pay that tax which is levied on the manufacturer. But the man of capital (who can best bear the burden of a tax) drinks his beer free of duty; and is

incensed to the most excessive fury when you attempt to raise from him that duty which his meanest dependants daily contribute; deprecating the attempt as if it were to cause the subversion of liberty and the destruction of hospitality, and exclaiming against the authors of it, as if they were his foulest enemies.——I shall not detain you longer with this question. I trust the principles of this tax and its advantages are sufficiently plain; and I hope that when it is next proposed, the minister will not be deterred from prosecuting it by the clamours of the multitude, even though we should have to rank among them that patriot whom I now address.——I have the honour to be, &c.——B.——*Edinburgh, June 27, 1806.*

SUBALTERN OFFICERS.

SIR,——I am induced from its singularity, to transmit you a leaf I have found of a late work published for the encouragement of the Cork porters, entitled "Wealth and Luxury, or the Advantage of being a Coal-heaver," in which it is clearly proved that he may support his wife and family, and regale himself liberally with the best London porter, whilst the gentleman, who steps forward to shed his blood in the service of his country, can drink nothing better than small beer; and, notwithstanding, goes to jail at the end of the year for 93. 12s. 10d.—— They say "a labourer is worthy of his hire," but I do not apply that to soldiers. I see no use for them when we have so many volunteers. But, if we must have them, I would rid the nation of some of their superfluous expenses. The French fought very well when Sans Culloftes, and it is well known that hounds hunt best fasting. Both of which improvements might be adopted, for the Scotch part of the army in particular; the Caledonians being proverbial for fighting best when hungry. I must, however, confess, that it might not, at first, suit the others; the Englishman being said to fight best when his belly's full, and the Irishman when half drunk. But, report says, they expect a great *increase* to their pay, and quote the Emperor of Austria as a precedent. I repeat, that I think they have nothing to do with eating and drinking, and the quadruple price of the necessaries of life; have not they the honour of the thing? If you will tell them so through the medium of your valuable Register, it may save the nation some expense and will oblige

AN ALDERMAN.

Estimate of the unavoidable Daily, Weekly, and Yearly Expenditure of a Subaltern Officer of the Infantry, in his Majesty's Army.

	Per Day.			*Per Week*			*Per Year.*		
	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
Breakfast	0	0	10	0	5	10	15	3	4
Dinner without wine, spirits, or *strong beer* even	0	2	0	0	14	0	36	10	0
Supper, *bread and cheese only*, per night	0	0	10	0	5	10	15	4	2
Washing seven shirts, and four handkerchiefs per week	0	0	6	0	2	8	9	2	6
Ditto four pair stockings, and night cap	0	0	1	0	0	6	1	6	0
Pomatum, powder, soap, black-ball, pens, ink, paper, wax, and wafers	0	0	8	0	4	8	12	3	4
Servant from the company, per week	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	12	0
Servant's clothes, for doing his master's work in	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Pipe clay and whiting	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
Hair ribbon, combs, and rozettes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	6
	0	5	11	1	14	7	95	19	2

Brought down from above	95	19	2
Mess furniture, yearly	1	1	0
Postage of letters, tear and wear of sash and sword belt	2	0	0
One sword knot per year	0	9	6
Extra expenses on marching, per year	10	10	0
Three regimental coats and waistcoats, with epaulets in two years, 11*l.* 10*s.* each suit	17	5	0
Two pair leather breeches, per year	6	6	0
Two pair kersey mere ditto ditto	2	14	0
Two pair boots ditto	4	10	0
One pair of gaiters ditto	0	6	6
One pair shoes ditto	0	9	0
Three hats ditto	3	3	0
Three pair stockings ditto	0	15	0

	£.	s.	d.
Neck handkerchiefs ditto - - -	0	14	0
Three pocket ditto ditto - - -	0	9	0
Three hats, feathers, tassels, &c. in two years, 3l. 14s. each	5	11	0
One pair sheets, per year - - - -	0	18	0
Towels, breakfast-cloths, &c. per year - - -	0	15	0
Gloves, yearly - - - - - -	0	10	0
One regimental great coat, in three years, at 3l. 3s. -	1	1	0
Black stocks, in the year - - -	0	6	0
Soling boots, shoes, mending linen, stockings and regimentals, in the year - - - - -	3	4	0
Unavoidable losses in regimental clothes, trunks, &c. yearly	4	0	0
	162	17	6
Ensign's pay, yearly - -	85	3	4
	£77	12	10
Income Tax - - -	3	0	0
A moderate average of expense of lodgings annually -	10	0	0
Unavoidable contingencies - -	3	0	0
Total.——Minus - -	£93	12	10!!!

PUBLIC PAPERS.

KING OF HOLLAND.—*Schiedam, June 19th,* 1806.—On Wednesday last, at five o'clock in the afternoon, his Majesty Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, his Royal Consort, children, and retinue, arrived from Breda at the Ferry of Cattendrecht, opposite Rotterdam, where they were received and presented with refreshments by his Excellency, Vice-Admiral Verheuil, Minister of the Marine, conducted by a deputation from the council, by the mayor and schepens of that city. On the signal being given by the yachts of the marine stationed there, the guns on the bulwark were fired, the flags hoisted on the great church and other public buildings, on the mills, and by all the vessels, in the several havens. Their majesties and family crossed the Meuse in a yacht of the marine; and, on approaching the shore, were saluted by the repeated acclamations of the spectators. Being arrived within the jurisdiction of Rotterdam, their Majesties were welcomed by the city deputation, and his Maj. presented, in an appropriate speech, with the keys of the city, but which his Majesty graciously left in the hands of the president. The Rev. Thos. Van Beekom, Roman Catholic Priest of Schiedam, at the head of the priests of the same religion at Rotterdam, also congratulated his Maj. on his accession and arrival.—About 9 the same evening the royal party arrived at the Hague, where their Majesties were received by a deputation of the magistrates of that place. On presenting his Maj. with the wine, called the wine of honour, used on such occasions, the mayor made an appropriate speech; and on receiving the wine, his Maj. expressed his sense of the reception given him. Accompanied by the deputation, the train now set forward to the Palace in the wood, where their Majesties were received by a commission from their high mightinesses, another from the council of state, the general secretary of state and other ministers, the French ambassador, and the General in Chief Michaud, and other generals and superior officers.—Through the whole of the wood along which their Majesties had to pass beautifully illuminated arches were erected.

Hague, June 20th, 1806.—*At the Audience given yesterday to their High Mightinesses by his Majesty, every solemnity of ceremonial was observed. They were introduced in the most regular form by the Marshal Governor of the Palace Nogues. The Speech delivered by Mr. De Vos Van Steenwyk Tot Den Hogenhof on the occasion was of the following purport.*

SIRE,——The assembly of their high mightinesses, in whose name I have at present the honour to speak, is come in a body to offer their obedience to your Maj., and to felicitate you upon your accession to the throne of Holland. In acquitting themselves of so solemn a duty, they entreat you, Sire, to receive favourably the sentiments of a deserving and every way respectable nation.——The concurrence of events and circumstances which have overthrown the political system of Europe, has at length involved our country. After sustaining a multitude of shocks, the nation looks for a term to its long agitations, and ventures to hope, that the sceptre

confided to your Majesty's foresight and wisdom, will restore its happiness and quiet.—Peace, Sire, is the greatest of Europe's wants; it is especially so of Holland. May the powerful genius of Napoleon the Great give to us, one day, this invaluable blessing!—Sire! A nation celebrated for its temperance delights to contemplate in you the model of all the virtues, and gives itself up to the consoling hope, that the paternal care of your Maj. for its true interests, will, under the sacred guidance of Providence, invigorate its industry and its commerce, and renovate its antient glory and splendour. Thus will the present generation and their posterity hail your Maj. as the regenerator of the public prosperity.

After the audience of his Maj., their High Mightinesses were presented to her Maj. the Queen. The President addressed her Maj. as follows:

Madam,——With the confidence inspired by the graces and affability of your Maj., the assembly of their high mightinesses eagerly intreats to present to you their homage and respect.—Permit us, Madam, to join your Majesty in the vows and congratulations we have just borne to his Maj. the King.—May the general welfare, which will be the constant object of the cares of his Maj., your august spouse, long prove his happiness, and the happiness of your Maj., and of all the Royal Family.

Both these Speeches were received in the most gracious manner by their Majesties. The Administration of the Department of Holland, the Deputies of several other local Administrations of the Kingdom, and the Staff Officers of the Navy had also formal audience of his Maj. The following is a Copy of the Speech delivered by his Maj. to their High Mightinesses.

Gentlemen,——When the national deputies came to offer me the throne which I accept this day, I accepted it under the conviction that it was the wish of the whole nation—that the confidence and the necessities of all called me to it.—Relying on the intelligence, zeal, and patriotism of the principal public functionaries, and particularly on yours, gentlemen, the deputies, I have carefully weighed in my mind the misfortunes of the nation in their fullest extent. Animated by the strongest desire to promote the welfare of this great people, and entertaining a hope that I should one day attain this end, I stifled those sentiments which, till then, had been ever the object and happiness of my life. I have consented to change my country, to cease to be solely and entirely a Frenchman, after having passed my whole life in performing, to the best of my ability those duties which that name prescribes to all who have the honour of bearing it.—I have consented to separate myself, for the first time, from him who, from my infancy, has possessed my love and admiration; to lose the repose and independence which those whom heaven calls to govern cannot have; to quit him, the separation from whom would fill me with apprehension, even in the most tranquil times, and whose presence precludes danger.—I have consented to all this; and, gentlemen, had I not done so, I would nevertheless yet act the same part, now that by the ardour, joy, and confidence of the people through whose country I have passed, they have proved to me that you were the true interpreters of the nation, now especially, when I am convinced that I may rely on your zeal, your attachment to the interest of your native land, and on your confidence in, and fidelity towards me.—Gentlemen, this is the first day of the real independence of the United Provinces. A transient glance at past ages is sufficient to convince us, that they never had a stable government, a fixed destiny, a real independence. Under that famous people, whom they fought and served by turns, as under the Franks and the Empire of the West, they were neither free nor tranquil.—Neither were they so afterwards, when subjected to Spain.—Their wars, and their repeated quarrels until the union, added to the glory of the nation, confirmed its qualities in point of frankness, intrepidity and honour, for which, indeed, it had been always celebrated: but its efforts procured it neither tranquillity nor independence, even under the Princes of Orange, who, though they were useful to their country, as soldiers and statesmen, were always disturbing it, by pretending, or endeavouring to obtain a power which the nation denied them.——Nor could Holland be considered in that state in later times, when the elevation of ideas, and the general agitation of Europe so long suspended the repose of nations.——After so many vicissitudes, so much agitation, so many calamities; and at a time when the great states were enlarging themselves, ameliorating and concentrating their governments and their forces, this country could enjoy no real safety nor independence but in a moderate monarchical state; a form which had been acknowledged during a long period, and by each nation in its turn, as the most perfect, and, if not absolutely so, yet as much so as the nature of man will admit.

To be Continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It is his Majesty's earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional "burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people."——LORD CHANCELLOR'S Speech at the opening of the present session of parliament.

"I beg the House to consider, that the question now is as to a choice of evils, and that money must be "raised for the exigencies of the state."—— LORD H. PETTY'S Speech, 9th May, 1806.

"The fact is, that we are now placed in such circumstances that we are driven to adopt modes of taxation "which must, in some degree, affect the prosperity of one branch or other of our trade or commerce."—— MR. FOX'S Speech, 9th May, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PENSIONS TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.—— On the 2d instant a message from his Majesty, stated to be as follows, was delivered to both Houses of Parliament: "His Ma- "jesty having taken into his consideration "the Royal Message sent by him to his "faithful Commons, on the 8th of April, "1788, recommending to them to enable "him to make a competent provision for "the younger branches of his family, and "that upon this recommendation an Act of "Parliament was passed for enabling him to "grant certain annuities therein named; "but that on account of there being no pro- "viso in that Act for securing the said an- "nuities on the *Consolidated Fund*, the Act "was ineffectual, and *failed in its object*; "His Majesty therefore now recommended "it to his faithful Commons to make such "provision as was necessary for securing "the said annuities on the Consolidated "Fund of the United Kingdom. His Ma- "jesty could not forbear, at the same time, "recommending it to his faithful Com- "mons to *make such further allowances*, as "the *circumstances of the times*, and the "decreased value of money, should render "necessary."—Now, who would not, upon reading this, imagine, that the act having "*failed of its object*," the pensions before granted *had not been paid* by the public? No such failure did, however, arise from any deficiency of the act: the pensions have always been punctually paid; and, as we shall presently see, a way has not been wanting wherein to furnish many of the Royal Children with sums *beyond* the pensions, so provided for and punctually paid. There was a fund, or a thing, or rather a *name*, which, for some reason or other, the financiers and their clerks spoke of as an *Aggregate Fund*. This fund, as it was called, has been carried to the *Consolidated Fund*; or, to speak properly, the *name* of *Aggregate Fund* has been laid aside, and now no name but that of *Consolidated Fund* is made use of; and, as to the necessity of a new law, from this cause, in order to *secure* the payment of the pensions aforesaid, we shall easily judge of that, when we have considered *what* the Consolidated Fund is. At first, every body is deceived by this *name*; because every one knows, that a *fund*, in the usual acceptation of the word, means money which has been collected together and put aside to answer some especial purpose; every one knows, in fact, that a *fund* means, *money in store*; and, when you prefix to it the mighty word *Consolidated*, who would not suppose, that it was a fund become "*firm* and *solid*" from long and steady growth? The *truth* is, however, that there is not in existence any fund at all answering to this description, or to any part of this description; the Consolidated Fund is a mere name given to *the taxes of the year*, which, as we all very well know, are usually spent before they are raised. This being the case, though there might be some inconsistency, as to *mere form*, in paying pensions granted under a name that no longer existed; yet, in substance there could be no inconvenience arise from it. The pensions *have been* paid just as regularly as if the name of the fund, or account, had continued; so they might still have been paid; and, as to the *security*, what *act* of parliament can render the payment secure, if the means be wanted, or if the will of the House of Commons should change in this respect? And, what informality can possibly render it *insecure*, so long as those means are sufficient, and that will continues unchanged?——The first part of the Message, therefore, can be considered in no other light than as having been brought forward to accompany the latter part, which latter part does, indeed, contain a *substantive* proposition, and calls for the observations of all those who have the means of conveying those observations to the public. ——Were there nothing before us but the Message of His Majesty in its unexplained state, our observations would necessarily be

confined to the proposition, that an addition to the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family is rendered necessary, "by "the *circumstances of the times*, and by the "decrease in the value of money;" but, as the ministers have given their opinions upon the subject; as they have given us their explanation of the Message, we must take that opinion and that explanation into one view, always regarding the Message itself as proceeding from their *advice*, and as being, to all intents and purposes, a thing which *they*, and they *alone*, have caused to be made, and for which they are and always will remain, responsible.——LORD GRENVILLE, upon a motion, on the 3d instant, for taking the message into consideration, is, in the newspapers, reported to have said: "that his "Majesty's Message referred to two points. "The one respected the establishment "which had been settled in 1778, for the "younger branches of the Royal Family, "which establishment was then charged "upon the Aggregate Fund, and since "transferred to the Consolidated Fund. It "was not until the death of the Duke of "Gloucester, that it appeared that this esta-"blishment was made only contingent, and "the necessity must now be universally "felt of making that establishment perma-"nent and perpetual. Such was the object "of the first part of the Message. The ob-"ject of the second part, which provided "for an increase of that establishment, "must be felt of *still stronger necessity* — "The *immense difference* which, since that "period, had occurred in the value of mo-"ney, in the price of every article, whether "of necessity or of luxury, connected with "the propriety of maintaining every thing "connected with the due dignity and splen-"dour of the Monarchy, must convince "the House of the propriety and expe-"diency of the measure alluded to in the "Message, and increase their *surprise*, not "that such augmentation should be pro-"posed, but that a period had elapsed with-"out the necessity having *sooner called for* "*such a measure*. He was convinced "therefore the House would *cheerfully* "concur with him in an address to his Ma-"jesty, assuring his Majesty they would "adopt the most effectual measures for put-"ting the object of the Message into execu-"tion." ——His Lordship spoke with confidence; but, it appears, not with a confidence misplaced; for, the House did *cheerfully* and *instantly*, without a single word of observation, concur in the proposed address. ——In the House of Commons, Lord Henry Petty, in bringing forward the matter, on the 4th instant, before a committee of the whole House, spoke (agreeably to the fullest report that has yet been published) as follows:——"Lord Henry Petty rose, and "observed that with regard to the first part "of it, which went to the establishment of "the grants on the Consolidated Fund, the "object was sufficiently stated, and there-"fore little explanation could be required "The House would recollect that some "time ago grants had been made to the "Duke of Gloucester and the Princess So-"phia on the Aggregate Fund, which had "been since transferred to the Consolidated "Fund. It therefore became necessary to "grant the provision on the other fund. On "this subject there could be no doubt, as "the object was merely to place the mat-"ter on the same footing as before. But "the Message did not stop there. He "hoped, however, that there would be as "little difference of opinion on the latter "part, as on the former, as it called merely "for *an adequate provision for the Princes*, "and no more. It did not include his "R. H. the DUKE of YORK, who had *de-"clined most liberally* coming forward on this "occasion, as *in the present situation of the "country*, he thought he was already suffi-"ciently provided for. With regard to the "remainder of the Princes, it would be re-"collected that a provision of 12,000l. per "annum each had been made for them. "That was fixed at so early a period as "1788, and he left it to the House to judge, "considering *the increased price of every "article of life*, and the more advanced age "of the Princes, which required a larger "establishment to support their rank, whe-"ther some augmentation in their allow-"ance was not necessary? He might refer "to former precedents, and more especially "to that of the late Duke of Gloucester, "who had 24,000l. But he did not wish "to rest the matter on precedent. All he "ventured to propose was, the sum neces-"sary to support their rank and situation. "With this view he was to propose that the "grants should be increased by one-third, "and that instead of 12,000l. to each, there "should be 18,000l. a year. He would "propose at the same time, that the esti-"mate of the former year, as to the ex-"penses of the Princess Charlotte of "Wales, should be laid before the House. "This estimate was 6,000l. and he would "move that 1,000l. be added to that. As "to the Princesses, they were to be placed "on the same footing as the Duke of Glou-"cester and the Princess Sophia of Glou-"cester, and have their allowance transferred

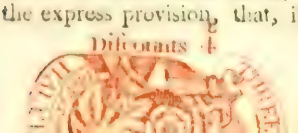
" from the Aggregate Fund to the Consolidated Fund. He concluded by moving, " that an addition of one-third to their allowances should be granted, out of the " Consolidated Fund, to the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex and " Cambridge. —— Lord H. Petty then " moved the other resolutions, which were " as follows:—For the Princess Charlotte " of Wales, during his Majesty's life time, " and the life of the Prince of Wales, " 7,000*l.*——For the Duchess Dowager of " Gloucester, for whom no provision has " been made, 4,000*l.*——For the Duke of " Gloucester, raising his allowance one-" third, in the same manner as that of the " Princes, 14,000*l.*——For the Princess " Sophia of Gloucester, in lieu of 4,000*l.* " on the Aggregate Fund, 4,000*l.*"—— This statement, owing, most likely, to the difficulty of giving, in newspaper haste, a full report of what his Lordship said, is not very clear. The sums now to be annually paid to the *Princesses* is not stated; but, upon the supposition that their pensions are, all together to be augmented in the amount of twelve thousand pounds, the whole of the augmentation now made will amount to FIFTY ONE THOUSAND POUNDS; and, let it be observed, that this is 51,000*l.* *annually*; that it is 51,000*l.* of *income*; that it is an *annuity* of 51,000*l.* to be paid out of the taxes every year; and, that, therefore, taking the average of the lives of the Royal Personages at 30 years now to come, the grant about to be made imposes taxes upon us, and upon our immediate children, to the gross amount of 1,530,000*l.*—Ought such a grant to be made, or ought it not? This is the question for us to answer: my answer is, that I am decidedly of opinion, that such a grant *ought not to be made*; and, for this opinion, the following are my reasons.——It is stated, in the Message, that this grant is called for by " *the circum-" stances of the times.*" This is a very vague phrase; but, if we are permitted to draw any inference from the description of those circumstances, as given in the Speeches, extracted from in my motto, the inference certainly would be, that economy, and not lavishness, that retrenchment and not augmentation of expense, ought to be the main object of the government, in all its branches.—— " *The decrease in the value of* " *money*," is a reason somewhat more specific, and, I know very well, that money has, since the year 1788, decreased *one half* in value. But, in the first place, be it remembered, that, if money has decreased in value, the taxes have *more than doubled* in nominal amount. Be it remembered, that, since 1788, the poor rates have been augmented *three-fold*. Be it remembered, that the pecuniary embarrassments of the country have gone on increasing. Be it remembered, that we are continually told, that to make pecuniary sacrifices, sacrifices of conveniencies, of comforts, and even of necessaries, is now become indispensable for the sake of preserving the throne of our Sovereign and our own liberties; and, why should not the practice upon this precept extend to the Royal Family as well as to the people?——Lord Henry Petty dwelt upon the *advanced age* of the Royal Persons in question; but, I believe, it will appear, that, when their several pensions were settled, they had all arrived at the age, when they betook themselves to *separate establishments*, except the maiden Princesses, and, it is pretty evident, that their expenses can be no greater now than they were then, all of them still making part of the household family of their Royal Father, and all of them liable to come to parliament with a demand, and a fair one, for the means of supporting another state of life.——The advance of age appears to me, therefore, to be no reason at all for the proposed augmentation; and, let us remember (what Lord Henry Petty seems totally to have forgotten) that, the advance of age has not come without its advantages. Most, if not all, of the Royal Sons of his Majesty, receive from the public purse, salaries and emoluments now, to a considerable amount, which they did not receive, at the time their pensions were settled. Whether the Duke of Clarence receive any thing, in the way of his naval profession I know not; but, his Royal brothers and cousin are, all, I believe, *Colonels of regiments*, and are, besides that, either *Governors* of Fortresses or Islands or Provinces, or *Generals upon the Staff*; all which, I repeat, Lord Henry Petty completely overlooked. Since 1788, several *Rangerships*, and other lucrative things have been bestowed upon the Royal persons in question; and, upon the whole, notwithstanding the depreciation of money, their situation is as good, and, perhaps, better, than it was in 1788. It is a favourite mode with ministers, and with some other persons, to take the *bare* amount of the pension to one of the Royal Dukes, for instance, and place it against the amount of a gentleman's income, and then to ask, whether this ought to be; whether, under such pecuniary circumstances, the Royal Duke can possibly support the dignity due to his station. But, not to say how low must be the mind that

can find out *no means* other than money of supporting *dignity*, this mode of representin; the case is fallacious in the highest degree. The Royal Dukes have *palaces*, or *lodges*, they have gardens and *parks*, not only rent free, but tax free; and, indeed, when we cast our eyes onwards, from St. James's and its parks, to Hyde Park, to Kensington, to Kew, to Richmond, to Bushy, to Hampton-Court, to Bagshot, to Windsor; when we cast our eyes over these immense domains, situated in the very garden of England, and when we consider the Royal rights enjoyed in Forests and over other lands, are we not tempted to ask, what more can be wanted to the dignity and splendour of the King and his family, however numerous that family may be? Nor should we forget, that, though each branch of the Royal family be separated in point of mere locality from the household family of the King, nothing can cut any branch off from its share of the splendour which belongs to the throne. Do not every younger child of a noble family, though without a penny of fortune, still enjoy a share of the honours of that family? And, where is the man who will pretend, that, in order to support the aristocracy, it is necessary that every younger son of a Lord should have an income equal to, or surpassing, that of any commoner?——Lord Henry Petty says, that the DUKE OF YORK has *declined* coming forward with any demand upon this occasion, which is as much as to tell us, that he was *invited* to come forward; but, upon what ground such invitation could be given, and especially by ministers, who have made *necessity* the ground whereon to justify the taxes they have imposed, I am quite at a loss to discover. The Duke of York now receives, in pension for himself and the Duchess, 18,000*l.* a year; as Colonel of a Regiment (3 battalions) of Foot Guards, about 6,000*l.* a year; as Commander in Chief about 6,000*l.* a year; what he may receive, as Ranger of two parks and as Warden of the New Forest, I cannot say; but, with his endless number of military attendants, of all ranks and degrees, and with his immense patronage, it were strange indeed if there were still *money* wanted to the support of his dignity! Besides this, I find, in a report of a Committee of the House of Commons, printed in 1802, the following item on the credit side of the Civil List: "By amount of sums *advanced* to His "Royal Highness, the Duke of York, which "is to be *repaid* by *instalments of* 1,000*l.* "*quarterly*, from 1st January, 1805, "54,0001. 17s. 0d." So that, it appears from this document, that the Duke of York has drawn 54,000*l.* 17s. 0d, from the public purse, over and above his pensions, pay, and allowances; and, that, according to the statement of the report just mentioned, 48 000*l.* of this money still remains unpaid. Observe, too, that the re-payment is to be so slow, that the *interest* of the money, at 5 per centum per annum, will swallow up five-eights of the whole of the money repaid. And, was it under circumstances like these that the ministry, that the *Whig* ministry, gave the Duke of York an opportunity of *declining* to come forward with a demand upon the public purse, and that, too, at a time when they themselves acknowledge, that, in imposing new taxes, they are reduced to a choice of evils, and that they are compelled, by the necessities of the state, to impose such burdens as will affect the prosperity of some branch or other of our commerce!——The principle upon which the augmentations have been proposed is, of all others, the most dangerous that a minister could have broached. Mr. Pitt, indeed, was the leader. For many years, he and Old George Rose annually produced the increasing nominal amount of our imports and exports and of the permanent taxes, as an *undeniable proof* of our increasing *riches*; and, as, in their vocabulary, riches always meant power and honour and every thing else that rendered a nation great, they drew, from their tax-office books, a conclusion, that the nation was become greater under their sway than it ever had been before; and that it was actually becoming greater and greater every day. Thus was this whole nation, though full of thinking, men hoodwinked by the statements of a counting-house minister, who himself was too shallow to be conscious of the deception. People did, indeed, perceive, that in spite of all this daily increasing greatness, the word and the name England was daily becoming of less and less weight in the world; and, at the peace of Amiens, they really wondered how it could be; but yet, the *figures* spoke for themselves; they tried the question over and over again by all the rules of arithmetic, and, notwithstanding appearances, they found that Pitt and Rose must be right, and that England must be *greater than ever*! At last, however, in the year 1804, Pitt and Rose being again in office, having, as one of their first jobs *(which had been the case with Mr. Addington too)*, a good decent sum to get voted to clear off the *arrears upon the Civil List*, part of which arrears, in Addington's case, had arisen from the advance made, without *consent of*

parliament to *the Duke of York*; having this job to perform (See PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, Vol. II. p. 902.), being quite at a loss for other arguments, and having received through the Political Register (for that was their tutor), a good sound lesson or two upon the depreciation of money, they screwed themselves up to the avowal, and out it came, without the least remorse as to the exports and imports, without the least regard for that criterion of national greatness; out it came, that the value of money had fallen 60 or 70 per centum. The fact has from that time, become familiar enough. It is now always taken for admitted, and, indeed, it is as evident as any thing can possibly be. But, it does not follow, that, because money has depreciated, the pensions to the Royal Family ought to be raised; for, the causes of depreciation of money have also been causes of great national distress; and, as I think I have shewn before, there have been other means, since 1788, of adding to the incomes of the younger branches of the Royal Family. What renders the augmenting of these pensions, for *this reason*, particularly unwise, however, is, that it is an act injustice towards *other pensions*, and especially such as have well grounded claims upon the state, unless *their pensions are augmented in the same proportion.* The value of *every* pension, and of every sinecure place, of fixed annual income; in short, the value of every annuity (not excepting those of the *fund-holders*) has, since the year 1788, depreciated one half; and, shall depreciation be, under all the circumstances before recited, urged as a ground for an augmention of the pensions of the Royal Family, while no augmentation whatever is proposed to be made to the pensions or salaries or grants of any other persons? Twenty years ago a man let his farms at 500l. a year. The lease is not yet expired. The 500l. are not worth what 250l. then were worth. Shall he have no redress? Shall there be no general law upon this subject? Shall it remain with the ministers, and solely with the ministers, to say who shall and who shall not be relieved from the effects of this fertile cause of individual ruin, and of national decay? shall the branches of the Royal Family; shall those who have, by one means or an other, been *compensated* for the loss arising from the depreciation of money; shall they alone meet with the compassion and the liberality of the Commons House of Parliament? Depreciation of money is now, upon the principle of the ministers, a good, a valid, a reasonable, and a strong ground for any pensioner, or grantee whatever, if his grant be of *fixed* annual amount, to apply to parliament for an augmentation; and, I should like very much to hear the arguments they would be able to invent wherewith to oppose such an application. And is not depreciation of money a good ground for augmenting the pay of all the persons under government, who serve for fixed salaries, particularly that of *the officers of the army and the navy?* Should these gentlemen, who, observe, have received no compensation in any other shape, as the Royal Dukes have, be overlooked, while the pensions of those Royal Dukes are augmented in the amount of *one third of* the original pension? And, the fund-holders, that numerous class of state annuitants, of which there are 250,000 persons whose dividends amount to less than 50l. a year each; shall these persons, if the principle of the ministers, now acted upon, be just? shall these persons, whose dividends are now subject to a deduction of ten pen centum, have no relief; or, is the principle of origin too sublime to admit of an application so vulgar?——Every one must, I think, be convinced of the impolicy of having acted, *professedly* acted, upon this principle; and, though all is silent as the grave; though not a single voice, my own excepted, should be heard against the measure, men do think (for freedom of thought is what they still exercise), and men will think. that it was, to say the least of it, unnecessary; for, that, if any additional allowance was really wanted for some of the younger sons, or daughters, of his Majesty his Majesty might, in times, like the present, have been advised to that addition *himself* out of those means which he possesses in the public funds. It was noticed in page 803 of Vol IX that, just as the Income Tax Bill was about to pass, a motion was made, from the Treasury Bench, " to *exempt* from the tax, all stock, " or dividends, the *property of His Majesty*, " in whatever *name* they might stand." I then expressed my hope, that such a motion would be rendered ineffectual. The House of Commons were of a different sentiment, and the king's part of the public funds is accordingly, at least it is to be supposed so, exempted from its share of a tax which falls upon the funds and all other property of all his subjects. But, this being the case; it being, by this motion, acknowledged, that His Majesty has property in the funds, where would have been the harm of advising him to apply that property to the use of his children, as in the case with all other fathers; and, if such advice had been given by the ministers, where is the man who will doubt that it would have been cheer-

fully followed? Had I been a minister I would have given such advice; and, had I been a member of parliament, one of the grounds, upon which I would have opposed the new grants, would have been, that the Royal parent of the grantees was possessed of funds unemployed, and not necessary to the support of the dignity and splendour of the throne. It must be fresh in the recollection of every one, that in the year 1802, and again in the year 1804, parliament was applied to for grants of the public money to pay off the *arrears of the Civil List!* that is to say, to pay off the sums that were due to tradesmen and servants and others to whom money was owing on account of services &c. to His Majesty's Household, the sums annually granted for that purpose having proved *insufficient*. Yet it does appear, from the motion above mentioned, that His Majesty has property in the funds. It is not for me to say, whence this property has been derived; but, I must be of the opinion, that the ministers would have shewn their wisdom and their public spirit, if they had advised their Royal master to employ this money (if any money for such purpose had been wanted) in making to the incomes of his children and his nephew, that addition which is now proposed to be made out of the taxes; and, in this opinion, I am, I think, joined by nine tenths of the thinking part of the nation. ——I am very glad to perceive, that, when the resolutions for making the grants abovementioned was brought up, on the 8th instant, there was found *one member* to express his disapprobation of them. That member was Sir Ridley Colborne, who said, that he "thought the House should pause, par-"ticularly in such a late stage of the session, "and with such thin benches, before it "voted away, in times of distress like the "present, such large sums of the public "money." He added, "that some of the "Royal Dukes were already in possession "of regiments and emoluments arising "from various offices, and, therefore, there "was the less occasion for this addition to "their income." Whereupon Old George Rose is, in the news-papers, reported to have said, that, "as to the *offices*, which "some of the Princes *may* hold" (nay, they *do* hold them) "*at the Royal pleasure*, "they should not be taken into contemplation, when the question was respecting a "permanant provision." No? And, *why* not? I would ask this true and trusty host of Cuffnells? Why not? Are not the pensions of embassadors, of under-secretaries of state, and others, granted with the express provision, that, if the grantee should hold any place with a salary equal to the pension, *the pension shall cease during the tenure of such place?* And, what is the reason that the principle, upon which this condition is made, with respect to other's, should not be acted upon with respect to those members of the Royal family who choose to fill places?—— I am fully aware of the outcry which these remarks will occasion amongst the numerous tribe of sycophants; I am aware of the charges of *disloyalty*, and, were it not worn out and exploded, I should expect that of *jacobinism*; but, all this I despise, conscious that my motives are upright, and believing that my remarks will meet with the approbation of every *truly* loyal and sensible man. Were it my desire to see ill befall the King and his family, I should hold my tongue upon such subjects as this, or, rather, I should endeavour to cause the number and amount of such grants to be increased a thousand fold; but, convinced as I am, from as much reflection as my mind is capable of, from as much and as close observation and as much actual experience as most men have had to guide them in the forming of their opinions: convinced as I am that *kingly government* is the best of all possible governments; that the constitution of England, unimpaired, is the best of all constitutions; and that whatever specious appearances may exist to the contrary, in any part of the world, it is here in England where men do after all enjoy the greatest portion of real freedom: convinced as I am of this, I am ready to do all in my power for the preserving of this constitution of government; and, though I know that the above remarks will not be palatable; though I know, that they will reach the ear of Royalty in company with the malicious hiss of those sycophants, nest upon nest, whom the sun-shine of a court seldom fails to warm into life, the Royal hearers may be assured, that he who *tells* them what others *think* is their real friend, and that, in an hour of danger, if such hour should come, they will find one such man worth ten thousand of flatterers.

India Affairs ——By a reference to the Index of the preceding Volume, the reader will be directed to all those parts of that volume which contain a connected account of the proceedings, during the present session of parliament, down to the latter end of May, relative to all matters connected with our territories in the East-Indies, and particularly, relative to the proceedings, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of Lord Wellesley's conduct. Since that time; since the Charge with respect to



the proceedings in OUDE was produced by MR. PAULL (and which Charge, at length, will be found in the preceding volume), several witnesses have been examined at the bar of the House in support of that Charge; but, as far as I have been able to collect from the best reports that have, as yet, been given of that examination, the evidence given by those witnesses is such as not to yield the charge much support. Indeed, the evidence appears to me to be, generally speaking, of very little real consequence. The seizure of one half of the territory of OUDE by the command of Lord Wellesley, is a fact which no one has pretended to deny; and, the only question to determine, was, whether that seizure was justifiable by the rules of conduct laid down in the acts of parliament and in the orders of the East-India Company, and by the treaties previously existing between the Company and the Nabob Vizier of OUDE. To determine this question, it never appeared to me necessary to call any witnesses whatever, all the documents relating to the whole of the transaction being in possession, or at the command of the House. Whether the Nabob Vizier was a miser or a prodigal, a wise man or a fool, a drunkard or a sober man, whether he was in *the opinion* of Mr. Ousley, or any body else, *better off* with the half of his dominions, governed under the orders of the officers of the East-India Company, than with the whole of his dominions governed by his sole authority; all this appears to me to have had nothing to do with the matter. The question was a question of *public law*, and, as such, all the official documents once before the House, it was easy to determine it without having recourse to any witnesses whatever.——But, though there does not appear to me to have been any necessity for the examining of witnesses, there was, and there is, a necessity for *all* the documents being in the possession of the House, previous to any decision upon the point, whether there be good ground for further proceedings upon the charge. Yet, the friends of Lord Wellesley, anxious to obtain a decision upon some point, did, on the 3d instant, upon a motion of LORD TEMPLE for the House to go into a Committee to take the Charge into consideration, maintain, that no longer time ought to be allowed for the production of papers. This motion was supported by Mr. CANNING, Mr. PERCIVAL, and SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY. Lord FOLKESTONE opposed it, and concluded by a motion for an *adjournment*, which was supported by DR. LAURENCE, Mr. R. THORNTON, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. PAULL, and Mr. W. SMITH. "Mr. WINDHAM "contended that the House was not yet in a "situation to come to a decision; and if he "could believe that his right hon. friend "(Mr. Fox) could have said that the deci- "sion must at all events be given this "Session, he would say that he had spoken "unadvisedly. The delay, no doubt, might "be painful to the accused, but then this "was the lot of all in his situation. It "was *damnum sine injuria*. He strongly "disapproved of taking the business out of "the hands of the accuser. If any body "deluded himself so far as to suppose *that* "*a decision of this sort could have any* "*effect on public opinion*, he judged very "ill of the course of public opinion in this "or any other country. If the house, "however, chose to come to a decision in "this state of the case, he discharged him- "self of all share in it."——Both the motions were, at last, withdrawn, and LORD TEMPLE, who had, at the outset of MR. PAULL'S endeavours to obtain papers, advised him to "*put his motions in his* "*pocket*," did, upon this occasion, literally follow such advice.——In all our reflections upon the transactions in India, we should keep in view, not so much any demerit that may belong to Lord Wellesley, as the consequences which these transactions have produced, or are likely to produce; and, of these consequences, the *addition to the debt of the Company* (which if ever paid, must finally fall upon the people of England) and *the injurious impression made against us amongst other nations*, are the most material. That those transactions will lead to the imposing of heavy burdens upon us, there can be no doubt; the fact has been *proved*, and, even at this moment, we are reeling along under *a part* of those burdens. And, meeting the French negociator with the OUDE papers in his hand, how can we look him in the face and seriously remonstrate against the usurpation in Holland and the seizure of Naples? Mr. WHITSHEAD KEENE has cautioned the House of Commons against considering the Sovereigns of India in the same light that they consider the Sovereigns of Europe. This doctrine was, indeed, reprobated by Mr. Fox; and well it might, for, however *we* may consider those sovereigns, whatever be the distinction that we may choose to make, we may assure ourselves, that no such distinction will be admitted by France, or by any other power. This, indeed, is a curious specimen of political morality: we inveigh against Napoleon for paring away the domi-

nions of this sovereign, and for seizing the dominions of that sovereign; the overthrow of any petty state in Germany, or in Italy, stirs up the very dregs of the gall of our daily, and weekly, and monthly, and yearly writers; but, the fate of the sovereigns of ARCOT, of OUDE, and of many others, claiming the allegiance of *twenty millions* of people, draws not a single word of reproach from any of their numerous pens. Of the power and the dominion of these sovereigns *we* have been the usurpers and the spoilers; and, *therefore*, no code of *public law* exists beyond the Cape of Good Hope! TALLEYRAND has told Europe the contrary; and his imperial master has sworn that *there* the same law, be it what it may, shall prevail, that prevails *in Europe*; and, of this vow, be the reader assured, that we shall feel the effects.—— In taking leave of this subject, for the present, I cannot refrain from pointing out the lesson that may be learnt from the *apathy* of the *subjects* of the Indian sovereigns, owing to which apathy it evidently is, that the ruin and disgrace of those sovereigns have been, with so much facility, effected. When we hear of the dethronement, and subsequent death, of the Nabob of ARCOT, we are astonished to hear not a word of the effect produced among his subjects; and, during all the transactions in OUDE, we hear no more of the five or six millions of subjects than if they were five or six millions of birds or beasts. At this we are astonished; we can hardly conceive it possible, that such a number of human creatures, no small portion of whom have arms in their hands, should pass from the sway of one master to that of another as quietly as the stock of a farm is transferred. But, when we come to see, in the description given by Mr. PAUL at the outset of his Charge, (see page 880 of Vol. IX), "That the great renters "or farmers-general of the taxes are called "Aumils, of whom there are about twenty "in number, and to whom the taxes of "counties or portions of the country are let; "the two principal Aumils being Almas "Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former having the farm of one-third and the "latter of one-fourth of the revenues of the "whole country. That there is another "class of renters or farmers of the taxes "under the Aumils, called Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished by the name of Rajahs, who rent of "the Aumils the taxes of their several "townships or villages, each Zemindar "being, however, in such his minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal chieftain, "having his family, his clan, and generally "a fortress to defend himself against the "Humil, in case of a quarrel arising from "the oppression of the latter, or from any "other cause. That from the ryots of "husbandmen, and manufacturers, (which "character is generally united in the same "person), the taxes are collected by their "respective Zemindars. That the rent or "the taxes is fixed by agreements annually "made, first between the Nabob Vizier "and the Aumils, who are besides great "nobles, composing a part of his court, "and, except in the season of collecting, "residing in the capital; next between the "Aumils and the Zemindars, from whom "the former obtain as high a rent as they "can prevail on the latter to give; and, "lastly, between the Zemindars and their "ryots, *to each of whom is left out of the "produce of his labour, the means where-"with to subsist in a greater or less degree "of ease, there being no possibility of his "acquiring any thing to which the name of "property can apply.*"—— When we come to see this; and when, upon reading the OUDE papers, we perceive, that the army in the country is raised and maintained chiefly for the purpose of supporting this system of oppression; when we perceive that the soldiers are at the command of the tax-gatherers, and are, when occasion requires, *posted round the fields of the husbandmen to prevent them from cutting their crops, until the tax-gatherer has completed his extortion upon the husbondman*; when we perceive this, not only does our astonishment at the apathy of the people cease, but we feel, and cannot refrain from expressing, joy, that the tyrant, be the cause what it may, is deprived of his power. And, though, upon further inquiry, we should find that the new master is as tyrannical, and that he extorts even heavier taxes, if possible, than the former one, still, justice bids us rejoice, that vengeance has been inflicted on such abominable tyranny; and reason bids us hope, that, if the example should fail of a due effect upon the new master, yet, that, a *change* having taken place, relief from tyranny may, in the end, be the consequence. Well does it behove all those who have the rule of nations, to reflect on the natural tendency of every system, the effect of which is to *diminish the number of proprietors of the soil*, well does it behove them to consider, that, in whatever degree the property of men is invaded, impaired, or interfered in, in that same degree is attachment to country weakened; well does it behove them to consider, that subjects, who have nothing to lose, have nothing to fear from an enemy; and, above

all things, it behoves them well to consider, that, though, possibly, some fears of still heavier oppression may, at times, come athwart the minds of a suffering people, yet, that such fears will be but of transient existence when opposed to ever-rankling revenge, accompanied with the hope, which, in such a state, the prospect of *change*, from whatever cause proceeding, never fails to inspire. To all those who have the governing of nations I submit these reflections; and, if they lead to any practical effect, though but in a small degree, the zeal, the activity, and the admirable perseverance of MR. PAULL, would, though he were to be baffled in his main object, merit the thanks of every good man in the world.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."—Under this title (which was taken from the newspapers), and at page 973 of the preceding volume will be found an extract from the MORNING POST, of the 24th ultimo, and also some remarks on that extract, tending to shew the baseness as well as the injustice of endeavouring to prepossess the public against the persons who were there said to have preferred certain charges against an "ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE." By a reference to the extract, it will be perceived, that the writer stated, that he had learnt what had passed in the *Secret* Committee of the King's *privy* council; and, that, upon the information he had thence derived, he was able to *assure* his readers, that the *report* of the said committee *would be made in a day or two*, and that, in the mean time, the public might be assured *that the charge was entirely groundless*. From that time to the 7th instant, the same print daily afflicted its readers with an article of considerable length upon the subject; always insisting upon it that the charge was, to use the writer's own words (which words he has, at last, taken for his title), an "INFAMOUS CALUMNY;" and, rising, day after day, in boldness of assertion as well as in violence of language. The glaring falsehoods, the base tergiversation, the impudent and scandalous lying backward and forward, of this the basest of all prints, I have frequently found it necessary to expose to the public; and, disgusting as the exhibition certainly is, I must again perform the task upon this occasion. I noticed, in page 977 of the preceding volume, the preposterousness of the conclusion drawn from the perilous situation in which the accusing parties were said to have placed themselves by making the accusation. The words of the writer were these: "When it is considered, *that they have set their lives upon the hazard of the "die*, is not their evidence to be received "with the most suspicious caution." This was written, observe, on the 24th of June, a moment when the gentleman's law-knowledge enabled him to assert, that, if the charge was not proved, the crime of preferring it was high treason, and would, of course, be punished with death: "if," said he, "they do not make good their charge "they *perish*." So that, on the 24th of June, it suited the gentleman's purpose to argue, that, *because* the accusers were *answerable with their lives* for the *truth* of the charge, it was *likely* that they had preferred a *false* charge. But, having, on the 30th of June, discovered that his law knowledge had deceived him, he comes forward, and, with undimished pretensions to belief, tells his giddy-headed, well-dressed rabble of readers, that the *crime* of the accusers (for he never hesitates to speak of them as confessed *criminals*) of the "Illustrious Fair" is not high treason, but *Scandalum Magnatum* of an *aggravated species*; "and," says he, "when we consider *the trifling conse-* "*quences of failure in supporting the* "*charge, the distrust, with which the accu-* "*sation should be received*, must be obvious "to every one." Thus, on the 24th of June, he tells us to distrust the charge, *because* it has been prefered at the risk of the accusers' *lives*; and, on the 30th of June, he tells us to distrust the charge *because* it has been preferred at a *trifling* risk to the accusers! Would any one that was not a witness of the fact, believe it possible that impudence and baseness like this ever existed in the world? I wish to draw no inference, unfavourable to the accused, from this conduct of her advocate; it were unjust so to do; but, assuredly, if a man had been hired to make her cause appear bad (which I hope it is not), he could not have laboured more effectually than this pretended defender has done; and, I appeal to the reader, whether, if this writer be considered as the *real friend* of the accused, the impression produced by his conduct must not be greatly injurious to her; for, it is absolutely impossible, that a writer, having *truth* and *justice* in view, should have so written.——On the 1st instant he renewed his remarks, and assured his readers, that, though the report had not yet been made, it would be made and published in a few days; and, in his previous article, he had insisted upon the absolute necessity of doing this speedily, in order to prevent future RICHARDS from renewing the most shocking and disgraceful events of our history! The article of the 2d of July we must have upon record:——

"The King comes to town this day, when "the report of the commissioners on the "subject of the infamous calumny against "an illustrious personage, is expected to be "made to his Majesty. From the high in-"terest which the whole country so natu-"rally take in this *important affair*, we "trust, that the report, whenever it is "made, will be *rendered as public*, as it "will be honorable, just, and impartial. "It is reported, that the commissioners "mean to limit their report to *a statement* "*of the evidence*, and not to deliver any "judgment of their own. We hope, how-"ever, that this will not prove to be the "fact. Convinced as we are of the inno-"cence and purity of the illustrious object "of the calumny, we are anxious that the "report should be accompanied by all due "and necessary reflections; and WE promise "the public that THIS TASK will, at all "events, be promptly undertaken by US. "All that we have hitherto stated upon the "subject, we derived from the *most pure*, "*honorable*, and *incorruptible sources*; and "should the result confirm (as we most "confidently *trust* it will) our information, "and sanction our observations, upon what "we have had *good reason* to pronounce a foul "and infamous scandal, OUR next duty will "be to INSIST, that the outraged virtue of "the amiable and beautiful personage, "whose life, and honor have been thus "wickedly attacked, shall be promptly and "exemplarily AVENGED. Her Royal High-"ness came to town again yesterday, and "returned to Blackheath in the afternoon. "She was in *high spirits*, remarkably *cheer-"ful*, and never looked more *beautiful*, "*amiable*, or *interesting*. The eyes of all "were fixed upon her as she passed, and "the obvious universal feeling was, that of "the highest admiration and most profound "respect."——I have marked some parti-cular phrases here, which I think worthy of notice; and, upon this article, I shall only observe, that the secret committee, who, the writer before told us, had made up their minds, were unanimous, and were prepa-ring to report their *decided opinion* in favour of the accused, have *no opinion* at all to re-port!——On the 3d of July, he tell us that the report was expected to be made public the day before; but, that, at any rate, the publication of it *cannot be much longer de-layed*; and, that he now "*looks forward* "to the *prompt* and exemplary punishment "of the calumniators." One would think he was a beadle or a hangman, and a hang-man, too, of some capricious half-savage despot. He talks like a sub-nabob, and would, I dare say, have made an excellent judge under an Eastern Ruler, of whom the world has some knowledge. On the 5th of July, he told us that the DUKE OF BRUNS-WICK was actually coming to England.——

"We stated some days since, that the Duke "of Brunswick, father to the Princess of "Wales, was shortly expected in England. "We now find, that a part of his Serene "Highness's suite are *actually arrived*. M. "Teucher, his equerry and M. Damiana, "his *physician*, landed at Harwich on "Thursday, and arrived in town yesterday, "to make the necessary arrangements for "the reception of his Serene Highness, "whose arrival is looked for in the course "of a few days. Some persons suppose "that his visit will be of a political nature, "and that he is coming on a diplomatic mis-"sion from the King of Prussia; but the "more general and rational conjecture is, "that, as his Serene Highness has not for "some time taken any part in the delibera-"tions of the Prussian cabinet, *his visit is* "*connected with the important investigation* "*that has lately taken place with respect to* "*the charges so wickedly preferred against* "*his amiable and interesting offspring*. Upon "this principle, however, we conceive his "journey to be altogether unnecessary. "Justice will certainly be done without any "such interference; but, at the same time, "we are ready to admit, that deeply inte-"rested as the paternal feelings of so *amiable* "a prince must be, nothing can be more "natural than that he should be anxious to "advocate in person the cause of a beloved "daughter, against whose life and honor "so infamous a conspiracy appears to have "been formed."——To this information was added the assertion, that the *proof* of the in-famous calumny would, in a day or two, be communicated to a discerning and generous public; and, it is ten to one but the wise-acres who spend all the day-light of their lives in strutting up and down Bond Street, were gaping for the report in the MORNING POST of the 7th; when, lo! in place of the report; in place of that *convincing proof*, which the public had been so long looking for, out came the following master-piece of folly and of impudence, which I must beg the reader to go through with patience, promising him, that I will take up but little of his time with the comments that I shall make upon it.——

"It is now generally understood, that the "report of the important investigation, to "the result and the particulars of which "the public has for some time so anxiously "looked forward, will *not be given to the* "*world*. We shall be sorry to find such a

" determination acted upon, as it will ena-
" ble the *calumniators*," [still the *calumniators!*] " who have preferred the charge,
" to shelter themselves from public indignation, under the veil of state secrecy.
" The nation, instead of being accurately
" informed of the precise nature of the accusation, by whom it was preferred, by
" what motives it was prompted, by what
" evidence it was supported, what part every
" one concerned took in it; instead of
" being, as it ought to be, accurately informed upon all these points, the nation
" will be left to form its own conjectures
" upon every one of them. *No wonder,*
" *that, if in such a latitude rumours should*
" *exist extremely injurious to some very*
" *exalted characters*, who, it is most material to the satisfaction of the public,
" should stand altogether clear of any *con-*
" *cern in the transactions* that have led to
" the investigation. Conjecture is a thing
" so incapable of restraint, that it will always be more active, in proportion as any
" attempt is made to restrain it; and it is
" ever sure to penetrate into those recesses
" from which particular care is taken to exclude it.——It is now an *undeniable* and
" *ascertained fact*, that the accusation *is un-*
" *founded.* We are censured for having asserted and maintained, that the first inti
" mation of it proceeded from malice and
" calumny, and that the greater part of the
" testimony adduced in support of it, and
" *falsified by the result of the investigation*,
" sprung from the same corrupt and wicked
" sources In the reserve that prevails
" with respect to the report, the calumniators may hold up their heads, malice may
" vaunt itself for patriotism and loyalty, and
" false accusation for truth. We must,
" therefore, restrict ourselves to general
" terms. But that there has been malice,
" that there has been calumny, that there
" have been many other wicked ingredients
" in the patched up charge, which *has been*
" *so fully refuted*, the world may *rest as-*
" *sured.* What is most material to be
" shewn is, that there has been no encouragement, no invitation to the fabricators
" of the charge; that there has been *no su-*
" *bornation.* We are informed, from a
" *very respectable quarter*, that two anonymous letters have been received at different periods by a gallant officer, whose
" name has been much mentioned in the
" universal conversation that has prevailed
" upon this subject. These letters held
" forth immense advantages, in return for,
" and as an inducement to the disclosure of
" any matters tending to criminate the illustrious personage, the purity of whose
" conduct has now been established by the
" strictest investigation. In the indignation which must have fired any manly
" mind upon the perusal of so base a proposition, the first letter was torn to pieces:
" but on reflection the fragments were collected and rejoined: and this letter as well
" as the second is still in existence. The
" second letter followed the first at the interval of some months, and expressed
" surprise that no notice had been taken of
" its precursor; it stated the proposition,
" which it renewed in still stronger terms,
" to *come from high authority*, and that a
" gentleman would call that evening for an
" answer. But no one did call. Anonymous letters are uniformly the issue of
" the basest minds; but in this instance
" they are worthy of mention, *because they*
" PROVE *that some malicious disposition*
" *was early and steadily active in instiga-*
" *ting, and raking up matter of crimination*
" *against the illustrious personage.* Much
" more has come to *our knowledge*, which
" places it *beyond a doubt*, that malice and
" calumny have been the principal agents
" in the crimination; and therefore it is
" that we are so anxious for the publication
" of the proceedings, that the share every
" one has taken may be made known, and
" that they may be judged accordingly;
" that the calumniators, and the *instigators*
" may suffer the detestation and the punishment they so well merit; and that
" those who have acted fairly and honourably may not suffer from being involved
" with the base, in a business, the general
" character of which is such as to excite the
" highest degree of public odium."——
Now, as before, I, for my part, give *no opinion*, upon the truth or the falsehood of the charge, whatever the charge may be. But, I again say, that this advocate, or pretended advocate, of the accused, discovers nothing but weakness and impudence. He told us, day after day, that we should have *proof* of the truth of his assertions. What has he given us as proof? Why, more assertion, only with a little more impudence. *What* " exalted characters" he would wish to cause it to be believed have been the *instigators* of the accusers; *who* has, as he insinuates, been guilty of the base crime of " *subornation*," it were useless to conjecture; for, if his assertions, day after day, are *proved* to be false, who will pay any attention to his insinuations? But, though we have no report though we are not to indulge *the hope of having any*; though we have no *proof* of any kind, we

have a very pretty story about two anonymous letters, professing to come from "*high* "*authority*," instigating the receiver of them to a crimination of the "Illustrious "Personage;" and, this we are to consider as *proof*, that some malicious disposition has, for a long time, been at work to rake up matter of crimination against the "Illus- "trious Personage." But, first stating that I would be understood as by no means giving belief even to the story itself, let me ask the reader how the bare existence of these anonymous letters can be so twisted and tortured as therefrom to spin this conclusion? Any body can produce anonymous letters: anonymous letters can be written and sent by a friend, as well as by an enemy: in fact, they are, and can be, no evidence at all; they can furnish no proof of any sort, or of any degree, unless there exist along with them some circumstance leading to a proof of their *origin*, which, in the present instance, is not pretended to be the case. I like not this story. It appears to me to be evidently intended to mislead and deceive the unreflecting part of the public; and, though I consider it as coming solely from the writer in the MORNING POST, though I consider it as a mere fabrication of his, I must say, that, as far as it reaches, it tends, like the contradictory arguments noticed at the outset of these remarks, to do great injury to the cause which he affects to wish to support.——Whether the report is *finally* to be published, or not, I have not heard, nor can I even form an opinion with respect to it; but, if a publication of some sort do not take place, it will remain for this writer, supposing him to continue his task, to assign an adequate, or, at least, a probable, *motive for the suppression*. He may tell us, that we "may *rest assured*," that it is "an "*undeniable* and *ascertained* fact, that the "accusation is *unfounded*;" he may tell us, that "the charge has been *fully refuted*;" he may tell us, that "much more," besides the story of the anonymous letters, "has "come to *his knowledge*, which places it "*beyond a doubt*, that malice and calumny "have been the principal ingredients in the "crimination;" but, still we shall hanker after *a motive for withholding a publication of the proof*, convinced, as we must be, that there can be no person in the world, endued with common sense, that will regard the bare assertions of a newspaper writer, and particularly of a writer of this description, as at all tending to effect the main object which is here professed to be had in view.——I repeat, that I give no opinion whatever upon the merits of the case. I cannot. I have no evidence before me; and, as to presumptive evidence furnished by the general character and deportment of the Illustrious Personage, said to be accused, I can *know* nothing at all of either. My wish is, that the accusation, whatever it may be, may prove false; but, if it do not prove false, my wish is that *strict justice* may be done, as, in the other case, I wish strict justice to be done upon the false accusers. No man ought to suffer his mind to be warped, in such a case, by any respect of persons, or any veneration for rank. There is but one law in England; that law makes no distinction between the high and the low; and, when we hear men, laying law and justice and reason aside, declaim in a strain of high-flown liberality, we may be assured, that their declamation proceeds from a silly compliance with a fashion which is the effect of enfeebling luxury, or, from partiality bottomed in a slavish or an interested motive ——*Botley, July*, 10.

ARTICLE OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAHS AND ZEMINDARS IN THE DOAB; AND PARTICULARLY IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAH BUGWUNT SING, ZEMINDAR OF SASNEE AND BIDJEGHUR, AND THE RAJAH KAKOOR ADDKEERIN, ZEMINDAR OF CUTCHOURA.

That Richard Colley Marq. Wellesley was constituted, appointed, and actually became a servant of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, in the month of Oct. in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the reign of His Maj. the 37th. That the Office which he was appointed to fill was that of Governor General of Bengal, and subsequently that of Captain General of all the King's and Company's Forces serving in the British Territories in the East Indies. That he arrived, and took possession of the Government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of the said Office and Offices until the month of Aug. 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles Marq. Cornwallis.—That in the Countries which the said Marq. Wellesley had unlawfully, perfidiously, and tyrannically extorted from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, dwelt several tributary Chieftains called Rajahs, greatly respected by the Sovereigns, and highly revered by the People of Hindostan, being descended from the ancient Hindu Rajahs or Princes, who had resided in that country before the Mussulman conquest, having

from time immemorial possessed strong forst and populous towns independent of Government, and maintained, with undiminished influence and power, numerous vassals and adherents, whose personal bravery and attachment to their Lord were unimpaired, and, though owing allegiance to the Nabob Vizier of Oude, possessing princely rights, and honours, and estates, which had descended to them unquestioned through a long time of venerable ancestry, and which their Sovereign could neither alienate nor destroy. —That, on taking possession of the Countries which he had so iniquitously extorted from the said Nabob Vizier, the said Marq. Wellesley did determine upon the humiliation of the said Rajahs, the ruin of their families, the destruction of their forts, and the seizure of their towns; a measure unjust and unwise in itself, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the Country, a measure which, even in the proudest days of Mussulman despotism, had never been attempted.—That, for a series of years, it had been the custom of the Country for the said Rajahs, in the quality of Zemindars, to rent of the Nabob Vizier himself, or of his great Aumils, the lands surrounding their hereditary estates, which were again let by them to the Ryots or husbandmen, by whom they were cultivated: the rent required of the cultivator being always, according to the liberality or avarice of the Zemindar, proportionate to that at which the lands were held of the Aumil, or of the Nabob Viziers.—That, in furtherance of his determination respecting the said Rajahs, the said Marq. Wellesley, he having also determined, contrary to every principle of equity and humanity which should have actuated a British Governor, to impose new and heavy burthens upon the already overburthened People of the said extorted Countries, did, by the means of his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, whom he had illegally appointed Lieut. Gov. of the said Countries, and other unlawful agents, require of the said Rajahs and Zemindars an enormous increase of the rents which they had theretofore paid: an exaction calculated to produce great discontent among the said Rajahs and Zemindars, and, by the oppression which it would infallibly drive them to exercise towards the Husbandmen, to reduce those useful and unfortunate men to the extreme of poverty, wretchedness, and want. —That, taking advantage of the reluctance which the said Rajahs and Zemindars naturally felt to accede to the said oppressive and tyrannical requisitions, and making their reluctance a pretext for the execution of his long meditated views respecting the said Rajahs and Zemindars, the said Marq. Wellesley did declare all those who did not submit to the said requisitions to be in a state of disaffection or rebellion to the Govt.; a Govt. which was notoriously an usurpation, and to which the said Rajahs and Zemindars had never acknowledged any allegiance, and to which they owed no obedience.—That, true to the character of an Usurper and a Despot, disdaining to conciliate acquiescence where he had the power to compel submission, the said Marq. Wellesley did, to the disgrace of the British Arms, call in British Troops to enforce his said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands upon the said Rajahs and Zemindars.—That the greater part of the said Rajahs and Zemindars, some intimidated by threats, and others overawed by the presence of the military, some yielding to numerous bodies of troops which surrounded their fields and prepared to assail their mansions, and others actually attacked, conquered, and subdued, some conscious of the hopelessness of resistance, and some terrified by the awful example of others, were finally compelled to submit, in the most humiliating and abject manner, to all the said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands of the said Marq. Wellesley.—That those of the said Rajahs and Zemindars who had the hardihood to resist the oppression of the said Marq. Wellesley were treated as rebels and enemies, expelled from their homes and driven from their Country, their towns being plundered or burnt, their fortresses demolished or held by their enemies, and their estates confiscated for the use of their conquerors.—That thus, in violation of all law and justice and humanity, and to the disgrace of the British Name in India, were the said Rajahs and Zemindars, the descendants of the most ancient, the most princely, and the most venerable families in Hindostan, degraded, oppressed, ruined, or destroyed by the said Marq. Wellesley and his illegal agents.—That, among those of the said Rajahs and Zemindars who had the misfortune to incur the displeasure and the vengeance of the said Marq. Wellesley was the Rajah Bugwunt Sing, Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, a Hindu Prince residing in the extremity of the Doab, on the North-western frontier of Oude, the head of a powerful tribe, surrounded by a numerous and warlike body of vassals and adherents, whom the personal bravery and private worth of their Chief had strongly attached to his fortunes, beloved by the whole Country, on account of the equity and the liberality of his character, possessing an extensive district, several considerable towns,

and two strong forts, from which he took his title, and able to bring twenty thousand men to the field.—That the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing had for a long time farmed the jumma (or land revenue) and the sayer (or duties) of the surrounding districts, under Almas Ali Khan, one of the great Aumils of the Nabob Vizier, for regular terms of three years, conformably with the practice which prevailed throughout that part of the said Nabob Vizier's territories.—That the said Marq. Wellesley, in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination respecting the said Rajahs and Zemindars, and in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination to increase the burthens of the People of the said extorted Countries, did, by means of his before-mentioned unlawful agents, require of the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing an enormous increase of the rents which he had before paid, did positively insist upon the separation of the jumma and the sayer, and did declare that he would grant no engagement to the said Rajah, either for the jumma or the sayer, for more than one year.—That the said Rajah, Bugwunt Sing, naturally averse to a measure so injurious to his own interests, did, in the most respectful and conciliating manner, state his objections to the two last-mentioned conditions of the said proposals.—That the Collector of the district, who was employed as the agent of communication between Rajah Bugwunt Sing and the before-mentioned Hon. Henry Wellesley, whom his brother, the said Marq. Wellesley, had illegally appointed Lieut. Gov. of the said extorted Countries, did at the same time write to the said Hon. Hen. Wellesley, telling him, that, "after the difficulty he had "experienced in endeavouring to carry his "orders into execution (generally), that he "did not expect to be able to induce the "Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur to engage for the sayer separately for one year, "without having recourse to very serious "measures against him; but that he hoped "that he would be induced to engage for "it, were the period extended to three "years."—That the said Hon. Henry Wellesley, without making any attempt to gain the acquiescence of the said Rajah, either by negociation, conciliation, or persuasion, without attending to the suggestions of the said Collector for effecting an amicable settlement, and without any further correspondence or communication with the said Rajah or the said Collector, did immediately request the Commander in Chief of the army, who was then stationed in the said extorted Countries, to send, without any delay, a sufficient force to punish the "contumacy" of the said Rajah.—That the said Commander in Chief did accordingly dispatch a large body of Troops under the command of a Lieut. Col., which, on the 12th of Dec. 1802, took a position before the Fort of Sasnee, where the said Rajah then was, and made formidable preparations for attacking and reducing it; and thus commenced an unjust and cruel War against the said Rajah.—That the attack was continued with various success until the 7th of Jan. 1803, when a detachment of the assailants, after setting fire to the Town, and thus wantonly extending their vengeance to the quiet and harmless Villagers, fell upon a party of the said Rajah's troops, and slew great numbers of them; and thus began the lawless and barbarous slaughter of the said Rajah's brave and faithful adherents.—That the warfare was thus carried on until the 15th of Jan. when an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the Fort by assault; and this failure having been attended with some loss, and having brought great discredit on the British Arms, the Commander in Chief, on the 31st of Jan. appeared in person before Sasnee, at the head of a powerful reinforcement.—That more vigorous preparations were accordingly made, the most effectual means taken to prevent the escape of the said Rajah, and the admission of succours; and, on the 8th of Feb. another attack was made upon the Town, and another dreadful slaughter of the said Rajah's brave and faithful followers ensued.—That, on the night of the 12th of Feb., the said Rajah, discouraged by the loss of so many of his Troops, alarmed by the magnitude and the extent of the preparations which were making for his destruction, unable to oppose any further effectual resistance without exposing himself and his People to the risk of being wholly destroyed, and justly averse to falling into the hands of his avaricious, rapacious, tyrannical, and blood-thirsty enemies, taking advantage of the uncommon darkness of the night, and followed by many of his adherents, fled from the Fort of Sasnee, and, thus banished from the Country of his forefathers, took refuge in the Country of the Mahrattas. That others of his adherents, have attempted to take shelter in his Fort of Bidjeghur, were, to a man, most barbarously cut to pieces by the British Troops who surrounded it.—That, on the 13th of Feb., the said Commander in Chief, not satisfied with the devastation and carnage which had already been made, posted the Army under his command before Bidjeghur, stationed them in such a manner as to prevent the garrison

from escaping and from receiving any succours, and, after having summoned the Killedar, Rajah Ram Chobbie, to deliver up the Fort, upon the promise of sparing the lives of the garrison, and after having refused to grant the said Killedar a few days to obtain the consent of his Master the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing, made preparations for storming the Fort.—That, on the night of the 27th of Feb., the said Killedar, incapable of holding out against the attacks of the assailants, and unwilling to give up those who had been entrusted to his care to the merciless enemies of his Chief, availing himself of the uncommon darkness of the night, and of a heavy rain, led the garrison out of the Fort, and, after being attacked, and having many of his followers killed, and great numbers taken prisoners, with much difficulty succeeded in making his escape with the rest.—That the expulsion of the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing and his adherents being accomplished, his Forts were taken possession of by those who had accomplished it, and all his estates and property of every kind were confiscated for the use of the aforesaid usurped Govt —That thus was the said Rajah Bugwunt Sing, Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, a Hindu Prince of great worth and courage, the descendant of one of the oldest and most respected families in Hindostan, solely from an unwillingness to consent to the oppressive and unjust demands of those who had extorted the Territories, and usurped the Government of his Sovereign, treated as a rebel and an outlaw, attacked in his own mansions by a powerful military force, driven in exile, as a criminal and fugitive, from the countries where his forefathers had from time immemorial lived in greatness rand splendour, his brave and faithful adh ents driven from their families and their ho.nes, dispersed among strangers and enemies, or most wantonly and most barbarously slaughtered, his towns laid waste, his orts seized, and all his possessions for e er wrested from him, and confiscated fo the benefit of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and relentless destroyers.—That another of the unfortunate victims to the rapacity, the cruelty, and the tyranny of the said Marq. Wellesley, and his unlawful agents, was the Rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, Zemindar of Cutchoura, a Hindu Prince of venerable ancestry, of great bravery, of large possessions, the Chief of a powerful and numerous body of vassals and adherents, and, for many years, a renter of very considerable districts in the Doab, under Almas Ali Khan, the great Aumil of the Nabob Vizier of Oude.—That, conformably with the before-mentioned determination which the said Marq. Wellesley had long formed, respecting the humiliation of the Rajahs and Zemindars, and in pursuance of the before-mentioned determination which he had also formed of imposing new burthens upon the People of the extorted Countries, an enormous increase of rent was imposed upon the said Rajah, and very degrading concessions were exacted from him; which after some respectful hesitation on his part, and some imperious menace on the part of the agents of the said Marq., were agreed to: the said Rajah, intimidated by these threats, "having consented to acquiesce in any terms "which might be proposed."—That an arrangement was accordingly made, and a settlement agreed to; and the said Rajah was about to give up his guns and ammunition, and evacuate his fort of Cutchoura, conformably to the humiliating and oppressive terms which he had been compelled to accept, when some misunderstanding taking place in consequence of the insolence and indignity which were offered to the said Rajah, by the person who came to enforce the fulfilment of the said stipulations, and in consequence of a gross outrage committed on some of the said Rajah's people by some of the Company's Troopers the Soldiers of the said Rajah, justly indignant at such conduct, were unwilling to give up the fort under such disgrace, and prepared to resist.—That the Commander in Chief, with the Army under his command, fresh from the slaughter of the hundreds who had fallen by their hands at Sasnee and Bidjeghur, immediately took up a position before Cutchoura, a strong and well-garrisoned fort, where the said Rajah and all his Family were, and made preparations for an assault.—That the said Rajah, anxious to soften the displeasure and avert the enmity of his assailants, and solicitous to prove his adherence to his agreements, and his submission to their will, on the 7th of March wrote the following respectful letter to the said Commander in Chief: "In consequence of a message re- "ceived from Mr. Russell, I waited upon "him at Mecitchy, and accompanied him "from thence to Akbooly, and accepted "the terms of settlement which were pro- "posed to me for the districts of Dihooliser "and Cutchoura, and obtained leave to pro- "ceed to Cutchoura, for the purpose of "sending out the guns and ammunition. I "admitted the Company of Sepoys, which "came along with me into the fort, intend- "ing early in the morning to go to Mr. "Russell with all the guns, &c. Mr. Rus- "sell came to the fort very early in the

" morning, and, in terms of anger and re-
" proach, ordered me to evacuate and deli-
" ver up the fort, desiring me to go imme-
" diately, and take my People with me, and
" treated me with great disrespect. Per-
" ceiving this, my Soldiers conceived it im-
" proper to quit the fort under such circum-
" stances of disgrace, and prepared to resist.
" Just then the Sepoys went away. Soon
" afterwards the Dewan Sooka Loll and the
" Malavi arrived from Aksoolv, and having
" restored peace to my mind, they departed.
" A short time had elapsed, when four or
" five Troopers galloped after two or three
" of my People, whom they wounded with
" their swords, and thus began hostilities.
" My People seeing no alternative, fired two
" or three matchlocks. My evil destiny has
" created this misunderstanding. I never
" meant to wage war, nor do I now. You
" are Master and Ruler of the Country; if,
" out of your great bounty, you will cast a
" favourable eye on me, and allow me to re-
" side in this place, it will be an act of great
" mercy and kindness. I am ready to pay
" the stipulated revenue, to be perfectly
" obedient, and never to shelter myself be-
" hind any excuse; and whatever you shall
" order respecting me shall be fulfilled."—
That to this letter, explaining so minutely and so faithfully the causes of the misunderstanding that had taken place, and testifying so fully the great regret which that circumstance had produced, expressing in such mild and submissive terms, the willingness of the said Rajah to do whatever might be required of him by those whose displeasure he so sincerely deprecated, and whose favour he so earnestly courted, and, from its unaffected and ingenious simplicity, so well calculated to excite, not merely the clemency, but the compassion, and the good will of the humane, the generous, and the just, the said Commander in Chief, on the same day, returned the following harsh, severe, and haughty answer: " After having so wantonly broke your faith in refusing to evacuate and deliver up the fort of Cutchoura, agreeably to the terms of your agreement with Mr. Russell, and treated the troops who went with you to receive possession of the place with harshness and contempt, turning them out of the fort, and thereby proclaiming war, the only terms which can now be granted are, that you shall deliver up the Fort, the Garrison, your Children, and yourself, to the Commander in Chief, to be disposed of as he shall judge proper. No promise of future favour to you or your People is to be understood to be granted. If these terms are accepted, they must be fulfilled by sun rise to-morrow morning, and the Garrison are to leave their arms in the fort, and march out unarmed." That these terms so degrading, so insulting, and so barbarous, so unworthy of a British General to demand and of a Hindu Prince to receive, not being complied with, the said Commander in Chief, on the following day, proceeded to attack the Rajah's fort.—That the said Rajah, having withstood these attacks for several days, and being at last convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, awed by the terrible example of the Rajah Bugwunt Sing, seeing no safety but in flight, justly averse to the ignominious surrender of himself, his Children, and his People to his cruel, rapacious, and implacable enemies, and driven to despair by the unrelenting severity of his assailants, did, on the night of the 12th of March, with his whole Family and several thousands of his faithful followers (as is thus described in a letter from the said Commander in Chief to the said Marq. Wellesley) " rush out of the fort, with an intention of forcing their way through a chain of posts by which they were surrounded, when they were immediately attacked by the advanced parties, and pursued for four miles with great slaughter: Hunserage Sing, the second Son of the Rajah, the Rajah's Dewan, and four of his principal Commanders, being among the killed; and the number of private men who fell being very great."—That the Family and followers of the said Rajah being thus inhumanly masacred, and himself driven from his Home and his Country with the rest, his forts were taken possession of by the Conquerors, and all his estates and property of every kind confiscated.—That thus was the said Rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, Zemindar of Cutchoura, a descendant of the ancient Princes of Hindostan, after being insulted with the most humiliating and barbarous proposals, attacked by a powerful army in his own fortress, driven from the Country where his ancestors had for many generations lived in princely grandeur, to wander as an outcast among strangers, his Son, his Dewan, his Commanders, and great numbers of his vassals most wantonly and most inhumanly massacred, and the rest dispersed or taken captive, his villages laid waste, his fields ravaged, his forts seized, and all his possessions for ever wrested from him, and confiscated for the use of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and his relentless destroyers.

To be Continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"From the present ministers, we have not, I trust, to fear so unjust, so oppressive, so odious a measure as "that of loading us with the debts of the East India Company. Yet, what are they to do? Are the East "India fund holders to go unpaid? These are questions that every man should put to himself, and to which "he should, without delay, make up his mind to give an answer. The affairs of India *must* now have attention bestowed on them. MR. FRANCIS has, over and over again, told the House of Commons that "the time would come, when these affairs would make men attend to them, though against their will. "That time is now fast approaching. The call for money out of our taxes, out of our incomes, out of our "land and our goods and our labour, is at hand; and, will the parliament grant that money? Will the "People's representatives tax them to pay the *debts* of these *opulent* traders?"——POLITICAL REGISTER, 8th February, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PENSIONS TO THE ROYAL FAMILY. (Continued from p. 33).——At the page here referred to, and those immediately following it, will be found some remarks upon the measure, now before parliament, for making, out of the taxes annually raised, an addition to the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family. Since those remarks were written, several members of the House of Commons, of whom particular mention will be, by-and-by, made, have had the virtue to stand forward in opposition to these enormous grants.——But, before we proceed to relate what has, since the article above referred to was written, been done with respect to the final adoption of the measure, it is necessary that we take a more correct view of all the past transactions relating to a provision for these younger branches of the Royal Family.——The *Message*, as given in p. 33, was taken from the report thereof inserted in the newspapers; and, though it was substantially correct, except as to the date of the year when the first act was passed for granting pensions to the younger branches of the Royal Family, which year should have been 1778, instead of 1788, yet, it will be better here to insert the Message entire, as it now stands in the votes of the House of Commons.——"GEORGE "R.—His Majesty having, by his Message "of the 8th day of April, 1778, recommended to his faithful Commons to make "competent provision for the honourable "support and maintenance of the younger "branches of the Royal Family, and in consequence thereof, an Act having passed, "charging certain annuities, for such purpose, upon the Aggregate Fund of Great "Britain; but no provision having afterwards been made in the Act, by which "the several revenues composing the said "Aggregate Fund were transferred to the "Consolidated Fund of G. Britain, for securing the said annuities, by reason "whereof the provision so recommended "by his Maj. and carried into effect by Act "of Parliament, has failed and become ineffectual; his Maj. recommends to the "House of Commons to consider of such "measures as may be necessary for securing "the said annuities upon the Consolidated "Fund, and his Maj. cannot forbear taking "this occasion to express his desire, that his "faithful Commons will take into consideration the propriety of such increase of "the said allowances, as the change of circumstances that has since taken place "shall appear to have rendered just and "reasonable, and that they will make such "further provision, in consequence thereof, "as the nature of the case shall be found to "require."——The only points of difference between the Message itself and the report of it, as before given, are, first, the date of the year, and, second, that in the Message itself nothing is said about the *decreased value of money*. But, as to the first, it will hereafter appear, that, when the pensions, now enjoyed by the Royal Dukes, were settled, it was upon the ground of their having *separate establishments*; and, as to the second, though the depreciation of money is not expressly mentioned in the Message, it is obviously alluded to when His Majesty speaks of *a change of circumstances;* and it has been expressly mentioned by the ministers who advised, and who have brought forward the measure. All the reasoning, therefore, made use of in my former remarks, is as applicable to the case now as it was before I knew what were the exact words of the Message. But, having, in the course of the week, been led to inquire more fully into the nature and amount of the several grants to, and provisions for, the Royal Family, and the weight of expense, which the nation has to support on account thereof, I am in hopes that I shall now be able to make a statement of the whole of the case somewhat more full and clear than any that has yet fallen under my observation.——This statement I shall divide into two parts:

1st As far as relates to the object of the present Message, as connected with the act of 1778; and 2d, Showing, as I think, that, if any addition to the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family had been wanting, they might have been made by his Majesty and his Royal Consort.——With regard to the First part of this statement, it is necessary to observe, that there was a mistake (a mistake evidently arising from the unintelligible language of the Message itself) in supposing, that, by virtue of the act of 1778, the Royal Dukes have received the pensions which are now to be augmented. That act, which was passed in consequence of a Message from the King, dated on the 8th of April in that year, did, indeed, provide for the settling of pensions upon the younger branches of the Royal Family; but, it was a settlement to go into effect *not then*, and only *after the demise* of his Majesty, as will appear from the title and description of the act itself:—— "An Act for enabling his "Majesty to settle on their Royal Highnesses the Prince Frederick Bishop of "Osnaburgh, William Henry, Edward "Ernest, Augustus Frederick, and Adolphus Frederick, an annuity of 60,000l. "per annum; and also to settle on their "Royal Highnesses the Princesses Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Augusta Sophia, "Elizabeth Mary, and Sophia, one other "annuity of 30,000l. per annum; and also "to settle on H. R. H. Prince William "Frederick one other annuity of 8000l. "per annum; and on her Highness the "Princess Sophia Matilda one other annuity of 4000l. per annum."——Agreeably with this title, his Majesty is, by the act, "empowered to settle on his six younger sons an annuity of 60,000l. per annum, *to commence from the demise* of his "Majesty; and to be charged upon any hereditary duties which, by 1 Geo. 3. Cap. 1. were made part of the Aggregate "Fund, &c. No one of the Princes to "have a greater annuity than 15,000l. a "year. To settle on the five Princesses, "his daughters, an annuity of 30,000l. per "annum, *to commence from the demise* of "his Majesty; and to be charged on the "duties above mentioned. Regulations for "dividing the said annuity upon the marriage or death of any of the Princesses. "His Majesty empowered to settle an annuity of 8000l. per annum on Prince "William Frederick, to *commence from the decease* of the Duke of Gloucester; and "to be charged on the Aggregate Fund, "and the hereditary duties, &c. before "mentioned. His Majesty empowered to "settle an annuity of 4000l. per annum, "on the Princess Sophia Matilda, *to commence from the decease* of the Duke of "Gloucester; and to be charged on the "Aggregate Fund, &c. as the last mentioned annuity. Annuities to be tax-free."—Thus, it appears, that all these annuities were provided for in case his Majesty should die, while his younger sons and daughters were in their childhood; or, at least, before they should arrive at the age, or the circumstances, when parliament should provide for a separate establishment for each or any of them. This is still the case with regard to the maiden Princesses; but, assuredly, not so with regard to the Royal Dukes, every one of whom has had a separate establishment, provided for by parliament, and enjoyed by the Royal Duke *previous to the demise* of his Majesty; nor has there ever been any *retrenchment* in the charges of the *Civil List* on account of this part of the Royal Family having been separately provided for!—The present Message, and the act to be passed in consequence of it, became necessary on account of the *demise of the Duke of Gloucester*, the fund, whence the pensions of the young Duke and his Royal sister were to be paid, being now no longer in existence; or rather (for that is all) the *name* of the channel of payment having been changed, since the act of 1778 was passed. But, to read the Message, who would not imagine, that it was necessary to pass a new act in order that any one of the Royal Dukes might be enabled to draw his pension *now?* And, who would not imagine, besides, that no act, granting pensions, or allowances, to the Royal Dukes, or any of them, had been passed since 1778? Who, in short, upon reading the Message, having first read the act of 1778, would not imagine, that all the Children of his Majesty, the Heir Apparent and Princess Royal excepted, were still living with, or, at least, maintained by his Majesty out of the sum to him annually granted under the name of *Civil List?* Yet, that this is *not* the case is well known to every one at all acquainted with that mass of confused, that mass of studiously puzzling statements, commonly called the Financial Accounts of this country. The fact is, that the act of 1778 has lain dormant, because there has been *no demise* to call it into operation; but, other acts have been passed, whereby allowances have been granted to the Royal Dukes; and, accordingly, those Royal Dukes now do, and long have, received annual allowances as follow:

Duke of York	£14,000	
Duchess of York	4,000	——18,000

Duke of Clarence - -	12,000
Duke of Kent - - -	12,000
Duke of Cumberland - -	12,000
Duke of Sussex - -	12,000
Duke of Cambridge - -	12,000

To these pensions is now proposed to be added one-third, except in the case of the Duke of York, who, as Lord Henry Petty remarked, has *most liberally* declined coming forward on this occasion. Upon the propriety of this remark the reader was enabled to judge by the statement in pages 39 and 40, to which I beg leave to refer; and, in the same article, it was, I think, clearly shown, that the addition, now proposed to be made to the pensions of the Royal Dukes, is unnecessary, and that it is unwise in the highest degree.——I now propose to show, that, if any such addition had been necessary, it might have been made by his Majesty and his Royal Consort, without any new burthen upon the people.——I before adverted to the circumstance of his Majesty possessing *property in the public funds* (see page 42); and, in the following page, I spoke of the sums, which, notwithstanding the existence of this property, had, in the years 1802 and 1804, been voted by parliament for the purpose of clearing off the *arrears* of the *Civil List*; that is to say, the deficiency in the appropriations for defraying the expenses of the Royal household and of the privy purse of his Majesty and the Queen. But, in order to establish the position before me, to wit, that if any addition to the incomes of the younger branches of the Royal Family had been necessary, it might have been made by his Majesty and his Royal Consort; in order to establish this position, I must beseech the reader's patience, while I enter somewhat in detail into an inquiry of *what* the Civil List *is*.——This head of immense public charge has, like many other things retained its *name* after having almost entirely changed its nature. It was formerly called the CIVIL LIST, because it contained a List of *all* the annual national expenses, except the expenses appertaining to the Army and the Navy, the whole of the national expenditure being divided into two parts, *Civil* and *Military*. But *now* the case is far indeed otherwise. There are twenty, or fifty, as far as I know, modes and channels of paying for Civil Services; and the Civil List, though it is, as we shall see, a jumble of statements and accounts, is, principally, an account of what is annually paid to, or for the use of, their Majesty's and their household.——The total annual charge for the Civil List was, previous to the year 1804, when Pitt came back again to power, 898,000*l.* in words, *eight hundred and ninety eight thousand pounds*. A good round sum! But, we have been frequently told, with great truth, that *all* this money is not expended upon the Royal Family; but, that a considerable part of it goes to the payment of *pensions* and to that of other services unconnected with the support of their Majesties and their children. This is so, and, were it not so, the sum would be enormous indeed, especially when we consider, the immense domains of which the King and Queen and Royal Family have the possession and the enjoyment; when we consider, that they inherit all that the human mind can conceive of useful and agreeable, in the way of residence in town and country; when we consider that they possess Palaces and other buildings of all sorts in such abundance; that they possess Parks and Gardens and Farms and Manors beyond, one would suppose, the compass of human wishes; and that all these they possess and enjoy without tax or duty or service or incumbrance of any kind whatsoever.——In 1804, just at the close of a session of parliament, Pitt, whom Lord Grenville still takes every opportunity of representing as the *Saviour of England*, procured a vote, by which a positive addition of 60,000*l.* a year was made to the Civil List. But, at present, we will confine our explanation of the Civil List to the year 1803, and speak, by-and-by, of this addition, as also of the sums which have been voted for the payment of arrears during the administration of Mr. Addington and the last administration of Mr. Pitt.——The total sum appropriated by parliament for the Civil List expenses of 1803 (that is to say, for the year *ending with 5th of January*, 1804, according to the *clear* mode of keeping and stating the public accounts), was, as was before stated, 898,000*l.* but, from a report laid before the House of Commons in 1804, it appears that the actual expenditure (leaving a debt to be cleared off by parliament) was, 1,148,851*l.* 2*s.* 1¼, which sum it is quite impossible to transcribe thus, without being struck with admiration at the minute accuracy of the right trusty and well-beloved persons, who have the handling of all this money. It really gives one an astonishing idea of their capacity as well as of their exactness! Now, as to the *distribution* of this sum, we must take the several *Classes*, as they are called in the Report, though such a *classification* was, surely, never before heard of in the whole world.

FIRST CLASS.—The pensions and allowances to the Royal Family - - *L.* 262,500 0 0

SECOND CLASS.——Salaries to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Speaker of the House of Commons, and two Judges - 32,955 0 0

But, observe, that this is only *a part* of the Salaries of these officers. *Their* part is charged in one account and part in another account I must leave the reader to guess, if he can.

THIRD CLASS.——Salaries to Ministers at Foreign Courts, *being resident* at the said Courts - - 106,930 6 8¼

Observe, that we are speaking of the year which ended on the 5th day of January, 1803, and I beg leave to state, that, amongst the foreign courts, at which we had, *it seems*, ministers *resident* in that year, were *Turin* and *Florence*.

FOURTH CLASS.——Approved bills of all Tradesmen, Artificers, and Labourers, for any articles supplied, or work done for his Majesty's service - - - 226,710 8 5¼

FIFTH CLASS.—— The Menial Servants of His Majesty's Household - - - - - - 97,539 4 11

SIXTH CLASS.——Pensions - - 113,096 7 4

Of this sum 19 000l was paid to late ministers at foreign courts. The rest to former servants of the Royal Family, and others that one can hardly describe. But, let it not be supposed, that this is the *only* charge for pensioners. There are several other distinct classes of pensioners, besides the sinecure placemen.

SEVENTH CLASS.——This class has *no title*, and, indeed, it would puzzle any one to give it a title. It consists chiefly of a list of offices and of the salaries severally attached to them, from *one* pound a year to *four thousand* pounds a year. It contains offices of all sorts and all sizes from the *Clerk of the Pipe*, to the *Lord President*; from the King's *Rat Killer*, to the *Attorney General*. Never was there such an assemblage seen before. The total amount of this "*Class*," if a class it must be, is 62,529 6 1

EIGHTH CLASS.—The salaries and pensions of the High Treasurer, or Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer - - - - - 13,522 0 0

Why this was not classed along with the Salaries of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Keeper, &c. in the Second Class; or with the Salary of the Lord President, in the Seventh, would it not put a wizard to his wits' end to tell?

NINTH CLASS.——Occasional Payments - - - - - 202,762 9 7¼

These payments are for all sorts of services and all sorts of things. Such a jumble my eyes never before beheld.

Total *L.* 1,148,851 2 1¼

Such is that celebrated concern, called the CIVIL LIST, out of which we must, in order to come at the object in view, pick the sums which appear to be applied solely to purposes connected with the maintenance of the Royal family. The whole of the sum charged under the FIRST CLASS is of that description - - - - - *L.* 202,500 0 0

FOURTH CLASS, the whole	-	226,710	8 5¼
FIFTH CLASS, the whole	-	97,539	4 11
SIXTH CLASS, about one third	-	37,000	0 0
SEVENTH CLASS, about one third	-	20,000	0 0
NINTH CLASS, about one third	-	96,000	0 0
	L.	679,749	13 4¼

But, from this must be deducted the following sums paid to branches of the Royal Family under the head of FIRST CLASS:

To the Prince of Wales	*L.* 60,000	
—— Duke of York	12,000	
—— Duchess of Cumberland	4,000	
—— Duke of Clarence	2,500	
—— Princess Charlotte of Wales	6,000	
—— Duke of Cambridge	4,000	
	88,000	0 0

N.B. These sums were *exclusive* of the before stated pensions, which are annually paid to the Royal Dukes, and which are now about to be augmented!

L. 591,749 13 4¼

This, then, is the sum, which in the year 1803 (to say nothing about *salaries* and *arrears*, nothing about Palaces and Lands and exemptions from taxes) was paid by the nation for the support of the King, the Queen, and the maiden Princesses.

Another view of the subject will bring me at once to the point that I aim at.—— The charges in the FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH, SEVENTH and NINTH Classes, include *every* expense, of whatever nature, made in support of His Majesty, the Queen, and those of their children who remain with their Majesties. Palaces, all sorts of dwelling places, carriages, horses, servants, attendants of every description, all things for pleasure as well as for other more important purposes, are provided under the heads of these Classes, and, there remains (besides the income from *farms* or *other lands* and possessions) 60,000l. a year for "His Majesty's *Privy Purse*;" and 58,000l. a year (it is more now) for "Her Majesty, *the*

"*Queen.*" These sums are, according to the account itself, over and above all and every item of expenditure; over and above all and every *want* that any one has supposed their Majesties to have or to have had. Bounties, Gratuities, Grants, even *Charities*; all, all and every thing, is brought to account, and, there are, then, these two large sums, which have remained, year after year, and year upon year, in the possession of their Majesties, to be disposed of in any manner that to them might seem meet. I willingly pass over *shares of prizes*, and other sources of income. I rest solely upon the fact of these two sums having, for many, many years past, fallen annually into the privy purse of their Majesties, where, of course, it may be supposed, that they have accumulated in a degree proportioned to the magnitude of their original principal and to the length of the time during which the accumulation may have been going on. But, for argument's sake, suppose that their Majesties have *saved* none of this money; suppose that, notwithstanding the exemption provided for by law of *His Majesty's property in the public funds*; notwithstanding this, let us suppose, that their Majesties have made *no saving*; still I am of opinion, that, out of the 118,000*l.* a year, allowed for their *privy purse*, the addition, now about to be made to the incomes of the younger branches of the Royal Family, might have been made, if such addition had been necessary; and that, at any rate, I am of opinion, that no addition to the burthens of the people, on account of the Royal Family, ought to have been made, until this heavy privy purse had been largely drawn from.——Am I told, that, upon my scheme of Royal support, there would be no room for their Majesties *saving* a shilling? My answer is, that I never could, and cannot now, see any necessity for such saving. Indeed, I can see no *use* in it. I cannot, for my life, perceive any purpose that it is calculated to answer. What can a king of England do with savings? The supporting of his dignity is a necessary consequence of the existince of the constitution; and, if the constitution were to cease to exist, where would be the security for his savings? And, as to her Majesty, the Queen, 100,000*l.* a year is, by law, settled upon her Majesty for life, in case of his Majesty's previous demise; besides which Buckingham House, Richmond Old Park, and several other valuable settlements and provisions are made for her Majesty.—— With all these facts and circumstances before me, I must lament that, at a time like the present, any addition to the burthens of the people should be made for the purpose of augmenting the income of *any* branch of the Royal Family; and, if it be finally resolved on to augment the incomes of the younger branches, or any of them, I must lament, if his Majesty be not advised to make the augmentation out of those ample means, which, from his privy purse alone, he appears to me to possess. I grudge nothing to the Royal Family that is necessary to the support of their dignity. No part of my taxes do I more cheerfully pay than that part which for this purpose is wanted; because I know, that, if the dignity and splendour of the throne be not supported, the government itself much soon perish, and because I am convinced, that when duly exercised, this government is the best in the world. But, because I am most anxious to see all that is necessary granted, it does not follow that no grant whatever, let the circumstances of the times be what they may, ought to be disapproved of by me. I think the allowances to the Royal Family already too large; the more I have inquired into the subject the firmer has my conviction became, that it is much larger then is consistent with the good of the country; and, as I am persuaded that this conviction is very generally entertained, I cannot but hope, that the efforts, which some few members of the House of Commons have been making, and which shall be more particularly noticed in my next, will, at last, be crowned with success.

INDIA BUDGET.——On Thursday the 10th instant, the India Budget was brought forward in the House of Commons. The conduct of ministers in deferring the annual review of the Finances of India to so late a period in the session as the 10th day of July, is not to be justified on any principle, nor can it be accounted for on any other supposition, but that they wished to defer the discussion of India Affairs, until nobody should be left to take part in the business, or even to listen to it. This delay, if it was not unavoidable, seems the more blameable, considering that *no* India Budget was produced last year by Lord Castlereagh, under a pretence that the necessary accounts, which the presidencies abroad are enjoined by Act of Parliament to send home annually, had not been received. This omission, if true, would constitute a criminal charge against those presidencies for disobedience of the law; especially, if the motive should appear to be to conceal, as long as they could, from the knowledge of the Directors of the East-India Company and of Parliament, the

ruinous state to which the Finances of India are reduced. Whether this was the case or not, or whether Lord Castlereagh was ashamed or afraid to produce the accounts in his possession, the fact is, that there was no India Budget for 1805, and that the Budget for 1806 has been delayed until a period when twenty members could not be found or persuaded to attend it. Towards the latter part of the debate, there was not more than half that number in the House. I believe I shall make it appear that the subject deserves more attention both from parliament and the public, than has hitherto been paid to it. Now, at last, however, a state of the India Company's Affairs, much nearer the truth than any that has ever yet been produced, was exhibited by Lord Morpeth. The official documents, from which he spoke, are furnished by the Court of Directors, and have been some time in print for the use of the members very few of whom, I fear, have ever looked into them. Lord Morpeth entered fairly enough into all the details, and this he did with an accuracy which shewed that he had made himself master of the subject, and that he was not disposed to follow the example of his predecessors, by concealing the facts, or misrepresenting the case. Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Francis contracted those details into some specific results, from which they drew such general conclusions, as, I believe will at last startle this country, if any thing can, for its own safety; when the country comes to know, as I am resolved it shall do now, the true state of the demands which are coming upon them for the support of this monopoly, and which never can be satisfied at all, but either by a direct supply from parliament, or by funding the India Company's debts, and adding the amount to the public debt of this kingdom. Before any act of that nature shall be attempted, it is fit that the people should know, what they are utterly ignorant of at present,—that is, the real amount of the demands, which they will have to provide for. To arrive at this knowledge, nothing more is necessary, than to examine the truth of the following allegations. I take them from the printed accounts, signed by the proper officers, which are now open before me. The statement will be very short, and as clear as I can make it.—By the account of debts in India, (printed in page 80) it appears that they amounted to £26,040,433, on the 30th of April, 1805, and, in the course of the debate, it was admitted on all hands that they could not be less than 31 millions at the present date, viz. July, 1806.——Of this debt, it appears (p. 91.) that £17,567,102, is payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities. The question then will be, by what means the Directors of the India Company will be able to meet this enormous demand upon their resources here, or any part of it that may be made in England.——By an estimate in p. 92. of the probable amount of the revenues and charges in India, for the year 1805, it, it appears, that the expected deficiency upon the whole of their charges, after deducting their revenues is £2,655,957. This is the general state of the Company's Affairs abroad ——In looking at the state of their Affairs at home, the first fact that occurs is in p. 83, viz. That on an estimate of profit and loss of their sales in England for the year, ending the 1st of March, 1805, the deficiency is stated at £418,540.——But the account of their stock by computation in p. 78, is the most material document of all, not only to discover the truth, but to shew the fallacies which have been hitherto industriously employed to conceal it. This account exhibits an apparent balance in their favour of £6,181,207. And this is effected by means of the following expedients. First; the whole of their capital received from the subscribers and amounting to £7,788,000, is omitted, and nothing to shew for it. On the other side, they take credit for £1,460,192, as due from government of which, upon a liquidation only £2,200,000, is acknowledged, consequently the remainder is a false, or at least, a very doubtful credit. ——The whole of their separate fund, which in March, 1805, was stated to be £343,520, has vanished out of this account. It ought to appear on the debit side, being in fact, a loan from the proprietors to the corporation.——In the first credit on this account they credit themselves for £1,207,560; that is, they reckon the capital of their 3 per cent. annuities at par, instead of the current price of the consols. All the balances of their quick stock abroad, if they were ever so right, would furnish nothing to the relief of their debts at home; much less would they be any thing the better for their dead stock, either at home or abroad, and for which they take credit 1,392,169l.—By the debit side of this account it appears that they have been borrowing money from all hands; as for example: Bonds in circulation £2,412,092. To the Bank 810,933l. To government borrowed out of tea duties £500,000. Interest on bonds £56,336. Debt to the public for 500,000l. a year, from the year 1794 inclusive, to the present year, being the stipulated price for the revenue of their charter £6,000,000.——From this ge-

neral state of their affairs, the public will be enabled to judge on which side the falsehood lies, viz. Whether Mr. Dundas and Lord Castlereagh have hitherto imposed upon the public, or whether the deliberate and solemn assertion of Mr. Alderman Prinsep, in the House of Commons, on the 10th of July, "that the East-India Company were in a state of *absolute insolvency*," was true or false.——A subject of greater importance than this has seldom called for the attention of the public. It will not only *call for*; it will obtain attention. The *millions* must be *paid by the people of England*; or the whole system goes like tinder. One or the other must take place; and let the credulous people look to the consequences.——How often has it been represented to them, that this India system would be one of the great causes of their ruin! Still did they talk of the *riches* of the East-India Company! Still were they obstinately blind to the terrible mischief that India had in store for them! They even bowed down their head in base devotion to those who were yearly flocking home laden with riches, sucked, through the *channel of India*, out of the land and the labour of England! Let them bow and kneel and crawl still. Adversity is an excellent teacher, and of that they will, as far the debts of India can affect them, have enough.——Upon a subject very closely connected with the state of the East India Company's affairs, there has been recently published a pamphlet by a Dr. CHARLES MACLEAN. It is entituled: "The Affairs of Asia considered in their effects upon the Liberties of Britain, in a Series of Letters, addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, late Governor General of India, including a Correspondence with the Government of Bengal, under that Nobleman, and a Narrative of Transactions, involving the annihilation of the personal freedom of the Subject and the extinction of the Liberty of the Press in India, with the Marquis's EDICT for the regulation of the Press" ——This pamphlet should be read by every man who has a wish to prevent the liberties of England from being totally annihilated. I have, as it will be remembered, frequently endeavoured to convince the public, that, besides the dreadful drain of men occasioned by "our Empire in the East;" besides the heavy weight of taxes, which that "Empire" imposed upon us; besides the hard labour, the poverty and the misery, which the "glorious conquests" in India, brought upon the people of England, of that England which was truly rich and truly great before she heard the name of Hindostan; besides these, I have endeavoured to shew, that the manners, the insolent and tyrannical way of thinking and of acting contracted in the East Indies, were, by the means of the fortunes *sucked* out of us through the channel of India, one great cause of the degradation of the people of England. What sort of manners are contracted in India, what sort of example the cub nabobs have before their eyes, Dr. MACLEAN has now informed the world; and, unless we see his facts satisfactorily controverted, we may certainly beg leave to be excused if we smile, when our rulers remind us of the tyranny that is exercised *in France*. Yes, unless the statements of this writer be overset, it will be as well for English orators to say as little as possible about the French imprimatur and the *Cayenne Diligence*. It must, however, be confessed, that this arbitrary, this terrible power, of banishing, at an hour's warning, refractory printers and authors, has not *originated* with the Marquis Wellesley. There was a printer named DUANE, who was so banished, some years ago either by Sir JOHN SHORE or Lord CORNWALLIS. He was born in Ireland, where he served his time, and, after having been sometime in London, he went to Calcutta, where he established a printing-office. Being a man of spirit and of talents, he had the disposition and the capacity to make representations that were not relished *by* the government. He had *no trial*; his printing office was put down; his property was destroyed; his fortune, which was fast accumulating, was, in a moment, annihilated; he himself was seized, was thrown into a guard-house like a criminal soldier, and was, as soon as possible, shipped off to Europe, where he was landed without a shilling in his pocket and without a friend to assist him, or to console him. From England he went, smarting under his injuries, to America, where he has taken ample vengeance; for, of all the men in America, whether natives or foreigners, whether high or low in life, WILLIAM DUANE has been, and yet is, the most formidable enemy of England. Against such a man you do nothing, unless you take his *life*. He has obtained another printing-office; he has another fortune growing; the powers of his mind are left unshackled; and all those powers, which are very great, are employed in exciting and in perpetuating, amongst the people of America, a hatred of England. To Mr. DUANE's pen it was owing, chiefly, that the Board of Commissioners broke up without having accomplished their object. It was he who defended the conduct of the

American commissioners, and who stood ready to defend any thing that might be injurious to England; and, his talents had, and yet have, their natural effect upon the circulation of his paper and his doctrines. His banishment from India has *cost us millions* in the other hemisphere, and, greatly deceived am I, if this cost has, as yet, reached its total amount. That this conduct of Mr DUANE is contrary to the dictates of loyalty and patriotism, as well as to those of morality, we know: but, though we must contemplate the works of his revenge with disapprobation, yet, we cannot contemplate them with any great degree of surprize; for, while men are subject to the power of their passions, revenge will, according to the extent of its accompanying capacity, follow injury: and, when the injury is inflicted by a government protected by the nation, upon the nation must alight the effects of the revenge. Such revenge is never to be justified. It behoves a man, who has been injured by the government of his country, to go patiently to work in the obtaining of redress; and, if he sees no hope of redress at present, it behoves him to wait for a time more auspicious. At any rate, he ought never to turn against his country. But, we are not, because this sort of revenge is criminal, to conclude that those, by whom it has been exerted, ought not to have expected it.——It is the arbitrary power exercised over the press that has contributed more than any other cause to the present wretched state of the East India Company's affairs. Had the press been free, neither the "*glorious* conquests" nor the debt of 31,000,000 would have taken place. Had we been truly and in time informed of what was going forward, a stop would, long ago, have been put to the transactions which have produced that state of things, which MR. ALDERMAN PRINCEP (who was uncontradicted) termed an "*absolute insolvency*;" and, while that system, which has been so ably exposed by Dr MACLEAN, is suffered to exist, in all its horrors, in British colonies; while such a system is tolerated by the government at home, is there any reason to suppose, that we ourselves can have a security against the effects of such a system?——Since writing the above, the proceedings in the House of Commons, on the 14th instant, in a Committee upon the *India Budget*, have reached me, and to those proceedings I beg leave to call the most serious attention of the public. In the article, wherein I have elected a passage as a motto to this sheet, I described the situation of the East India Company's affairs. Instructed by the speeches of Mr. FRANCIS, I have, over and over again, forewarned the credulous people of England, that *they* would have to pay, and that most dearly too, for the "*conquests*" of the heroic Marquis, whose renowned deeds Lord Grenville thinks proper to extol so highly. Every year, for the last ten, PITT and DUNDAS (and, more recently, Lord Castlereagh), have boasted to the House of Commons, how India, and the India Company were flourishing under their mode of government. Every year did Mr. FRANCIS contradict them, and endeavour, though in vain, to awaken, in his listless hearers, an attention to the subject. "Well," said he, more than once, "you will not hear me "*now*; but, mind, I tell you, that the time "will come when this subject will *force* "itself upon you."——That time is now arrived. The real state of the Company's concerns can no longer be disguised; and, Lord Castlereagh (in the *absence of all the ministers*) has, at last, opened the grand scheme of *an union* of the public with the East India Company, upon the *principle of the Union with Ireland*, and *funding* all their debts *under the guarantee*, that is to say, at the *risk* of *the public*, who would, by such union, be made responsible for the payment of the interest; and, I beg the deluded people of England to consider, that these debts, including the Company's capital stock, would be moderately stated at FIFTY MILLIONS of pounds sterling!——The speech, in which this notable scheme was broached, followed a speech of MR. ALDERMAN PRINCEP, who *proved* that the Company was *insolvent*. He did not content himself with assertion; but, to the conviction of every one who heard him *proved* it——The Speech of Lord Castlereagh, as given in the news-paper report, was as follows:—"Lord Castlereagh was *fully aware of* "*the difficulties* under which the East India "Company at present laboured." [He had always *denied* the existence of any such difficulties.] "He nevertheless was very "far from entertaining in his mind that "gloomy view of the Company's affairs "which had been drawn by the worthy "Alderman who had just sat down. On "the contrary, he was well convinced that "if the Company's affairs were *vigorously* "*conducted*, it would not *be long* until they "would reach as great a state of prosperity "as the most sanguine wishes of any friend "to the interests of the Company could "reasonably entitle them to expect. For "the accomplishment of this great object "he would recommend that the general "state of the Company's affairs should un-

" dergo the most ample investigation before " a Committee " [The very thing that he rejected last year, when Mr. Francis proposed it.] " The result, he was confident, would be *highly favourable to the Company*. But, at the same time that he " was convinced, from his knowledge of " the affairs of the Company, that a Committee which had it in view to obtain a " correct statement of the debts, assets, and " revenue of the Company, must necessarily draw inferences *favourable* to the Company, as he had before stated; still he " most clearly saw that *something* was " wanting for the present to be done for the " *assistance of the Company*. To attain " this great and most desirable object, he " would recommend that *a loan should be* " *raised under the sanction of Parliament*, " not that he could *by any means* suppose " that there could be any *hesitation or doubt* " *of the solvency of the Company*, but that " he saw how much *more advantageously* " a loan would be raised under such circumstances, than if the Company, *itself* " was to go into the market for that purpose. Before Ireland was united to this " country, it was the uniform practice " with the English Parliament to include " the Loan for Ireland in one general Vote " along with that which was given for this " Country. By the adoption of such a " system, the Company would gain what " they most particularly wanted, an extension of their capital, and the Public " would have *considerably better security* " than they could now possibly have, as, " from the *profits to accrue* from such an " extension of capital, there would be " *a sinking fund* for the total and *speedy* " *extinction of the whole debt*"——It would not, even if I had time, be necessary to bestow much of it in commenting upon this precious proposition. The ministers were *all absent*. For what reason I know not; but, so it was; and, it was strange enough that they should be absent upon such an occasion. The house was almost empty; and MR. ROBSON, ever attentive to his duty, and resolved, apparently, that the ministers should be brought to speak upon this subject, rose and *counted* the House, when it appeared, that, out of 658 members, there were *only thirty-one* present. Of course, the House adjourned, and left the subject to be revived another time. Before this sheet reaches the public, it will have discovered what the ministers mean to do; but, let every one be ready to protest against the proposition; for, if adopted, it will add *two millions a year* to the taxes of the nation! The Pitt and Dundas and Grenville system (for these latter have now owned it) of governing India is coming upon us in its *pecuniary* effects. In its *political* effects the deceived nation has long been sinking under it; and, indeed, it has already pressed us pretty well with taxes; but, now it is coming with the weight of a mountain.—— I shall in my next, return to this subject, and remind the Pitts and the Grenvilles of all their boastings about the flourishing state of India; and in the mean while, I beg the public to bear in mind, that Lord Grenville has, within these ten days, boasted of the *flourishing state in which India had been left by his friend Lord Wellesley*; that very Lord Wellesley, who found the India debt *eleven* millions, and who left it *thirty-one* millions!

PEACE.——It is truly surprising, that men should, upon meeting one another, ask: " do you think there is any *hopes* of " peace?" It is indeed, surprising, that, after all they have seen, they should still look forward to peace as an object resembling *a peace of former times*; and that they should appear to expect from a treaty, signed under the present circumstances a disbanding of regiments, a dismantling of ships, a reduction of taxes, and, in short, all the usual consequences of a change from a state of war to a state of peace! One would think, that they had neither seen nor heard for years past; that they had no recollection of the peace of Amiens; and that the battle of Austerlitz and all the other events of the present war had passed totally unnoticed by them.——Amongst the fund-holders and the jobbers of the Alley some effect will be produced by a treaty of peace; but, as to the people in general, a peace will produce no effect at all. Peace, if made under the present circumstances of Europe, and in the present pecuniary situation of England, can be, between France and England, nothing more than a mere *cessation of hostilities*, a season for new and more formidable preparations for war. The professed object of the war, on our part, was, the restoration of the balance of the continent, or, in the words of that wise monument man, whose debts we have paid, it was, " to *repress the* " *ambition* and *chastise the insolence* of " Buonaparté," in which, I think, it will not, even by Lord Grenville, be said that we have quite succeeded. The real point of quarrel was *Malta*; and, are there many persons who imagine that *we* shall keep Malta? What justification of the treaty, other than the plea of absolute necessity, can be discovered it is out of my power to

imagine; and, does any man suppose, that, under the effects of such a peace, we shall be able to bear up against the designs and the power of France? Shall we, having made such a peace, be able so to act as to preserve peace otherwise than by submission to every injury and every insult that the enemy pleases to give way to? The chief cause of the last rupture, was, that the ministers found it impossible to live in peace, and, as Mr. Addington said, we "were at war because we could not be at peace." Will not the same reason again arise? During the last peace, the produce of the land and the labour of England was, in a great degree at the mercy of France; because France, having the power of raising or sinking our funds at her pleasure, the amount of her gains could have no measure but that of the extent of our endurance. And will not the like occur again? Shall we not be even *more* disposed to endure than we were before? If there be any man in the country who can cause the funds to fall to-day and to rise again to-morrow, and so on for a length of time, is it not evident, that he can draw from that source whatever riches he pleases? And, why should not Napoleon do the same, if he can, *with impunity*, threaten us to-day and soothe us to-morrow? *Here* lies the danger. *This* is our great and mortal disease. While the radical cause of our debility exists, there is no safety for us in peace. Peace *cannot* last. It may be honoured with the name, but it will have in it nothing of the nature of peace.——Before we think of any thing worthy of the name of peace, our *pecuniary* affairs must undergo a radical reform. There must be less left in the power of the enemy at the stock-exchange; there must be a reduction of expence; there must be great relief on the score of taxes; the people must not be solely occupied in making preparation for the moment when the tax-gatherer shall knock at their door. Whether such a reform is likely to take place the reader may be able to judge from the measures which the INS have brought forward, and which the OUTS have cordially approved of, during the present session of parliament. Yet, there *must* be a reform; there must be a reduction of expense; or, there never will again be real peace between England and France, as *independent* nations.——Pitiable, truly lamentable, therefore, is it to hear men talk of peace as a source of tranquillity and of ease! They do not perceive the change of circumstances, and, it is greatly to be feared, that they never will perceive it until it be too late.——Ask them why they approved of going to war, and the answer is, it was impossible to live at peace with such a restless neighbour as Buonaparté. Well! Buonaparté is still alive; and, is it not equally impossible to live at peace with him *now*? Do you think, that he is, either by Pitt's "chastising," or by the effect of adversity, become more moderate in his views? Or, do you think, that, after the "third coalition" he has more reason to be reconciled to England than he had before?——To these questions we receive *no answer*: we have again to listen to the utterance of vague, undefined hopes; and, we are reluctantly compelled to leave the hopers to be enlightened in that school, wherein alone wisdom is taught unto fools.——My view of the situation of Europe in general, and of England in particular, renders me very little anxious upon the subject of peace; because, whether there be war in name as well as in the thing, or whether there be war under the name of peace, is of little consequence; and, as to the *terms*, it is ridiculous to hope that they will, if peace be made under our present pecuniary circumstances, be nearly so good as those of the peace of Amiens. If, indeed, there were a reform in the national expenditure; if the public debt were brought, as it might be, within manageable bounds; if a cheap and efficient military force were completely established; then might an English minister say, I will have real peace, or you, France, shall never have a moment's tranquillity; for, I can carry on war with you for ever. And, *why* are not these things done? Where is the *obstacle* to their accomplishment? Where is the *reason* that what is necessary to our political salvation cannot be adopted? The reason, is, that while every man is calling upon every other man to *make sacrifices*, no man will make sacrifices *himself*; but, on the contrary, it would seem as LORD ELLENBOROUGH expressed it in the case of the Athol Claim, that there prevails a general opinion that the ship is upon the rocks, and that every one is endeavouring to rifle the chests, in the hope of escaping from the wreck. This is the reason that nothing efficient is done; and, as the safety of a nation depends solely upon the will and the exertions of the people composing it, what must be our fate, if this disposition continues? Times of great public trouble and calamity, times of arduous trial, do frequently bring forth, in nations as well as in individuals, extraordinary virtues and talents. God send that this may be the case in England! But, if any one imagines, that the independence of this country is

now to be preserved by party harangues, or by diplomatic arts, he will, if he live but a very few years, find himself miserably deceived. A nation, situated as we now are, was never yet rescued by *ordinary* means, much less by means that are weak, if not despicable. There must be extraordinary virtue and extraordinary talent; and, again I say, God send that we may find them!

BARRACK-ABUSES.——In page 897 of the preceding volume (there continuing the subject from p. 773.) I gave an account, accompanied with documents, of the dismission of MR. ATKINS (late Barrack-Master of Sandown Bay Division in the Isle of Wight) by the Spartan General, FITZPATRICK, in February last. The reader will find, at p. 905, a copy of an affidavit made against MR. ATKINS by one Ward, a barn-owner in the Isle of Wight. This affidavit, it will be recollected, charges MR. ATKINS with peculation; and, it will be further recollected, that it was moved for and *printed* upon motions of Lord Henry Petty. Since that, MR. ROBSON has moved for counter-affidavits communicated to the Secretary at War by MR. ATKINS, from which, if I am rightly informed, it will appear, that Ward's affidavit was *false*. Yet, observe, it is not Lord Henry Petty who moves for the producing and printing of the affidavits containing this unfortunate gentleman's *defence!* We shall see and say more of this hereafter; but, at present, so much for the *glass-house morality* of Lord Henry Petty!——In the mean while, I lose no time in communicating to the public another paper laid before the House of Commons upon the motion of MR. ROBSON, and printed by order of the House, entitled "*Copy of a Memorial of Mr. John* "*Pritchard; presented to the* COMMISSION-"ERS OF MILITARY INQUIRY, *on the 20th* "*of January*, 1806." This memorial, which follows immediately after the present article is worthy of great attention. It will require some explanation in my next; as will the letter of MR. WINDHAM, which follows it. But, for the present, I must confine myself to an earnest request, that every man, into whose hands this Register may fall, will give the whole of the memorial of this meritorious and most injured man an attentive perusal; and, at the conclusion, the question to ask himself, is, "*are* these "things to *go on?*"——*Botley, July* 17.

BARRACKS.——*Copy of Memorial of Mr. John Pritchard; Presented to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, on 20th of Jan.* 1806. *Moved for in the House of Commons by Mr. Robson, and ordered to be printed July 8th.*

"GENTLEMEN,—Public justice being emanant from individual wrongs, I deem it a duty to submit to your consideration a detail of abuses, from which have originated the sufferings of one whose crime has been an honest but ineffectual effort to expose faults and glaring peculation, practised a short time back in a district of the barrack department in this country.—Constituted as your hon. board is by authority, legislative and executive, I cannot but cherish, as a consolation, the hope, that although justice has elsewhere been denied to me, the service of my country will, from your hands, reap, by an inquiry into the causes of my misfortunes, at least the valuable result of deterring others from a system of mal-practices too successfully pursued by my persecutors —— I am sensible, gentlemen, of the delicacy which necessarily precedes the acquiescence to an inquiry so serious as that which I now solicit; I am aware that the implicated is entitled to as much consideration as his accuser; but equally am I convinced, that as justice to the public is the anxious object of your labour, so will its attainment be your principal bias.—To your notice, therefore, I trust it will be a sufficient introduction to state, that, as the persecuted father of a family, whose interest I have sacrificed to that of my country, I feel compelled in justice to them and to myself, to lay before you and the public, a recital of glaring abuses, in combating which I unfortunately entailed on myself the too powerful vengeance of those concerned.—After a series of disasters originating with services rendered by me on the Continent, I was appointed to the situation of barrack master, under the most auspicious assurances from high authority, that, on the part of his Majesty's government, such a provision (with the promise of one more lucrative) was considered merely as an indemnification for the loss of the establishment, and prospects in life, which my ill-fated family had sustained, my claims for loss and property having been previously attested, were officially recommended to the Commissioners of the Treasury by the Secretary at War, not only for indemnification, but also for some reward for my sufferings and services, whereon their lordships were pleased to direct the sum of three hundred pounds to be issued to me for the momentary purpose of alleviating the embarrassments I then laboured under, and as stated to me by Mr. Rose, further reserved until the peace, the consideration of the whole amount of my claims for loss of property amounting to £2,500 —In my communication with the Secretary at War (Mr. Windham) after re-

citing the strong measures by which my claims were recommended, he assured me, that when the fate of the Netherlands should be decided, the subject of my losses would be fully attended to; an assurance which, I regret to state, has never been carried into effect.—Under these circumstances I was appointed Barrack Master of the West Medina Mid Barracks, in the Isle of Wight, and having previously given a bond to the amount of £600 for the due execution of my duty as regulated by his Majesty's instructions, I proceeded to that island in 1798. Shortly after I had undertaken the charge of them, representations were made to me by the tradesmen employed in the department, and by other persons of respectability, that the most shameful impositions were practised there, and through the whole district of Hampshire, both in the hire of buildings, and in the price of every article supplied for the use of the barracks. A sense of duty impelled me to inquire into the fact, and to my astonishment I found that the articles specified were charged at an advance of from ten to seventy per cent. more than the usual price; a considerable number of buildings at Newport, Cowes, and other parts of the island, of which the barracks under my charge formed a part, was pointed out to me, some of which had been nearly rebuilt, and fitted up at a great expense to government as hospitals, barracks, or storehouses, and charged from one to five hundred per cent. more than was actually paid to the real owners, and continued so to the benefit of certain individuals for many years, when no use whatever was, or from their nature could be made of them. On further inquiry I also found, that the barrack surveyor of the district (Mr. Smith) a part of whose duty I naturally supposed was to check impositions, required and received from the tradespeople employed 5 per cent. on the amount of their bills, or a douceur equivalent to that sum; that Mr. Bird Wilkins, ironmonger, agent to Major Lewis, superintendant of the district, and principal contractor in the hire of buildings, although paying the accounts, and keeping the barrack books, and who himself supplied the principal articles to all the barracks in the island, also levied contributions by way of subscription, in the favour of a Mr. Daniel Page, assistant to the major, for the trouble in passing the respective accounts of the claimants; a repetition of which practice probably leads to an increase of charge by the tradespeople.—With these facts before me, in addition to the knowledge of the [illegible] sale of the barrack coals to the inhabitants at a reduced price, to your consideration, gentlemen, I submit, whether, under a conviction so positive, it was not my duty, at least as far as depended on me, to check the continuation of abuses as injurious to the public service, as they were disgraceful to the barrack department. Were I influenced by no other consideration, the bond I had given, and the instructions I had received, urged my interference, with the resolution, however, if possible, of not involving myself by discussions or inquiries into acts preceding my appointment.—No sooner had I taken the necessary steps to reduce to a fair market-standard, the price of all articles supplied to the barracks under my charge, than those interested took alarm at the consequences which were likely to ensue. Mr. Wilkins, after in vain using every argument to induce me to allow him to continue supplying the barracks as before (and as expressed by him to be the wish of Major Lewis) concluded by offering, with as little effect, a share in the profits; although sensible that the Major was the dupe of such designing characters, his extreme ill state of health and infirmities would have prevented my troubling him on that subject, necessity however compelled me to do so. A Mr. Robert Stears, in conjunction with Mr. Wilkins, in the most clandestine manner, and under false representations, obtained a contract to supply all the barracks on the island with straw (a very considerable article) at one-third more than the utmost price; against this I remonstrated, and my interference so far defeated the object; but, determined on its attainment, Mr. Wilkins caused printed hand bills to be circulated, recommending to farmers possessing straw, a purchaser, by application to himself.—The Barracks of Winchester, and other parts of the district, were in the same manner supplied by Mrs. Wools, sister to the Major; and those at Fareham, on the authority of Mr. Pyott, the Barrack Master thereof, I was assured had been frequently supplied with barley-straw for the use of those troops, which was charged as the best wheaten; and that faggots, in size resembling a crow's nest, were charged considerably more than the best could have been purchased at; and further, that this lady had frequently charged, without service, waggons and horses for Barrack purposes.—Mrs. Parker, a favoured friend of Major Lewis, took a house, the property of Mr. Barton of Newport, taylor, at the rent of £30 per ann. for the use (as asserted by her) of a family then resident in London; this house, however, was shortly after rented from her by the ox-

der of Major Lewis, to Mr. Horloch, at £70 per annum, as a mess and lodging-house for officers, and although certainly not wanting, nor even used for one-third of the time, it was so charged to government. When the owner expostulated with this lady on the trick she had thus artfully played on him, she replied, "that, seeing every one robbing government, she might as well get a little in the scramble."—To an exposure of these and similar frauds, as hereafter detailed, do I now, gentlemen, owe the persecution I have experienced; judging by my own feelings, I too inconsiderately attributed to others an equal zeal and disinterestedness. My fate has been ruin, theirs a profitable triumph; finding vain all efforts to seduce me to connivance, misrepresentation was by them resorted to, every obstacle was opposed to me in the execution of my duty, under false and frivolous pretences; my accounts, contrary to his Majesty's regulations, were kept back during 20 months, and all means were employed to harrass and distress me. In self-defence I was at last compelled to represent the subject, and my grievances, to the Barrack-Master-General, Lieut. Gen. Delancy, and in consequence thereof, the late Major Foster Hill, of the Barrack Office, and Captain G. Bygrove, then Assistant Superintendant of that Department, in the Isle of Wight, and who, if not interested, certainly to my knowledge was acquainted with the abuses which existed, were, together with Major Lewis, and Mr. Page before alluded to, directed to investigate the subject.—From a court of inquiry thus composed, my hopes of obtaining an impartial investigation were certainly not sanguine; and when I state that its president asserted to me his determination, if possible, of counteracting my efforts, this honourable board will easily anticipate the result of its proceedings. Under their influence and direction, without my knowledge, an instrument was drawn up, as a denial of the circumstances represented by me, which paper was presented to the tradespeople, and their signature enforced by misrepresentations, threats, and promises. Of this act, gentlemen, as well as of the existence of the abuses complained of, I am willing to adduce the most unequivocal proof; the contrition of those whose signatures were thus obtained, has since been fully expressed, by an offer voluntarily made (but rejected by me) liberally to compensate by a subscription for the injury I thereby had sustained. Satisfied with this kind of evidence, as a refutation to what I had alledged, they triumphantly forwarded it to the Barrack Master General's office, where it remained to be exhibited, to prejudice those who felt any interest in my behalf; nor were their efforts even confined to misrepresentation: determined in every respect to harrass me, the interested individuals urged others to commence actions at law against me for debts, which an influenced stoppage of my accounts rendered me unable to pay and discharge.——Such, gentlemen, has been the injustice I experienced on that occasion, and in vain have I ever since humbly solicited a revisal or inquiry into the subject, and, although subsequent appeals afforded ample grounds for a compliance with my entreaties, as you will perceive by the annexed copy of a letter from the right hon. W. Windham, yet my applications to H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, and to several Secretaries at War, expressive of my willingness to substantiate the existence of the abuses represented by me, have as yet produced no other effect than that of securing to my persecutors the peaceable enjoyment of their honest earnings.——In this appeal it certainly is not my wish too much to intrude the sufferings I have experienced, and if it should be my misfortune to exceed that determination, I trust your hon. board will blend the cause with the effect, and attribute my superfluous detail to the anxiety and feelings of the father of an injured family; relying therefore on your judgment, I shall proceed briefly to enumerate the further abuses which occurred, and were reported by me, until my suspension from the situation I held in that department.——In the month of Oct. 1799, the Dutch sailors and soldiers who had surrendered to, or joined the British army at the Helder, and afterwards in number about four thousand, were sent to the Isle of Wight. For their accommodation, additional barns, stables, hovels, and even cellars, were taken at Newport, Cowes, and other places, which, after being nearly rebuilt and fitted up at extraordinary expense, were, for obvious motives, charged as similar ones had been, and continued to be so, at an amount greater considerably than really paid for, although at the same time several good buildings, capable of holding many hundred men, and pointed out by me, were, at a lesser rent, offered and rejected. A house, the property of Mr. Dennet of Newport, timber merchant, was by him offered at 50l. per annum, as a mess and lodging-house for the officers belonging to those troops, the offer was refused; but the refusal was accompanied with an intimation, that if he would let it to a lady before alluded to, he should cer-

tainly receive the amount; it was in consequence let and charged to the Barrack Department, I believe, at 150l. or thereabouts per annum. A hovel, situated in Parkhurst Forest, built of sod walls, and without pavement was taken from the contractor by Mr. Wilkins, and allotted to those troops as an hospital for which he charged the Barrack Department a sum considerably greater than the building of this stable (for as such it was previously used by the artillery) cost. Apprehensive, however, of an exposure of the transaction, he afterwards caused it to be taken down, and the materials sold.—With the extent of these frauds I am fully acauqinted, and on the veracity of persons of respectability, who are willing to prove the assertion, I can further state, that receipts were required from those whose buildings were rented, specifying sums greater than those which they actually received. They, however, cautiously avoided on all occasions to accept the tender of any person who had the misfortune of being well acquainted with me, and caused their intentions to be known to that effect. Emolument being the sole object, the places taken for those troops were, under the auspices of Mr. Wilkins and Capt. Bygrove, so confined, as to render necessary a distribution of three men to a birth; although even at that time, as before stated, extensive buildings were offered at a much less rent, and at one-third of the expense, would have made wholesome and good barracks for several hundred men, but were rejected. Distributed in such hovels, and destitute of even a change of linen, or even clothes to cover them during a winter intensely cold, their distress was aggravated by the kind of provisions supplied to them by contract; a contagion ensued, which, in its nature and effect, became so alarming, that the inhabitants, terrified at the extra number of deaths, remonstrated against a farther interment of them in the church-yards, and compelled thereby the sufferers to resort to a spot in Parkhurst Forest, as a deposit for the remains of their unfortunate countrymen.—This extraordinary mortality in its effects was not confined to the Dutch, it extended also to the British, who also afterwards occupied the barracks, and during several years the consequences of that fever were severely felt.——In that department I was the only person on the Island who understood the French and Dutch languages. My acquaintance on the Continent with many of their officers, induced them to communicate to me their feelings and astonishment at a treatment so unexpected and unmerited. Daily witnessing in the Barracks under my charge, the extraordinary mortality which prevailed; a sense of national pride, under a conviction that the sufferers were the victims of peculators only, urged me to yield to the solicitations of Gen. Baron Grosse and others, to wait on Gen. Pigott, then commanding on the Island, to whom I exhibited samples of the provisions with which those men were supplied, their bread consisting of bad barley, dried on a kiln, on the second day smelt so strong, as to become offensive even to the brute creation. Their meat was chiefly bull, or old cow, and their beer was equally obnoxious.—To Gen. Pigott's humanity (if from me any observation could add lustre to its greatness) I am bound to state, that those unfortunate men certainly owed a considerable alleviation of their treatment; they experienced by a prompt, and, as far as depended on him, an effectual exertion to ameliorate their situation. Although honoured with that General's approbation for my conduct, on that as well as on other occasions, yet Col. Stapleton, of the Barrack Department, in a manner which but little suited the rank his Sovereign had honoured him with, was pleased to reprimand me for daring to make representations on the subject; his motives were certainly best known to himself; of the transactions there, I must however be permitted to assert, that he could not, or at least ought not to have been ignorant.—Mr. Wilkins, availing himself of the distress to which party intrigues had then reduced me, offered, through his chief clerk and others, the accommodation of any money I might require; and he personally hinted to me, that he would make my situation worth 500l. per annum; but unshaken in my determination, notwithstanding the offers which I received, strictly to adhere to the line of duty which conscience and honour dictated to me, the vengeance of my opponents increased tenfold; my accounts were kept back for the purpose of distressing me, and at a period when nearly 400l. were due to me; my creditors were instigated, under promises made by persons in or connected with the department, to commence actions at law against me, and, in consequence thereof, I was frequently arrested. An appeal, on my part, to the Barrack Master General was attended with no effect; instead of redress I was fully given to understand, that had I conformed to Major Lewis's wishes, my accounts, like those of others, would have been passed: my application to the Major caused them to be returned, with an observation, that I had given credit for 240l. 13s. the amount of the half year's rent

of the Barracks under my charge, and for which, by making them out again, I might take credit; the receipt, for the payment of that money, I had positively forwarded, and was at that time in their possession.—Those Barracks were let to government by Bird Wilkins, and have since been purchased and charged to the department 5,000l. although they had previously been offered to me for 2,500l.—Of their motives, gentlemen, I will leave you to judge. On the subject I heard no more. In the meantime, an action for defamation was brought against me by Page, grounded on the forced signatures of the trades-people, obtained on the inquiry already spoken of, if such it can be called.—Deprived of the means necessary to meet it, by an unjust, and, I may say, unprecedented stoppage of my accounts, without even a plausible reason, he insured to himself an easy triumph, and obtained judgment by default. Of this person, I trust I may be permitted to say a few words, without incurring the censure of too much personality, particularly so, as the observations I shall make are intended solely to point out, by elucidation, circumstances which may perhaps be deemed worthy of inquiry.——From the situation of a writer in the office of an attorney at Winchester (Mr. Green, the assistant superintendant of the district, and in that of Mr. Doller, also an attorney and barrack storekeeper) he became the confidential agent of Bird Wilkins, who supplied all the Barracks on the Island, and has ultimately been rewarded with the Barrack Mastership of Winchester, which before was occupied by his patron. On the authority of a person of respectability at that place, whose son has made the instrument, I can assert, that Mr. Page employed him frequently to write over again tradespeoples' bills and receipts, making the sums considerably greater than the original specified. Of this circumstance, information was given to me in the Isle of Wight, and I, in consequence, demanded of each tradesman supplying the barracks under my charge, regular dates and signatures. The bills, thus authenticated, were returned to me by Mr. Page, which, together with a letter from himself on the subject, are now in my possession.—His Majesty's regulations having forbidden to Barrack-Masters the enjoyment of any interest in horses, waggons, boats, carts, &c. employed in the Barrack Department, a sale took place, and the whole were (as I am informed) brought in and continued to be employed as the property of a working carpenter, named Tiller, whose sister had lived as a servant with the Major, and was then in keeping with him.—In his old age this lady blessed him with an offspring, great care was taken amply to provide in the will for her and the babe, and she has since become the wife of her constant friend Mr. Page, and the child the object of his paternal solicitude. In vain I entreated a removal to some other district, representing the hardships under which I laboured, and the causes from which my persecution originated; involved in actions at law for debts, which the nonpayment of my accounts rendered me unable to liquidate, I solicited a few days leave of absence, for the purpose of convincing (if possible) my creditors, by a personal application, that (contrary to what was insinuated to them) the sum due to me was adequate to the discharge of my engagements. The answer I received was evasive, and the subject being too pressing, I proceeded to London, leaving a proper person to attend the Barracks; and although my absence did not exceed one week, yet, on my return, I was suspended by the Barrack-Master-General's order.——Anxious to apply for an investigation of my conduct, I lost no time in delivering the stores in my possession, in every article of which I made over a surplus; of coals alone, I delivered near 1200 bushels more than were expected from me; sixty chaldrons thereof I then had deposited with coal merchants of respectability at Newport, from whose storehouses I supplied the officers; the greater number of whom were always in lodgings there, by which contrivance I saved the expense of a storehouse, or that of one mile's conveyance on a road impassable in bad weather. Had the practices of others, even in my distress, been deemed by me a justification for fraud, I certainly could have availed myself of the opportunity and solicitation to accept payment for that quantity; to my astonishment, however, when I produced to Capt. Bygrove the receipts of these merchants, he objected to the security, and kindly offered to take the value in money; an agreement, which too much experience had taught me the propriety of opposing. The coals were therefore delivered at the Barracks. After much trouble, my accounts at length were passed, without any other deduction than one of 5 l. per annum, a charge I made on the verbal assurance of the Barrack-Master-General, namely, that 30l. a year house rent would be allowed me, instead of which I received twenty-five only.——Were the treatment I have since experienced a subject worthy of your notice, I would implore a consideration of its details; thirteen months imprisonment at the suit of Page, for the verdict which his

intrigues and those of others rendered me unable to prevent, has been the reward of my services and integrity.—— During a commencement thus occasioned, various were the applications which on the part of my persecutors were made to me; disappointed by my determination to persevere in pressing a consideration of my case, and consequently dreading an inquiry into their malpractices, they caused an offer to be made to me not only of my liberty, but also of an indemnification, with an assurance of being reinstated, provided I would apologize to Major Lewis for the past. A conviction of the rectitude of my conduct, as attested by certificates in my possession, from General Don, and the commanding officers of every regiment quartered in the Barracks under my charge, enabled me to prefer the hardship of a prison to a retraction so disagreeable; and although my injured family were the sufferers, I rejected the compromise.—With you, Gentlemen, rests the power of affording me an opportunity to substantiate proofs of peculation and fraud; and if justice to the public can be the result of your acquiescence to the inquiry, I shall forget my sufferings, and congratulate my country.—I have the honor to be, &c — (Signed) JOHN PRITCHARD. 25th Jan. 1809. No. 13, Piccadilly.—The above is a true copy of the memorial presented by John Pritchard, late Barrack-Master of the Medina Mill Barracks, in the Isle of Wight, to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry on the 20th of Jan. 1809, relative to the Barrack Department. H. Oakes, J. Drinkwater, Sam. C. Cox, Giles Templeman, Henry Peters, Chas. Bosanquet, B. C. Stephenson.

" Sir; Though I cannot comply with " your request of presenting your memorial " to the Secretary at War, and recommending a re-consideration of it, because I " think such a proceeding on my part would " seem to imply a stronger opinion than my " information on the subject authorizes me " to entertain, yet I am perfectly ready to " do all that I ever promised; that is to say, " to declare that the decision which I gave " upon your case, was not such at the time " as wholly to exclude from my mind all " doubt of its propriety; and that I should " be sorry if the authority of that decision " stood in the way of any further inquiry, " which from other considerations, might " appear to be necessary, or of any favorable intentions which might be entertained " in your behalf.—Though the decision " which I gave for your removal from your " office, was such as was called for by the " evidence then laid before me, the case was " at all times of a sort that might admit of " doubt, and those doubts have been since " so far strengthened in my mind, as would " have led me, had I remained in the situation in which I was, to have made some " further inquiry though without pretending to say, whether the result of that inquiry might not have confirmed the former judgment, and still less whether it would have afforded any evidence that could have justified the setting it aside — " I am, Sir, &c.—W. Windham.

PUBLIC PAPER.

KING OF HOLLAND, *Concluded from p.* 32.

But, doubtless, if perfection were the lot of humanity, we might then dispense with a government of this kind. Laws would then be founded in wisdom, and obeyed without reluctance or obstacle; virtue would reign triumphant, and insure its own reward; vice would be banished, and wickedness rendered impotent; but illusions which favour such romantic ideas of human nature are transient; and experience soon bring us back to positive facts —However, even monarchy is not sufficient for a country which, though powerful and important, is not sufficiently so for its position, which requires forces of the first rank both by land and sea. It will, therefore, be necessary for it to form a connection with one of the great powers of Europe, with which its amity may be eternally assured without any alteration of its independence.—This, gentlemen, is what your nation has done; this is the object of its constitutional laws, and also that of my taking upon me an employment so glorious; this is my object in placing myself in the midst of a people who are, and ever shall be mine, by my affection and solicitude. With pride I perceive two of the principal means of government and confidence offering themselves to me; the honour and the virtue of the inhabitants.——Yes, gentlemen, these shall be the real supporters of the throne. I wish for no other guides. For my part, I know no distinctions of religion or party; distinctions can only arise from merit and services. My design is only to remedy the evils which the country has suffered. The duration of these evils, and the difficulty in remedying them, will only increase and realize my glory.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"The Barrack-system is new, and has introduced a great change into the country. I repeat, that it is the "duty of the House to look to it. Gentlemen may fence themselves round with majorities, but the time "will come when there must be an account given of the money expended in this wasteful department." ——MR. ROBSON's Speech, in the House of Commons, March 4th, 1802.

"Erskine, and the liberty of the Press!"——WHIG-CLUB TOAST, previous to the change of ministry, in 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BARRACK-ABUSES.——This is now become so large a subject, and so many things, relating to it have occured within these two last weeks, that it is quite impossible to make, in the present Number, all the observations that it would be desirable to make, in order to enable the reader to form a correct judgment upon all the points. The proceedings in the House of Commons have, too, become somewhat confused, the case of Mr. PRITCHARD and that of Mr. ATKINS having been incidentally brought forward during the discussions which have arisen out of the new *motions for inquiry*, made by Mr. ROBSON. To avoid the effects of such confusion, it will be best to divide what I have to submit to the reader into three parts: I. The case of Mr. PRITCHARD; II. The case of Mr. ATKINS; and III. The proceedings upon Mr. ROBSON's new motions for inquiry.

I. *The case of* MR. PRITCHARD is well stated in his memorial, which, as the reader will find, was inserted, at full length, in the preceding Number, page 85. This gentleman there sets forth, that his appointment to the office of Barrack-master was considered, both by himself and by those who appointed him, as a small compensation for *services and losses* rendered and sustained for the good of the public; and, having seen a detailed statement of these services and losses, together with the vouchers for the truth of such statement, I am fully convinced, that the appointment to the office of Barrack-master was not one tenth part of what he would have received, if he had had the happiness to be related to, or to have a hold upon, any minister, or any of that numerous tribe of *voters*, or others, who have influence with ministers. He appears, from every thing that I have heard, or seen, to be a gentleman of excellent character, and, notwithstanding all the motives of all his numerous enemies to find out something to lay to his charge, it appears that the whole of his conduct, during the time that he was in the Barrack-department, was so entirely unexceptionable, that nothing against him could be discovered, and that, at last, his having been *a week* absent *without leave* was made the pretext for dismissing him from the service, without making him any compensation at all for his services and losses! In a few words, his case is this: he was, previous to the beginning of the last war, settled in the Austrian Netherlands, where he rendered very great services to the British army, and where after he and his family had suffered hardships scarcely to be described, in consequence of his adherence to the cause of his country, he lost his all in that cause; in proof hereof he possesses letters and other documents from under the hands of our commanders upon the spot; and, upon the ground of such services and losses, the lords of the Treasury were proceeding to grant him a compensation of 2,500l. when the expedient of making him a Barrack-master was fallen upon, and an appointment was given him by Mr. WINDHAM, who was then Secretary at War. Soon after he was appointed, he discovered enormous abuses in every branch of the Barrack-department that came under his eye; whereupon he made representations to the Barrack-master General, who ordered an inquiry to be made thereon by the very persons of whose neglect and peculations he had complained of; and, as it was natural to expect, the result of such inquiry was, gross misrepresentation, insinuations against Mr. PRITCHARD, and no one act in the way of reform of abuses. The consequences to him, however, was, a combination against him throughout the whole of the department; and, as the certain means of reducing him to distress, and throwing him into debt, his accounts were kept unsettled, and his salary unpaid. In vain did he apply for redress, till, at last, being in hourly danger from the consequences of his debts, he applied for a few days' leave of absence with

the view of going to London to convince his creditors, that the sums due to him were adequate to the discharge of all his engagements; but, the answer he received being evasive, and his danger being very pressing, he proceeded to London without leave; and, although his absence did not exceed a week, he having left, in the meanwhile, a person to take care of the Barracks, yet, on his return, he found that he was suspended from his office by the Barrack-master General, which *suspension* was, as it appears, and as I am very sorry to perceive, extended to a dismission by Mr. WINDHAM, from whom, there is, at the close of Mr. PRITCHARD's memorial (see page 96) a letter, in which I can discover but little of that frankness, which, upon every occasion, I should have expected to meet with in Mr. WINDHAM, and still less of that *indulgence*, that *excessive indulgence*, which *in other cases*, he has been so anxious to exercise, and has actually exercised! I am fully aware of the misrepresentation, of the powerful influence, that induced Mr. WINDHAM to dismiss Mr. PRITCHARD: the whole course of this influence is open before me: MAJOR LEWIS, the assistant Barrack-master General for the South Western Division, against whom and whose accomplices Mr. PRITCHARD's representations were directed, was the brother of the far-famed MATTHEW LEWIS, which MATTHEW LEWIS was *Deputy Secretary at War*, under Mr. Windham. But, when Mr. WINDHAM, at the time of writing the letter above referred to, had had time to reflect, and to examine into all the circumstances of the case, ought he not to have acted from his own mind? Ought he not to have cast off the influence which had produced the dismission of Mr. PRITCHARD? Ought he not to have considered the situation to which this meritorious man and his family had been reduced? Ought he not to have spoken *frankly*, at any rate? And, *now*? Ought not Mr. WINDHAM now to do something, without delay, to procure justice for this gentleman? Is it possible, that he can be a cool and unmoved spectator of the ruin of such a man and his family? Having once been the instrument of the LEWISES, is he resolved so to continue? And, are we to endure the mortification of seeing Mr. WINDHAM amongst those, who appear to have laid it down as a maxim, that every man who points out abuses in the expenditure of the public money, ought to be hunted down like a mad dog? Time, and a very short time too, will enable the public to answer this question.

II. *The case of* MR. ATKINS was stated in page 897 and those immediately following. The reader has been informed, that Mr. ATKINS (also a Barrack-master in the Isle of Wight) was dismissed almost immediately after he had made, to the Secretary at War, a report, pointing out the way in which *large sums of the public money might be saved.* It has been seen, that this fact of Mr. ATKINS's dismission was brought before the public in the following way. Mr. ROBSON had discovered, that there had been a great waste of the public money in the hire of barns, &c. in the Isle of Wight, and, in order to expose the fact of such waste, he moved for the production of certain papers, amongst which was the representation of Mr. ATKINS to the Secretary at War, pointing out how, and to what amount, savings might be made in his immediate department. The motions of Mr. Robson were, as the public will recollect, rejected by a *majority* of the House of Commons; and, as that same public will not fail to remember, the very same motions were, by that very *same majority*, carried, three days afterwards, when they were made by that very same Lord Henry Petty (the *Glass-House moralist*) who had, upon their being made by Mr. ROBSON, opposed them, as being *useless* and *highly improper!* But, the part of the transaction most clearly illustrative of the Glass-house morality remains to be more fully noticed than it hitherto has been.——When his lordship made over again the motions of Mr. ROBSON, he also moved for a paper which Mr. ROBSON had *not* moved for, and that paper was, an affidavit made by *a barn-owner*, stating, that Mr. ATKINS had received from the said barn-owner several presents of poultry, pigs, and hay, and that, in one instance he had received money from him to the amount of 21. 5s.——At first sight, it appears quite unnecessary to move for this paper.——It had nothing at all to do with the waste of money in the exorbitant rent of barns and other buildings; and, as to Mr. ATKINS, he could have no opportunity of *defending himself* against an attack so made against ex-parté evidence and that, too, coming from a person who must, of course, bear malice against the accused. Nevertheless, supposing his lordship to have given us this as an earnest of his resolution to act up to the Glass-house principles, and to make a full exposure of *all* the peculations that he could possibly find out, we gave him great credit for this gratuitous motion, though we did think, at the same time, that, in some part or other of the paper, we ought to have been informed, that

WARD, the maker of the affidavit, was one of the barn-owners, who, at the time of his making the affidavit, was informed that Mr. ATKINS had proposed to government to cease to rent a barn and outhouse, for which WARD received *more than two hundred pounds a year.* Of this circumstance we did think that his lordship should have informed us; but, still we were inclined to hail the dawn of the Glass-House morality. A little farther reflection did, however, teach us to fear, that a part, at least, of his lordship's motive might, possibly, be to throw suspicion upon the character, and, though that, upon the report of MR. ATKINS; nay, some persons went so far as to say, that his lordship, foreseeing, or foretaught, that the dismission of MR. ATKINS, by *General Fitzpatrick*, would become a subject of animadversion, took this opportunity of proposing, before hand, a justification for that dismission; and, moreover, that there did appear, in this gratuitous motion, something resembling an act of vengeance upon poor ATKINS for having furnished MR. ROBSON with the clue to the inquiry, which, it was very evident, he had resolved upon. Still, however, there was room for hesitation and doubt upon the subject; but, I am very sorry to say, that subsequent transactions leave little room for either. For (and I beg the reader to attend to the fact) since the affidavit of WARD has been laid before parliament, *printed* by order of the House upon lord Henry Petty's motion, and published in the news-papers, MR. ATKINS, *in his own defence*, sent to the Secretary at war (General Fitzpatrick) other affidavits, under cover of a letter, dated on the 29th ultimo, in which letter he urged, as I am informed, the justice of publishing his defence, *through the same channel* that the charge had been conveyed to the public, than which, I think, nothing could be more reasonable. Yet not a word did the Spartan General Fitzpatrick, nor lord Henry Petty, move, in order to the promulgation of this *defence*. Not a word did either of them move, or *say*, to the House of Commons upon the subject, though there elapsed more than three weeks from the receipt of the *defence* at the War-Office to the day when Mr. ATKINS's letter and affidavits were moved for, and the moving for which fell, at last, to MR. ROBSON! What does the reader think of this? To *what motive* can he ascribe this withholding of Mr. ATKINS's defence, by those who had gratuitously moved for the promulgation of the charge against this poor and helpless and friendless man? In the debate of Wednesday, the 16th instant, which I shall presently insert, General Fitzpatrick *reproached* Mr. ROBSON with "calling for papers, in "which *the characters of individuals were* "*implicated*, which papers went abroad. "and *those characters became injured*, "without having *any opportunity allowed* "*of defending themselves.*" These were the words of that very General Fitzpatrick, that very Spartan Secretary at war, who, at the moment that he uttered them, had snug in his possession the affidavits in defence of Mr. ATKINS, and the letter of that gentleman imploring that they might be laid before parliament, as the accusation had been, to which supplication the Spartan had paid no attention whatever! Only observe, how tenderly alive the Spartan is to the reputations of the true and trusty fellows that are accused of peculation, and that are *still in place!* But, where was his tenderness; and that of his Glass-house colleague, when *one moved for*, and *the other produced*, the affidavit made by the interested barn-owner against Mr. ATKINS? Where was *then* their tenderness? Where was then their regard for men's reputation? They, I repeat it, gratuitously called for a paper calculated to blast the character of Mr. ATKINS; they received his defence; and, not a word did they say about that defence, until it was called for by Mr. ROBSON, though the accused man had implored them to promulgate it through the same channel that the accusation had been conveyed to the world. This is your "Spartan Justice," is it? This is your Glass-house morality! And these are the men, are they, whom the people of England have been fools enough to look up to as the friends of impartial justice and the enemies of peculation!——As the *defence* of Mr. ATKINS has not yet been printed, though it *might* have been printed in *two hours* at any good printing office, I cannot, at present, lay it before my readers. *Why* it was not delivered to the House, in a printed state, previous to the prorogation I must leave those readers to guess. I will take an early opportunity of returning to the subject, and will, at this moment, content myself with assuring the public, that my decided opinion is, that every material allegation against Mr. ATKINS can be *proved* to be *false*.

III. *The proceedings upon Mr. Robson's new motions for inquiry* are of so great importance that I think it necessary to insert a report of the three debates here, exactly as I find them given in the news-papers. The motions themselves will be found in their several places in the course of the report. Any comments or explanations that may be necessary, we will reserve 'till after we

have read the whole carefully through; and, it is necessary to read carefully, in order to the forming of a correct opinion of the conduct of the several parties, who have taken a share in the debates.

Debate of Wednesday, 16th July.

"Mr. Robson rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the accounts on the table, with respect to the expenditure of the public money in the Barrack Department. In times like the present, when the national expenditure was no less than one million and a half weekly; when the national burthens were rapidly increasing, and likely to increase still farther, he did not think it necessary to make any apology to the house for attempting to occupy its attention upon the subject of the flagrant abuses which he had no doubt of being able to shew existed in the department to which his motion would refer. It was now nearly two months since he had felt it his duty to mention this subject in the house, but at that time he was by no means so well acquainted with the mal-practices which prevailed for these ten years back, as he had since become. He was now fully satisfied that the statement he before made was even below the fact. The house would recollect, that, when he brought the business forward, many gentlemen seemed to doubt the correctness of his information; and that in consequence of such doubt, he received a check that was calculated to discourage the prosecution of his object; but no such check should ever avail to restrain him from the performance of his duty, or damp his feelings in the pursuit of the public good. However, notwithstanding this check, it turned out immediately afterwards, that the rectitude of his pursuit was recognised even by those from whom the check proceeded. For the noble lord (H. Petty), whom he now saw in his place, but a few days afterwards brought forward precisely the same motions which, when proposed by him were rejected. But at the time of that rejection, he was fully persuaded that the noble lord was not at all aware of the enormous abuses that were going on, and it was but justice to that noble lord to say, that he immediately afterwards applied himself to a diligent investigation of the subject, and the result of that investigation was, that the noble lord found the case much worse than it had been described by him; in consequence of which discovery the noble lord took the course already alluded to, and did him the honour of copying his motions. Now, it turned out that the rent of the barns which he before referred to, and which were hired for the use of the soldiery in the Isle of Wight, were some time since reduced to one half of that for which they were originally let; yet such was their value, that he could assure the house, that were a farther reduction of one half their present rent to take place, as it must, there would still be paid for them even double more than they were worth. But he had to state, that a great many more buildings of a similar description, let on similar terms, had undergone no reduction whatever. If the house would turn their attention to this matter, they would meet in every step of their inquiry, circumstances equally calculated to excite their surprise and indignation. Gentlemen would hardly believe that the sum of 200l. a year had been paid for shells of barns in the Isle of Wight. In referring to this part, he took merely a single speck of the barrack accounts, for in order to avoid confusion, he did not mean at present to extend his investigation to the whole of the barrack accounts, which were confessedly the most confused in Europe. Therefore he should confine himself, in illustration of the cause of his motion, to Sandown Bay Barracks, respecting which he was possessed of the most satisfactory information. But yet the communications he received were such as impressed him with the propriety of extending his motion to all temporary barracks, and it would appear astonishing to the public, that many of these barracks, although hired and paid for by the week, were often actually unoccupied for a considerable part of the year. To expose such improvident conduct, such scandalous waste of the public money, and to prevent its continuance, was the object of the motion which he should have the honour of submitting to the house. The hon. gent. concluded with moving—"That there be laid "before this house, a return of all the "buildings of every description rented or "hired by government, and used as barracks "or places for lodging, or containing officers "and soldiers of the army, or of persons "and horses attached to the army; that the "said return do embrace every building "which has so been rented, or hired, and "so used, in the whole of G. Britain, "between the 1st day of Jan. 1793, and the "24th of June, 1806: That the said return "be exhibited in 15 columns, placed in the "order and containing the several heads here "following, viz: 1st, The date of the year "and of the month and day when each "building respectively was taken; 2d, The "county and parish in which the building "is situate; 3d, The name or phrase "describing the building; 4th, The num-

" ber of officers that are, or have been, " generally quartered or lodged in the build- " ing; 5th, The number of non-commis- " sioned officers and men, and of horses, " that are or have been generally quartered " or lodged in the building; 6th, The name " of the proprietor of the building; 7th, " The name and rank of the officer or " person by whom the building was taken " on the part of government; 8th, The " weekly rent or hire of the building; 9th, " The yearly rent or hire of the building; " 10th, The name and rank of the officer " or person, or officers or persons through " whose hands the rent, or hire, has " been paid to the proprietor of the " building; 11th, The time when any " alteration (if any) in the rent or hire of " the building was made. 12th, The week- " ly rent or hire of the building, subsequent " to such alteration. 13th, The yearly rent " or hire of the building, subsequent to " such alteration. 14th, The time when " the building was given up, if not now oc- " cupied by government. 15th, The ac- " count of the whole of the sums which " have been expended in repairs upon the " building; and the said returns do exhibit " all the names and descriptions of the said " buildings, following one another in due " chronological order, the building first ta- " ken by government standing first, and the " building last taken standing last."

" Lord H. PETTY said, that when he first interfered in this business, in putting the previous question on the hon. gent.'s motion, it was because he was convinced that very considerable abuses prevailed in the Barrack Department; and the only objections he then had to the motion of the hon. member was, that a Military Board was now sitting, especially appointed by parliament, for making an inquiry into this very department. From this committee, a report was expected to be received, he believed, to-morrow; and where he in the place of the hon. gent. he should defer his motion till he had seen that report. If, however, the hon. gent. thought fit to persist in his motion, he should certainly make no objection to it."

" The SEC. AT WAR wished to know of the hon. gent. whether he meant to ground any inquiry on the papers he had moved for? As he thought it not quite candid to move for voluminous papers, in which the characters of individuals were implicated, which papers went abroad, and those characters became injured, without having any opportunity allowed of defending themselves. He thought, that as there was a Board of Commissioners now sitting, which was expressly appointed by parliament, for investigating the Accounts of the Barrack Department, the house should not suffer any other inquiry to be entered upon, till that commission was closed, without repealing the act by which it was constituted."

" Mr. ROBSON said, the right hon. gent. who just sat down must surely have forgotten what passed about 3 weeks ago, when he was asked by that right hon. gent. himself, whether he meant to go on with the Barrack Inquiry? He said, he thought the business had been taken out of his hands by the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but if he did not pursue it, he (Mr. Robson), would make a motion on the subject. The right hon. secretary wished him to name the day, as he meant to move for other papers, that would throw more light on the subject. Thus had he been goaded to come forward with the business, and now he had done so, he was told he ought to wait for the report of the commissioners. These commissioners had now been sitting 13 months, and, in all that time, had only produced one report, which might, with ease, have been made in 3 weeks, for it was only an account of the one per cent. which had been overcharged by Gen. Delancey, from his first appointment to the office of Barrack Master General. A Mr. Standbank had said, that it might be 2 years before this commission was closed; and yet he was told, he was to wait for the report of commissioners who had only made one report in 13 months, respecting one office, and they had five offices to inquire into. He looked upon such commissioners to be more maskers of inquiry, than unfolders of it. Those abuses, he well knew, were at this moment going on to as great an extent as ever; and as these commissioners were so slow in their motions, he was determined he would not forego his privilege of a member of parliament, of pushing forward an inquiry as speedily as possible. The house would recollect what good had been produced by the Naval Inquiry. He proposed to inquire into the state of the canteens, and asserted that the rent of the canteens would pay the expenses of the barracks. He should then be glad to know what had become, or been done with all the money that had been received from canteens; on which subject he wished to fish for some information."

" Mr. MARTIN said, he wished to see an inquiry instituted in that house, rather than by commissioners; because the latter, from the slow progress they made, seemed to look on the people of England as able to bear peculation, in the same way as cooks did the skinning of eels; because they were so well used to it, they felt nothing from it."

"The SEC. AT WAR wished to know what farther measure the hon. gent. meant to ground upon his present motion."

"Mr. PAULL then made some observations with regard to a Mr. Atkins, the late Barrack Master, who had been dismissed. He stated him to have been formerly an honourable character, and recommended by Sir R. Abercrombie to the situation which he held. It was not found out that he was a pilferer till he had discovered certain peculations of others, and had given information of them to the War Office. Till then he was never found out to be dishonest. Sums had been given by way of rent that were perfectly incredible, and in consequence of his information, they were reduced from 1100l. to 500l. He had been told, also, that these barracks were first furnished by government, and then immediately gutted. When Atkins gave information of those abuses, he was immediately dismissed, without even being confronted by his accusers. He concluded with cordially supporting the motion of the hon. gent, whom he was proud to call his friend."

"MR. CANNING observed, that it had been asserted for a fact, that this Atkins was dismissed on the affidavit of a man who had suffered by Atkins' giving information of his peculations. He had no reason to suppose that the dismissal was not right, but he could wish that the matter should be stated to the satisfaction of the house."

"The SEC. AT WAR denied that the Barrack-Master had been dismissed on account of any information he had given, but merely because there were inaccuracies in his accounts."

"MR. PAULL considered it very extraordinary, that this man who appeared now to be the most improper of all persons, should be so long continued in a situation of trust and confidence, that none but an honest man should be placed in."

"Mr. Secretary WINDHAM said, that he knew nothing of this Barrack-Master when he was first appointed, and had only heard that he was an officer somewhat distressed, and that there was nothing then said against his character. It was not suprising that the discovery should have been made in the manner it was; for the fact was, that there was so little public spirit generally going, that it usually proceeded from the irritation of some private quarrel, that transactions of this sort came to light. He did not see how Parliament could take the business into its own hands, or do more than generally recommend it to the commissioners to enquire diligently into abuses of this nature. If these commissioners did not do their duty, other commissioners should be appointed; but he did not see how that house could examine into every separate abuse that might be complained of."

"Mr. BASTARD thought it was the duty the house to look diligently into abuses, when they were stated, and, as guardians of the public purse, to be generally distrustful of them. He did not expect much good from one set of commissioners being appointed to supersede another. The Military Commissioners had cost the nation the sum of 10,000l. for their labours the first year. He thought the punishment of the individual, by removal from his office, would do more good, in the way of example, than ten Commissions. Common fame reported, that there were most enormous abuses in the Barrack Department: that the nation was often charged for pulling down stone buildings, convenient for lodging men, as much money as was spent in building wooden barracks in unwholesome situations. He thought the whole system ought to be examined accurately."

"The SECRETARY at WAR observed, that the dismissal of any Barrack-Master was only done upon the report of the Barrack-Master-General."

"Mr. ROBSON then said, that he never thought the right hon. Secretary at War capable of discharging Mr. Atkins upon any improper ground, for it was not in his nature; nor did he intend introducing the name of that gentleman into the debate, as his inquiries had proceeded a great way before he ever heard of him. As it was thought right to ask him, what his objects were in this motion? he would honestly answer, first, that he meant to save the money of the public; and, secondly, that he might save to the amount of 500,000l. a year in the barrack department only. At present these accounts were scarcely settled in the course of two years, and he saw no reason why they should not, like those of the Board of Works, be audited and passed quarterly; and why they should not in the same manner as that Board, have a Comptroller and Auditor to themselves. Another of his objects was, to make the rents of the canteens pay the rents of the barracks, for which they were amply sufficient. He said, it was now intimated to him, that a Report from the Commissioners might be expected to-morrow or the dayafter; but though that might assist him, it was not likely to embrace all his objects. There was an unfounded report abroad, that out of the 658 members of that house, there was not one who was careful, or capable, to at-

tend to the public accounts; but it was his intention to shew the contrary; and that it could be done by the bare knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic. It was not his wish or intention to state at this time, aggravating things, but he would mention a report, that the persons concerned in this department had interest enough to have barracks made in the most unhealthy situations, and that, in consequence of it, so great a mortality had prevailed amongst the King's troops and prisoners, that the inhabitants of the parishes would not suffer them to be buried in the church-yards. As to the present commission, he observed, that when it was appointed on the 5th of Jan. instead of going back in search of old abuses, they should have immediately stopped those that were then existing. The consequence would have been that a great expenditure would have been saved, and we should not now be paying 474 l. a year for buildings not worth 170 l. If the house chose to employ him in this enquiry, he would set about it to-morrow morning, and soon make them a report which would produce an important saving of the public money. The hon. gent. then moved—

"That there be laid before this house, a "return of the canteens or houses for vending beer and liquors, which have been set "up at the several buildings, rented or hired "by government, and used as barracks, or "places for lodging or containing officers "and soldiers of the army, or of persons "attached to the army. That the said return do include every such canteen in the "whole of Great Britain, existing between "the 1st of Jan. 1793, and the 24th of June "1806. That the said return be exhibited "in distinct columns, placed in the order, "and containing the several heads here following, viz.:—1st, The parish, place, or "station, in alphabetical order. 2d, The "date of the year, month, and day of letting each canteen respectively. 3d, The "name and rank of the person or persons "who let the canteen. 4th, the name of "the person or persons who rent, or rented "the canteen. 5th, The weekly or annual "rent of the canteen. 6th, The name and "rank of the person or persons through "whose hands the rent has been received, "on the part of government. 7th, The "name, or phrase, descriptive of the "building so let as a canteen. 8th, The "number of non-commissioned officers and "men, generally quartered or lodged in the "several buildings used as barracks; to "which such canteen is, or has been attached."

"Mr. Paull seconded the motion; and was proceeding to remark upon some misrepresentation made of what he said before, when

"Mr. Windham reminded the house that such a course was disorderly."

"The Speaker said, that it was certainly irregular, in seconding a motion, to go into the subject of a preceding one."

"Mr. Paull thought himself entitled to explain a circumstance on which he had been misrepresented."

"The Speaker repeated, that he was proceeding in a disorderly manner, and if he wished to correct a misrepresentation, the fit mode would be to take another occasion of doing so."

"The Sec. at War, supposing himself to be alluded to, wished, that if the orders of the House admitted it, the hon. gent. might be allowed to afford the explanation he wished for."

"Mr. Paull said, that if he was not allowed to explain, he must withdraw his seconding the motion. He thought, that in seconding a motion, he was entitled to give his reasons for doing so."

"Mr. Rose said, he never knew that the canteens were made private property, but were always accounted for to Government."

"Mr. Robson replied, that though some of these canteens produced a rent of 1500 l. a year, very little of the money was accounted for to Government. The brewers often gave money to the Barrack-Master, for permission to sell their beer in them, by which the public were defrauded in the revenue; and it was farther increased, by the sale of nothing but smuggled spirits in them, not only in the Isle of Wight, but even in the county where the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) resided!"

This motion as well as the former were agreed to.

"Mr. Robson next observed, that the subject of his next motion was of great importance to the public interest, as he would, if permitted, prove at their bar, that the rent of the canteens, and the sale of manure alone, would, if properly accounted for, defray the whole of the rents paid for the barracks. Some parts of the information which he had received, was almost too bad to mention to the house. Amongst the abuses in that department, he would state, that a Mrs. Parker, who, it seemed, was a *favoured friend* of Major Lewis, had hired a house of a tailor for 30 l. a year, and through his interest let it for barracks, at 70 l. When questioned on the subject, she said, "As I find every one robbing government, I do not see why I may not have a little in the scramble." He then made a detailed mo-

on relative to the dung, ashes, broken straw, &c. &c. sold, *which motion was negatived.*

Debate of Friday the 18th July.

"The SECRETARY at WAR rose to move for some papers in the Barrack Department, in order to disprove the assertions made by an hon. member (Mr. Robson) the evening before last. He accordingly moved for an account of the disposal of the sums received by the Barrack Master General for rent of canteens, at the several temporary barracks, and also for manure sold therefrom since 1793."

"Mr. ROBSON thought it most extraordinary, that it happened of late, that the papers which his Majesty's ministers opposed and refused, when called for by his motions, should in an evening or two after, be moved for by themselves. He had another motion to bring forward on this subject on Monday, preparatory to which it was his wish, with the indulgence of the house, that the report of the Committee of Military Enquiry, laid this night upon the table, and ordered to be printed, might be allowed to lie on the table for another day, that he might have an opportunity of perusing it. If not, he must bring forward his motion in the best way he could without it. If the report was sent to the printer's, it was of such voluminous extent, that it could not be finished before the house would break up, and would not, of course be seen by the members until next session. But his object was to put as speedy a stop as possible to the system of peculation still going on, instead of suffering it to proceed, and turning to retrospective considerations in the first instance."

"The SPEAKER informed the hon. gent. that the report had been ordered to be printed, and it was not customary, when such an order was made, to interpose any delay, without a special order of the house."

"Lord H. PETTY hoped the hon. member would have no objection to signify the nature and object of his motion forMonday."

"Mr. ROBSON answered, that as he never wished to bring forward any matter of this nature without being grounded on statements made to him upon affidavit, he was not yet prepared to explain particulars His object, however, was to detect and expose a system of the most flagitious peculation still going on in the Barrack Department."

"The SECRETARY at WAR laid on the table some copies of affidavits produced at the War Office, in vindication of the conduct of Mr. Atkins, late Barrack-Master of Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, pursuant to an order made on Mr. Robson's motion on Wednesday.

"Mr. PAULL hoped those papers would be printed for the perusal of the members, in order to vindicate the conduct and the honor of a much injured gentleman, of whom, though he knew nothing personally, yet he knew his character; that he was a gallant officer, and had served with high distinction in the West Indies last war; that he had received his appointment as Barrack Master, at the Isle of Wight, in consequence of a very high recommendation of his character and services to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham); that he had conduced himself without the slightest blemish to his conduct or character in that department, until he had disclosed to the head of it the peculations he had discovered, and solicited to be removed from Sandown to some other place, when he would make still more ample disclosures of delinquencies which came to his knowledge; then, and not before, charges were made against him by the party who had been injured in consequence of the discovery he had made; and he was dismissed without any opportunity being allowed him for his vindication, without being heard in his defence, or confronted with his accusers, as he had intreated. [Here Mr. Paull read a copy of a letter from Mr. Atkins to the Secretary at War, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of dismissal, expressing his astonishment, and requesting to be confronted with his accusers; and the Secretary's answer, declining that proceeding, and alleging it not to be the usage of the office.] Mr. Paull added, if this gentleman was to be dismissed for only making a disclosure which he conceived to be his duty; if others were not also dismissed upon the same ground, it must be considered a severe hardship and injustice inflicted upon an unfortunate gentleman with a family of six children, and to whom he thought some reparation ought to be made."

"The SECRETARY at WAR answered, that it was to the Barrack Master General, and not to him, that Mr. Atkins ought to have appealed; and that the papers produced would contradict almost every word which had been alleged by the hon gentleman."

"Mr. ROBSON thought it extremely severe and unjust to have punished Mr. Atkins upon the affidavit which was alleged as the ground of his dismissal, without hearing him in his defence, and when there were three other affidavits in direct contradiction to that upon which he was dimissed.—*The papers were ordered to be printed.*"

Debate of Monday, the 21st July.

"Mr. ROBSON rose in pursuance of his notice, to make a motion for papers upon this

subject. Since the debate, said the hon. gent., which took place lately upon India affairs, could not bring down ministers to the house, it was in vain to expect their attendance upon the present occasion. Although his Majesty's ministers, however, did not think proper to come to their places, he should think it no less his duty to speak plainly of them. He had upon all former occasions submitted plain and simple motions to the consideration of the house, which, if they had chosen to agree to, they would have been by this time in possession of the means of saving several hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money. From the unaccountable conduct of the present ministers, his motions had hitherto been rejected, although he had been told by the Secretary at War the other day, that if he had divided the house upon his third motion upon this subject, it would have been agreed to. Was this all the support which ministers thought it their duty to afford to the discovery and detection of abuses? He should still assert, that the motions which he had brought forward the other day were such as would have formed a key to discover all those abuses which he was convinced existed in the Barrack Department. The right hon. Secretary at War had indeed placed him in a very unpleasant predicament on Friday last. He had previously been told that he ought to wait till the Report of the Commissioners was presented. Although he was generally very punctual in his attendance in the house, yet it so happened that on Friday last it was 20 minutes past 4 when he entered, and on his way he met the clerk coming out with the report which had been presented and ordered to be printed. He had followed him up stairs in order to inspect it, but returned in consequence of learning that the Secretary at War intended to move for and present some papers. Finding a deliberate perusal of the report absolutely necessary for his purpose, he applied to the house to have the printing postponed to some future period; this, however, could not be complied with, so that he was now placed in such a situation that he could not be able to lay that plan upon the table which he originally wished, and which he had pledged himself to do. He should still however assert, that with the produce arising from a saving upon the canteens and manure, he would engage to pay the whole expense of all the temporary barracks in England. He should now call upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary at War to assign to him some reason why they did not consent to all his former motions, and support him to their utmost in his endeavours to provoke inquiry. He should warn these gentlemen, that if in the space of 6 months hence matters remained as they now were, a great share of responsibility would fall upon them for their unpardonable neglect. The Secretary at War had, upon the day alluded to, presented some papers, stating the rents of canteens, &c. but these did not answer his (Mr. Robson's) purpose. He therein found only a bare statement of the sum received by the late Barrack Master General, but he neither found the particulars of expenditure, the period when payments were made, nor the time comprehended in the whole of such statement. He considered it therefore as no account at all. Was it merely for the purpose of appearing consistent in their votes, that the house had granted such a document? The right hon. secretary must surely perceive that he had been only moving for a thing in an imperfect state, which had been formerly moved for in a perfect one. In short, this paper by no means came near what he wished the house to be possessed of. What he wanted was a distinct and accurate statement of the canteens employed, and the produce of manure in each county. It should be a monthly statement, or such as every Barrack Master was bound to send weekly. For this purpose he begged leave to renew the motion he had formerly submitted to the consideration of the house upon this subject, which had been formerly rejected.——[After some little debate as to the point of order, the motion was made in nearly the following terms.] "That there "be laid before this house, an account of "money received, on the part of govern- "ment, for dung, ashes, dust, straw, sweep- "ings, or other things, being articles of "manure; the name or names of the per- "sons to whom sold; the sum or sums re- "ceived; the name or names of the persons "through whose hands the said sums have "been received, on the part of the public; "the time when such sale ceased; if so, "stating the cause of cessation; the num- "ber of non-commissioned officers and "men, and the number of horses generally "quartered or lodged at each station re- "spectively, &c."

"The SECRETARY AT WAR said, he did not object to the motion, nor had he objected to any motion the hon. gentleman had brought forward. At the same time, he thought it necessary to say, that the making out these accounts will be attended with great inconvenience, and a very heavy expense; for many additional clerks must

be employed for the purpose; and it was for the house to consider whether they would authorise such an expense, after the hon. gent. had talked of throwing up the business, and it was not certain whether he was sincere in his intention to proceed with the inquiry. If his noble friend near him (Lord H. Petty) had not taken the course he had done, he should himself have objected to the motions altogether, but now he certainly should not."

"Mr. Robson said, he was aware that granting motions for papers was attended with some expense, but all he had hitherto moved for, were comprised in two sheets and a half, and, therefore he could not be much reproached on that head at present. He assured the house, and the right hon. secretary, he was sincere in his intention to proceed into the inquiry, and would be ready to begin to-morrow, for the more he looked into it, the more he saw it was an absolute refinement on peculation, and could not be stopped too speedily; and he wished only that he had one of those peculators before an honest jury. The report of the Military Board he looked upon as *a hash*, seasoned up with the account of the one per cent. charged by General Delancey, by way of shewing they had noticed something at the outset; but they had begun at the wrong end. Instead of going back 3 years, so far as the year 1793, they should have begun with the present abuses. If they had begun right, a report would now have been before the house, by which half a million might have been saved; and he was determined, the system of plunder which had so long been carried on, should not continue. Every hour that is lost, was an injustice, and an injury to the public. He warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he now saw in his place, against neglecting to go into an immediate and *bonâ fide* inquiry, observing, that if he did so, he would have to answer to him in the next Session for the loss of half a million of the public money. He had heard much of the talents of this *broad bottomed* administration. He wished to God he could persuade them to give up some of their enormous pensions and sinecure places, and thus bring their *talents* of gold and their *talents* of silver into the service of the public. Let them do this, and then he would allow them to talk of their sincerity. If ministers neglected enquiry, he would tell them, they had not a leg to stand on. They might, perhaps, go on for a year or two, but it was impossible they should last longer. If economy was not the order of the day, how long did ministers think that the country could go on? Would not extravagance force the people to accept an insecure peace, which they did not wish for at present? What the public wanted was economy, and a strict inquiry into the public expenditure; and covered as they were with taxes, how was it possible for them to have an opinion of that administration that did not follow up inquiry? Admiral Markham had declared that two-thirds of the money granted by Parliament would pay all the expenses of the navy, and yet as much as ever was taken this year. This was absolutely laughing at the people. How long, he would ask, were these things to last?"

Mr. Robson next moved: "That there be laid before the house, a return of the sales which have taken place at the several temporary barracks or buildings, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks, or as barrack storehouses, in the whole of G. Britain. That the said return do embrace all such sales of the description aforesaid, that have been made between the 1st of Jan., 1793, and the 24th June, 1806; and that it be exhibited in nine columns in the order, and with the titles following, viz.:—1. The name of the parish (or station) and the county where each sale respectively was made; the said names of the parishes (or stations) following each other in due alphabetical order. 2. The date of the sale. 3. The name of the auctioneer, or person by whom the sale was made, and if the sale was a private one, stating that circumstance. 4. The names of the purchasers, if less than six in number. 5. A general description of the things sold. 6. The name of the Barrack Master, or other person, under whose immediate direction and superintendance the sale took place. 7. The gross amount of the sale, as credited to government. 8. The total amount of all sums expended by government in fitting up each building respectively. 9. The number of men or horses usually quartered in each building respectively."

"Mr. Windham observed, that ministers were placed in a disagreeable situation by the hon. gent's. motions, since he seemed to consider persons who might on any account object to them as wishing to protect abuses and peculations. But it must be from the most gratuitous love of abuse, if ministers could object to the discovery of abuses which took place under their predecessors. In this observation, however, he could not include himself, for the present motion had some reference to him in an antecedent state.

Here he could not but remark the inconsistency of the hon. gent. He had complained that all the work of the Commissioners of Enquiry had been retrospective, and had considered that as a most absurd way of proceeding, while he wanted to provide against present and future abuses. He had also dwelt on the expense of the Barrack Department; and yet, notwithstanding all this, he now proposed to go into a detail of all that had happened for the last 13 years, which must necessarily be attended with great expense, and would require the employment of additional clerks. Now, the proper question was, would the motion, if agreed to, produce any thing adequate to the expense and inconvenience it would occasion? All the items of an auctioneer's paper, pots, pans, kettles, trenchers, and wooden bowls, were to be made up and laid before the house, and many other things of which it was probable no record or vestige now remained. The hon. gent. brought forth his motions as a sort of nostrum or recipe, which was to cure existing abuses all at once: and, indeed, if he could produce some little scheme of accounts of that kind, he would do great service to the country. He had taken a very wide compass, and laid a broad basis; but his objections to his motions arose from their probable inefficiency, and he would not be terrified from opposing the present, by the reproach of a wish to screen peculators. But he believed it would be a warning to the house to be cautious in assenting, not to judicious and necessary motions, but to such as would be tedious, troublesome, and expensive, without producing any adequate advantage."

"Mr. JONES said, he had no wish to give any opposition or annoyance to his majesty's ministers. He had every wish to respect their talents, to give them credit for the best intentions, and to be convinced it was by no means their wish knowingly to countenance or to screen wanton extravagance or peculation: but really and truly, the system of peculation of late years, in the department alluded to by his hon. friend (Mr. ROBSON) was so glaring, so horrid, and abominable, that he must say his hon. friend was justified in pressing his motion, with a view to establish some effectual and permanent check upon this glaring system of flagitious peculation. His Majesty's present ministers had succeeded to power with the wishes and the warm approbation of the people, and certainly had shewn every disposition to follow up enquiry into public abuses, and to render the public force formidable for the defence of the country against a ferocious enemy: but he could assure those ministers, with every deference for their talents, that, without economy in the expenditure of the public money, without the most rigorous vigilance in the disbursement of every pound for the public service, it would be in vain that they possessed talents; it would be in vain that they rendered formidable their armies or their fleets, with a view to our permanent safety. Economy in public, and in private life, under the peculiar circumstances to which this country was now reduced, he considered as the cardinal virtue upon which turned all our hopes of ultimately surmounting the dangers and embarrasments in which we were involved: it was to our want of this, that our ferocious enemy looked with eager hopes of his ultimate success in subduing us, more than to any opinion of our want of a formidable force, and a military spirit of resistance. But, from the nature of some expenditures of late, it would seem as if his majesty's ministers had believed that a guinea was really worth more than twenty-one shillings: however, he could assure them, nothing but the most strict economy and vigilance to the public expenditure would do. He thought it odd, that when a proposition was made with a view to investigate defalcations and peculations in another department, which was a perfect mine of peculation, it should be resisted on the ground that it would cause an extra expence in clerks, pens, ink, and paper. The objection to the expense of these accounts, he thought came with a bad grace from the ministers so soon after the Auditors bill which entailed great expenses on the public, for little more than nominal appointments. He wished to see the system of economy general. It was equally advantageous in public as in private concerns. "Give us," said he, "but economy, and a fig for Buonaparté."!

"Sir WILLIAM ELFORD, with every respect for the hon. member, observed, that if he had been the first to discover the peculation of which he now complained, and had come down to the house and founded upon his discovery a motion of enquiry, undoubtedly he would have deserved much popularity for his exertion. But, as this was not the case, as the house had already taken up the subject under the general head of military expenditures, and as the Commissioners appointed by the house had been actually for a year past occupied in the investigation, the hon. gent. in every endeavour to add to his own popularity on this head, sought to detract from the merit of the Commissioners, and of the house, by whom they were

instituted, as well as very considerably and unnecessarily to increase that expenditure of public money for which he professed so much of vigilant concern."

"Mr. ROBSON contended, that the same abuses were still going on in the same manner as before, and as it seemed the Commissioners could not conclude thier inquiries for three or four years, he would ask, was he, as a member of parliament, to sit still all that time, and not attempt to check them? There should be in the Barrack Office, a regular account of the sale of all the articles, the names of the items, and the amount of what they respectively sold for; and it did not appear that the Commissioners had called for it. There was a clause in the Act, that the Commissioners need not, unless they saw reason for it, inquire into any former abuses which did not still subsist, and thus the abuses escaped under this masking clause. The rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had talked to him of *nostrums*; all the nostrums he wanted, was to probe peculation to the quick, and to apply to it such a remedy as should cure it for the future. All he wished for was inquiry; but he found by the papers already presented, that the repetition of *dittos*, in many places was substituted for descriptions, as if there was a scarcity of pens, ink, and paper, in the Office."

"Lord H. PETTY said, he had hitherto been extremely unwilling to resist any of the motions made by the hon gent. for the papers he required on this subject, or to withhold any information which the hon. gent or the House should think necessary: but really the document for which he now moved was of a nature so very complicated and impracticable, on a range of 13 years, as well as utterly useless towards the professed and leading object of the hon. gent., that he was inclined to oppose this motion, seeing it to be of no practical use. If the hon. gent. had any objection to the mode of inquiry by Commissioners, already adopted by the House, and before whom the subject of Barracks was laid, as well as all other branches of the military expenditure, he ought to have come down to the House, and moved for a repeal of the bill under which those Commissioners were appointed, in order to substitute any other plan of inquiry he should think more eligible. For his own part, he should in future be more averse to the granting of such general and *expensive motions*."

"Mr. JONES said, that he had had the honor of seconding the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. Robson) relative to the 10l. 10s. bill unpaid by government. That motion, which was then refused by ministers, had done great good: it had given rise to the Commission of Naval Enquiry, and this motion which he now had the honor of seconding, and which too was scouted by ministers, he would venture to say, would also be attended with great benefit to the public."—The question was then put and the motion agreed to

The first observation that presents itself, relative to these proceedings, is, that Mr. ROBSON has, at every stage, had the ministers to *combat with*. They have gone as far as he in their *professions* about economy; they have not, in ethse latter instances, *directly* negatived his motions; but, some how or other, they have been *against him*, and their great war-horse has constantly been, the board of MILITARY COMMISSIONERS, a board, be it remembered, which was selected by PITT, and of the selection of which the present ministers did most bitterly complain.——What turned up respecting the case of MR. ATKINS, in these discussions, the reader will, of course, have attended to. MR. PAULL's statement was perfectly correct, and the public are much indebted to that gentleman, upon this account as well as for his meritorious exertions relating to the affairs of India. General FITZPATRICK's assertion, that MR. ATKINS was *not* dismissed upon the ground of Ward's affidavit was valuable; because it will, I am persuaded, clearly appear, that there never was any blame whatever as to MR. ATKINS's accounts; and besides, this blame, if there was any, existed long before the dismission, but the dismission never was talked of until the report of MR. ATKINS relative to the exorbitant rent of barns was made; and, as MR. PAULL well observed, it was remarkable, that nothing should ever have been brought against Mr. Atkins, till after he had made that report. The Spartan seems to have been aware of the force of this observation, and, accordingly we find him stating, that, though it rested with him entirely to *appoint* barrack-masters, the *dismission* of them took place only upon *the report of the Barrack-Master-General*. So, here is a man ruined by his dismission, and here is one officer of government who says, "I did "not make the report against him," and another who says, "I did not dismiss him." Between them, however, it has been done; and we do not hear, that they are at all inclined to find fault with one another. GENERAL FITZPATRICK, giving way to his virtuous indignation against any thing savouring of dishonesty or meanness, called MR. ATKINS by some very hard names.

But, while I am quite disposed to blame Mr. Atkins for accepting of poultry, pigs, and hay from any of the farmers, I am (supposing the charge of having received *money* to be false, as I believe it is) convinced, that the accepting of such presents was not a crime which ought not to have been pardoned, especially when the *merits* of the offender were taken into view. But, as I once before observed, if no merits whatever, if no good, however great, done to the public; if no length of service; if no considerations respecting the numerous family of Mr. Atkins; if nothing could bend the inflexible mind, the Spartan virtue, of General Fitzpatrick; if no earthly consideration could induce this gentleman to overlook any act of meanness; if his pure soul shrank back with horror at any principle resembling, in its effects, a STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS; if this was the case, may we not hope, that the principle upon which Mr. Atkins was punished will be acted upon with regard to others, *high* as well as *low*? And, ought we not to expect, that, without a moment's delay, the Memorial of Mr. Pritchard will produce some effect? Yet, this Memorial has been before government for *six months*, and nothing, that I have heard of, has been done in consequence of it. How is this? *Why* is it? Why does not the Spartan call upon Mr. Pritchard to prove his allegations? "No," will he say, perhaps, "it is the "Barrack-Master General who must do "that." But, why does *he* not do it? And, suppose he should never do it? Have the ministers, who are all-powerful as to other matters, no power at all here? They who slashed down the sword of justice on a man who proposed to save the public money, seem to be nerveless when they come to the nest of peculation. Mr. Pritchard has shewed them where to strike, but there they stand motionless, and seem to have no intention to do any thing but invent apologies for their inaction.——Lord Henry Petty, in answer to what Mr. Robson said respecting the opposition which his first motions upon these subjects met with, said, that his only objection *then* was, that *there was a Board of Commissioners sitting*. The public will recollect, that his lordship did, however, move for the same papers himself, *that board being still sitting*. But, now again, he advised Mr. Robson to postpone his motion, until another report from these commissioners was made, which report, he said, would come before the House the next day. It *did come*, and, after having read Mr. Robson's curious account of the manner in which it was kept from his examination; after having seen, that it was brought into the House and sent out of it again, before Mr. Robson could get into the House; after having seen that his request to have time to peruse it was refused upon the ground that it having been ordered to be *printed*, it could not, though only for an hour, be called back; and, after having considered that the session must evidently close before the report could possibly come back from the printers: after having thus observed and considered, it will not be amiss to remark, that this military commission has been surprizingly *quickened* in its operations; and, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the motions of Mr Robson have contributed towards this happy effect? These Commissioners took nine months in making a report relative to the accounts of De Lancey, which report I could myself, if possessed of their authority, have made in *one week*. The report which they have now made is, if I am rightly informed, much more bulky, and yet they have made it in less than three months. Nevertheless, at their rate of proceeding, it is pretty evident, that they could not, in several years, get through the Barrack-Office alone. The expense of these Commissioners is enormous. A sum of 10,500*l.* has already been voted for them. What reason is there that *seven* men (some of them with other large incomes from the public purse, and having other important duties to perform); what reason is there that *seven* men should be kept in pay for a purpose like this? And, observe, that it is the patrons of a board like this, who complain of the *expense* of making out and printing the papers called for by Mr. Robson! And Lord Henry Petty closed the debates, as the reader will have seen, by declaring, that, *in future*, he should think it his duty *to oppose* all such "general and *expensive* motions:" It was asserted, both by Lord Henry Petty and his right worthy colleague, General Fitzpatrick, that the trouble of making out the papers called for by Mr. Robson would occasion the necessity of *an additional number of clerks in the Barrack Office*. I have read the motions with great attention; I have duly considered what are the materials whereof the papers must be composed; and I say that, if these papers cannot be made out, without any additional number of clerks at all, as readily as a merchant's detail is carried into his ledger, the Barrack-Accounts have been kept in a most scandalously negligent manner. The particular motion, upon the making of which these assertions were made by the ministers, was that which calls for an account of

the *sales* which have taken place at the temporary barracks; and, when the reader considers, that the materials thus sold, have *cost* the public more, probably, than *two millions* of pounds sterling, is it not worth while to inquire how they have been disposed of, and what is become of the money? Mr. WINDHAM ridiculed the idea of bringing before parliament "every item "of an auctioneer's beggarly account of "pots, kettles, trenchers, and wooden "bowls;" but, was this treating the object, or the motion, of Mr. ROBSON fairly? Does his motion tend to any such ridiculous object? No; it calls for a "*general* description of the "things sold;" and if the purchasers should, in any case, have been *more than six*, their *names* are not to be inserted. What can be, or what *ought* to be, at least, more easy to make out, than a general account of this sort? There have been, perhaps, 200 sales, and, if a proper account has been kept of such sales, if a regular account of each has been received, and filed, at the General Barrack-Office, what difficulty can there be in filling up the columns traced out by the motion of Mr. Robson? If a great Commission-Merchant were to be called upon to make out a general account of two hundred sales, and each shipment of goods sold to six persons, would he not produce it to you *in a day or two?* Would he attempt to put off his employer with excuses about *trouble*, and the necessity of an *additional number of clerks?* An objection from Mr. WINDHAM, on the score of *expense*, was, I think, peculiarly unhappy; and, seeing that it was accompanied with some not very gentle personal sarcasm, it might have drawn from Mr. ROBSON, without exposing that gentleman to the charge of illiberality, a comparison between Mr. Windham's present doctrine and that which he formerly held, when he talked about "cheese-parings and candle-"ends."——There was, indeed, one objection, urged by Mr. WINDHAM, which was fearfully important; to wit; that, probably, the *materials* for making out such an account as Mr. ROBSON called for, had long ago *ceased to exist*. I am sure he must have said this without reflection. I am sure of it; for, it is impossible that he could suppose, that the Barrack-Office possessed *no account* of the several sales described in Mr. ROBSON's motion. He agreed to the motion, but the ground of his agreement, as stated in the report, was, that the uselessness and trouble and the expense of this motion would teach the House to reject the like in future. But if the motion were to produce no other effect than that of shewing, that no detailed account of such sales are kept at the Barrack-office, it would be well worth all the trouble attending it, for, is it possible, that such a discovery should not lead to a better system of keeping the Barrack-accounts? A better system Mr. WINDHAM seemed to wish for; but, he very civilly hinted, that no such thing was to be expected from the suggestions of Mr. ROBSON. I am of a contrary opinion. I think, that there is, even in the motions which Mr. ROBSON has now submitted to the House of Commons, though not exactly what I would have recommended, no bad outline, as far as it extends, for the keeping of the Barrack-accounts; and, Mr. WINDHAM may be assured, that, if four accounts, upon the plan of Mr. Robson's four motions, had been regularly kept, and annually submitted to parliament, many hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money would have been prevented from falling into the hands of peculators. I venture to *assure* him of this; because he has never had the time, or the inclination, to acquire, upon this subject, the information that I, as well as many others, possess. I am far from blaming him for this. I blame him not because his mind has not stooped to these objects; but on his part, let him not blame, let him not ridicule, those, who have thus stooped, especially when he must be convinced, that they are not actuated by motives of envy or of revenge against the persons who have unjustly pocketted the public money.——Great contempt has been attempted to be thrown upon the motion for an account of the Dung, Ashes, Sweepings, and other articles of manure, sold from the different barracks. But if Mr. ROBSON can prove that these articles, together with the rent of canteens (or permission to sell liquor), ought to amount to as much as all the buildings, used as barracks, ought to cost the public; if he should prove this, is his motion a thing to be treated with *contempt?* General Fitzpatrick, after this last mentioned motion of Mr. ROBSON had been rejected on the 16th, came down on the 17th, and did, himself, move for an account of "the *sums received* "by the late Barrack-Master-General for "rents of canteens and for Dung sold;" and, this account, he said, he had moved for.... for *what*, think you? For the purpose of "*disproving* the assertions made the "day before by the Honourable Gentleman," Mr. ROBSON. *Disproving?* as how, most logical General? Mr. ROBSON did not assert, that the public *had been* credited with money enough, on account of Canteens and Manure, to defray the expenses that

been made to defray the expenses for buildings; that would have been a hazardous assertion indeed? but, there was, I verily believe, very little hazard in asserting, that the public *ought* to have been credited with money enough, on that account, to defray the expenses that it *ought* to have been made to defray for buildings; and, it was to prove this to the House that the motion was made. ——Mr. ROBSON's motion, as the reader will have seen, calls for particulars; it calls for places, dates, and names of persons, and strength of troops; but the General contents himself with a lumping account of what *has been credited* the public in the whole, without one word of information as to what ought to have been credited. This account was, as Mr. ROBSON termed it, "*no account at all*," in which it in nowise differed from hundreds of other accounts that are laid, every year, before parliament by the ministers, and at an expense, which is, indeed, perfectly useless to every body, except the King's Printers, *one of whom is a member of the House of Commons.*——The General, the Spartan General, told the House that *his* motion had been framed upon *a suggestion of the Barrack-master-general!* and, as an instance of the dispatch that these gentlemen are capable of, when they have a mind to set about making [illegible] counts, the paper was produced in the [illegible]e in half a minute after it was moved for, and, in another half minute, it was ordered to be printed. If Mr. ROBSON had been a "*fair* opponent," a "*regular* opposition man," here the matter would have ended. Each side having had their speeches, the paper would have been printed and distributed, and the public never would have heard another word about canteens and Barrack manure, till another opportunity had been wanted to make a regular opposition speak. But, not being a regular man, the paper moved for by the General did not satisfy him, and, if the motion, which has been made, produce the proper effect in the Barrack-Office, I am persuaded, the public will see good cause not to treat with contempt an account of Barrack-Manure. Indeed, there needs no account at all to convince us, that the amount of this article must be very great; and it was only from want of an acquaintance with the subject, that Mr. WINDHAM could have said, that the *cost* of Mr. ROBSON's motions would exceed any public benefit that could therefrom be derived. Mr. WINDHAM was, I must and will presume, not aware of the immense sums annually charged to the public for *straw*, of which the beds of the *men* (and very good beds), as well as of the *horses*, are made; he was not aware, that fresh straw is furnished to the men once a month (I believe it is); he is not aware, that, when a change of quarters takes place, fresh straw is furnished, though the straw in use has not been served out above a day; he was not aware, that the straw, at coming out of the Barrack-Rooms, is worth *more than half as much* as when it enters them; he was not aware, that coal-ashes, sweepings, and the waste of vegetables, are worth, in any part of England (London, perhaps, excepted), from a guinea to thirty shillings a waggon load; nor was he at all aware of the *quantity* of these articles of Manure that come from a Barrack; for, if he had, I am sure he is the last man in England to have treated the motion of Mr. ROBSON with contempt. If, indeed, the Manure arising from Barracks were sold for the benefit of the officers doing duty with the regiments quartered in them, there would be little room for complaint; though I am far from saying that such a regulation would be for the benefit of the service, see that it would inevitably create heart-burnings amongst the men, to admit whom to a share would be to destroy the possibility of supporting discipline. Yet, if the profit of the Manure did actually fall to the officers of the army, one would not grudge it; but no part of it are they suffered to receive, and therefore it ought to come to the credit of the public.——Great as the length of this article is already become I cannot refrain from adding to it, by making a remark or two upon the speech of SIR WILLIAM EUFORD, inserted above. This gentleman, apparently aware, that the public, or all the honest part of it, at least, entertained great gratitude towards Mr. ROBSON for his unwearied, and his very judicious, exertions relative to the abuses in the Barrack-Department, observed, that the merit of having awakened the House and the public to a sense of the injuries inflicted by Barrack-Peculators was not Mr. ROBSON's, but that it belonged to those who had appointed *the board of Military Commissioners*, who were now actually engaged in the detection of those abuses. Of this board and its reports we have seen and said enough; and, as to the question, whether PITT and his colleagues appointed the commission with the view of detecting, or of screening, peculators, the reader will easily determine without being reminded of any of the circumstances, under which the proposition for the appointment was made in the House of Commons. But every one may not recollect, that this Barrack-Department and its enormous abuses have been a subject of Mr.

Robson's attention for several years. The fact, however, is so; and, by a reference to the debate, from which a motto to this number has been selected, it will be seen, that, four years ago, he exerted himself, though in vain, to prevail upon the House of Commons to put a stop to those enormities, a part of which are now forcing themselves upon the attention of the astonished and indignant public. As to *popularity*, what does Sir William Elford think that Mr. Robson wants with it? Does the Knight fear that he wants a place, or a pension, or a title? Does he think that Mr. Robson wants to get at these by the means of power acquired by duping the senseless rabble? Does he perceive, that Mr. Robson receives much applause from those popularity-seeking gentlemen, who conduct the newspapers? Unhappily, the road to popularity, commonly so called, lies another way. So large a portion of the most noisy part of the people are become, if not peculators, at least sharers in the peculation, that, to stand forward as a detecter of peculation is by no means the way to acquire popularity. Already have those glittering strumpets who have so successfully exerted their influence over the half-ideots that are under their control, set up an outcry against him; and it is becoming quite the *ton* to speak of him as a hard-hearted ruffian, who wishes to reduce gentlemen and ladies to beggary. These profligate women are, without one single exception, the patronesses of peculation. No matter where, or amongst whom it is found. It is the thing itself that they love, as the means of providing for their dependents, their vile agents, their paramours, and their bastards. They affect to turn up their noses at an account of dung, and ashes, and sweepings; but, where is there amongst them, one who ever scrupled to pocket the profits of those things, or of any thing else? Little do they care how the people suffer. The number of paupers is doubled; but what care they, so that they roll about at their ease? These strumpets have the same sort of antipathy for Mr. Robson as a thief has for a magistrate. He is their natural enemy; and though it must be allowed, that the man who is deterred from doing his duty by the fear of their reproach is not worth much, yet are there but too many well-meaning men, who, by that means, are deterred. If a *poor* thief be detected, though it be in stealing a guinea wherewith to buy bread for his children, "*hang him!*" is the word, without one dissenting voice, and without a single sigh of compassion for those who are dishonoured by his ignominious fate; but detect the *rich* thief who has stolen the money raised, in part at least, out of the labour of the poor, forth rush the glittering strumpets upon you with charges of *illiberality* and *ferociousness*. These charges Mr. Robson has set at nought; he is amongst the few who have had courage to do it; and, for this, above all other things, the sensible and honest part of the nation applaud his conduct. But, as to *popularity*, popularity of the *profitable* kind, he has, if he means to obtain it, pursued directly the wrong course.

——With these remarks I shall take my leave of the subject, for the present, hoping, however, to have, very soon, to perform the pleasing duty of informing my readers, that justice has been done to Mr Atkins and Mr. Pritchard, against the former of whom nothing has been *proved* that is not overbalanced by his merits, while, against the latter, nothing, except a week's absence without leave, has been even alleged, or insinuated. I have heard, that it is the intention of the ministers to do something in the way of restoring these gentlemen to their former situations; I hope my information is true; and, to announce the act of justice to the public will be the most grateful task I ever undertook. I want to excite no discontents; no dislike, no suspicion, of the ministers; but, I want to see them act justly towards both the innocent and the criminal. I want to see in them a disposition, evinced by overt acts, to save the public money; and, the acts best calculated to produce in my mind a conviction of their sincerity, are a rigid pursuit and a rigorous punishment of peculators of every degree. I am to be softened by no pathetic description of widows and orphans reduced to beggary by such measures. Widows and orphans, who can be so reduced by the operation of law and of justice, now possess that which is not theirs, and which they withhold from other widows and other orphans, who, in consequence thereof, are already in beggary, or upon the brink of it. So wide has corruption extended, that, in many instances, as in the case of the Isle of Wight, we see it visibly working in a considerable part of the people. In a greater or less degree, it has contaminated every parish in the kingdom. And, is it in such a state of things that we are to look for *public-spirit*; that we are to expect to find, in the day of danger, that sort of disposition in the people, without which no country, situated as England now is, ever was saved. To root out corruption, and thereby to restore to the people this desirable disposition, was what we hoped for, and what I, for one, expected, at the hands of

the present ministers; but, it cannot be denied, that, when we take a survey of what has passed, during the session of parliament which has just closed, we have a right to say, that, thus far, we have been cruelly disappointed. It is not yet too late for them to alter their course. As to *changes of ministry* there is now no one fool enough to expect therefrom any good. The people are sick of the sound of *opposition*. They want to see no change of ministry; but, they want to see a change of system, and, in one way or another, that change must come.

Under the head of LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, it was my intention to have said something upon the subject of the exclusive right of printing the report of Lord Melville's Trial; but the train of thinking to which my *second motto* will, doubtless, lead, may be sufficient until I have more room.—— The "DELICATE INVESTIGATION" is not mentioned in the King's Speech, as the MORNING POST promised us it should be! In fact, this matter, which the MORNING POST told us was of a nature "the most "*awfully* important," is become a mere nine day's wonder.——*Botley, July* 24.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

TO THE RT. HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

"Sunt enim qui, quod sentiunt, et si optimum sit, "tamen invidiæ metu, non audent dicere."

SIR,——When I last had the honour of addressing you through the medium of the Register, (see vol. 9, p. 331) it was my intention to resume the subject of my letter on an early day. I shall, however, assign the motive of my delay, which you, at least, cannot blame: I can sincerely declare that it has originated solely in that deference for your talents, and confidence in your political integrity, which, for so many years, I have implicitly entertained. Although I am free to confess that very little of my expectations have been realised, since you have been in power; and that appearances would rather indicate a dereliction of your former professions; I still confide in you. I certainly am not of the number of those who expected you to begin with working miracles, as soon as you got into office. It was natural to presume that the most grave and important considerations that could possibly occupy the attention of a statesman, in the present perilous conjuncture of the affairs of Europe, might be too urgent to admit of any portion being devoted to what *you* may deem immediately domestic, and more properly the object of future, than present change or regulation. Less candour and predilection in your favour than I possess, would sufficiently enable me to treat with indifference the irony and sneers of those, who now affect to laugh at attachment to "*the man of the people.*" No person can more heartily despise the impotent opposition by whom you are assailed, than I do. To the adherents of the late administration and its leader, who certainly step by step, brought us to our present unprecedented state of danger; I can easily enough, as I usually do, reply, that you have had no time to effect any radical change in our affairs; that allowance must be made, by every dispassionate and candid man, for the delicate situation in which you are placed; that the country imperiously demanded a broad-bottomed administration, uniting the talents of different parties, and that not only an oblivion of former political animosity, but mutual concession must be the only basis upon which it could be held together. I can go further, and urge that a temporary acquiescence in measures which you disapprove of, may possibly be the only means, by which you can retain an efficient situation in the cabinet; such as to enable you to make a powerful effort to rescue Europe from degradation, and this country from impending ruin. Above all, I deprecate the dissolution of an administration, comprising unquestionable ability, influence and character; to make room for the miserable imbecillity which it most fortunately, as I still hope, superseded. I am as convinced, as of my existence, that no palliatives can much longer support that baneful system, which you, in common with every real friend of his King and country have so strongly reprobated for the last twenty years. A great change is obviously become indispensible. Violent remedies may undoubtedly produce in the political, as in the natural constitution, dissolution instead of cure. But, Sir, the case is almost desperate, and I have waited, anxiously waited, to discover some proof that you mean to, at least, attempt *something*. If, contrary to my confident expectation, you could possibly prove so miserably unacquainted with the situation of the country, as to imagine it practicable leaving, for a moment, humanity and justice out of the view of modern legislators, to go on with the present system of *finance*; I have no hesitation in openly declaring, that you occupy a station, which, in the present crisis, demands more wisdom, virtue, and

courage than you possess. Unfortunately, as far as you have hitherto proceeded, you have given increased malignity to the poison which preys upon our vitals, to that unjust and abominable system, which has nearly sunk the once happy and contented sons of this island to the deepest abyss of despair. "But you are grieved forsooth, that the ne- "cessity exists! Money must be raised! "You lament that the taxes bear so oppres- "sively upon the people, and even confess "that we are arrived at that pitch, when no "additional impost can be devised, without "injuring some branch or other of com- "merce; that even the taxes in general, "for some years past, are in direct opposi- "tion to all the approved writers and best "authorities, on the subject of taxation." And pray, Sir, did not Mr. Pitt lament the *necessity*, as he called it? And will not even that disinterested senator, George Rose, give the nation a little affected whining, and pretend to cast an eye of pity upon the people, duly taking care, however, with the rest of the fraternity of such *feeling* patriots, to *feel* the pension that is paid out of their pockets? It is not, however, either real or affected pity that the people call for: it is in language, that cannot safely be much longer disregarded, for *relief*. Do not imagine that I mean to insult you by odious comparisons. Far from considering you of the class I have just noticed, I verily believe, that you not only possess elevation of sentiment, and real worth, as a statesman; but that you have a heart of the truest susceptibility; that you would sincerely rejoice in contributing to restore the former prosperity we enjoyed; that you are attached to the liberties of Englishmen, and that no personal consideration on earth, would tempt you to violate them. But, Sir, if there is any thing to fear, it is from the good-natured side of your disposition. I will not dissemble that I have my fears that the stern dictates of public duty, yield too much to the influence of colleagues; and to this I particularly allude in my motto, when you seemingly become the instrument of thwarting, instead of powerfully assisting, an inquiry to which, be assured, the eyes of the nation are more strongly directed, in proportion to the zeal displayed, under different circumstances: namely, being out of office, in a recent prosecution. I own that you appear to have sacrificed too much of personal honour, when I observe the measured caution with which you speak of India affairs; in which your speeches, to me at least, have exhibited as much of subterfuge; have been as obscure, laboured, and unintelligible, as they are accustomed to be distinguished for perspicuity and plain honest intention. Your political character is the property of the public, and certainly incalculably valuable, so long as you boldly and resolutely adhere to that line of conduct that procured you the proud and enviable distinction of "*the man who dares to be honest in the worst of times.*" I know of no injury so great to the cause of public virtue, as when men of exalted station, abandon the principles which have justly recommended them to the esteem and confidence of the people. If the name of Fox were added to the too long catalogue of pseudo-patriots, I should be ready to renounce all reliance on public men. Patriotic professions would become, not merely suspected, but nauseous.—After this long digression, which I have been involuntarily, and I believe, quite unnecessarily led into; I return to the main object of all my addresses to you. I therefore declare my opinion to be, that without relief from a very great portion of the present pressure of taxation, it is physically impossible for this country to sustain the conflict it is engaged in, with the least ray of hope, that it can be brought to an honourable and safe termination. I certainly have no abandonment of profession or principle to impute to you on the subject of finance. With respect to the national debt and sinking fund, I own, your opinions were unknown to me, till very lately, since you have been in power. Disappointed and astonished as I am, that Mr. Fox does not seem aware that the present system of finance is precipitating us, with accelerated motion, to ruin; I cannot condemn him, as acting against conviction. It is true I have not words to adequately express my surprise at the opinions you have promulgated, respecting the sinking fund in particular. But am I to believe, upon any human authority, that the sinking fund is efficient, while more money is borrowed than paid; more of new debt added than of old redeemed? "But money is borrowed on bet- "ter terms" Although almost stunned with the repetition of this assertion, I object to the proposition as superficial and utterly untenable. If the national creditors take all the *surplus* stock created in a year, beyond the quantity redeemed by the commissioners; I demand in the name of common sense, what real difference can exist between borrowing ten millions without repurchasing, or twenty millions of which the commissioners are to repurchase half the amount? A fall in the price of the funds, may perhaps be *occasionally* checked or prevented, by the purchases of the commissioners, when there do not happen to be other buyers: but,

surely, it is a silly unfounded notion to imagine, that, on the average, their operations can have any thing to do with the plain simple fact of ten millions or any other given large quantity, being created annually *on balance*. If there is any effect of art or delusion, of which, in this instance, the cause is inscrutable to a plain understanding; I relinquish the research in favour of any profound calculator, who is ready to prove that two and two do *not* make four. Whether, however, the sinking fund be, or be not continued, is, I own, in my opinion, perfectly immaterial, unless a very large reduction of expenditure take place. I know very well, and surely you must know, that, if that institution were abolished at this moment, the revenue would still be unequal to the interest on the remaining unredeemed debt, and the other current expenses of the country. Do you, or do you not admit this fact; and, if you do, can you reflect seriously on such a state of things, and venture to go on, *ad infinitum*, in taxation? Or, pray, what may be reasonably presumed to be the extent of desolation and distress of the community, which is finally to oppose a barrier? Is it not matter of positive notoriety, that the middle order is oppressed beyond what it can bear? From what other cause are the disgraceful squalid ranks of our paupers nearly doubled within a few years? This unnatural, distorted state of society in a free country, neither can, nor ought to endure; but much less to be increased. If you will take the trouble, Sir, as I have done, to make diligent inquiries among the merchants, manufacturers, and wholesale-traders of the country; they will inform you that the boasted "*trade of all the world*" has left us, as to internal prosperity, beyond all comparison less, instead of increased ability, to bear the multiplied burthens the nation now absolutely *groans* under. That expression is no longer metaphorical. The concurring testimony of those I inquire from, leads me to believe that there is, not only, an alarming decrease of consumption, but that trade is so insecure, owing to the distress occasioned by the pressure of the times, that prudent persons are using every effort to withdraw their capital, and invest it in safer channels. With regard to those who have no capital to withdraw, it is palpable that a large proportion must drag on a miserable existence, with the terror of poverty, or a jail, to finish their utmost exertions for the maintenance of their families. Most heartily do I approve of the plan, introduced by your able colleague, Mr. Windham, for the improvement of the army; and his and your arguments irresistibly prove the necessity of improving the character of the soldier. But if you are in earnest, and really expect the plan to be crowned with success; I say, rescue the cottage; rescue the half famished parents, whom you wish to supply a hardy race of peasants, such as fought the battles of England formerly; from chilling poverty, and its too general concomitants, disease and depravity. By heavens! I am astonished, with the recent example of all the horrors of revolution in another country before their eyes, at the seeming infatuation of the higher orders in this. If conscience be altogether stifled, will neither prudence nor even self-preservation, supply a monitor, who may suggest the danger of goading the great body of the people, till it become a natural question, "What have we to fight for? Under what "change can we be more oppressed with "taxes, or endure more vexation, insult and "tyranny in the collection of them? Is "there any difference in breathing the air "of a prison, whether we are under a free "or despotic government, and will even "the most rigid economy enable us to pay "the taxes without incurring debts we are "unable to discharge?"—Now, Sir, a word or two, if you please, respecting another class of society, to which the person who has the honour of addressing you, has the good fortune to belong. I mean such as are possessed of moderate income, derived from real capital, and intirely unconnected with the government, by place or pension. I will not make loud professions of patriotism, but perhaps, I possess more of the *amor patriæ* than many who do. I ask you, Sir, if you were a father of a family, to whom you were desirous of giving decent education and maintenance, as well as providing future support; and which, with your limited income, till lately, you were able to do, as well as maintain an appearance of respectability; whether you might not be tempted to turn your eyes to another country for an asylum; even to France if she offered it; rather than be stripped of the most estimable comforts of life at home? If it should become the policy of the French government, and I shall be surprised if it escape the sagacity of Buonaparté, to encourage *emigration from this country*, as soon as peace is restored, I leave it to your better judgment to determine how far the *sound* of the British constitution, when *moderate* property is no longer secure, will be likely to counteract the temptation, I allude to, from France, which, at any rate, supplies the means of subsistence to its inhabitants at a cheap rate. If, indeed, we could be brought to consider

the burthens, which now so heavily afflict the people, to be merely of a temporary nature, and that measures were already adopted, or even promised, for their gradual diminution or final extinction; I am sure that every Englishman would rally round the throne and constitution, with that undismayed resolution and perseverance, which are the characteristics of my countrymen however arduous their difficulties. But explain to me some rational ground to hope relief, though distant. We are not, I trust, to seek for it in base hollow conditions of peace. You say, *not*. Will then government even dare to proceed much further in taxation, if the war be continued? But what is to be done with our situation, when it is irrefragably demonstrated that neither by war nor peace, as the system now stands, can the country get rid of a single shilling of taxation, without rapidly increasing a debt, already intolerable? And yet, be it known that this country possesses abundant wealth and resources, *properly* united with the physical strength and courage of our population, to carry on war with France, perpetual if she pleases, without either danger to our independence, or any material diminution of real national prosperity and happiness. It is the monstrous inequality of property which has preceded and confirmed the degradation of so many surrounding states, that threaten us in turn. It at this moment paralyzes our efforts. Believe me, Sir, it is not the levelling principle, but the dread of it, by which I am actuated. If I am right in my fears, there is no time to be lost: something must be done to restore the former sound condition and equilibrium, in the different orders of the community, which the last twenty years, in particular, have so much deranged. The task is difficult, but not less indispensible; and to the accomplishment of it, I invite you, in the name of the country, to direct all the energies of your comprehensive mind. It will, I know, demand wisdom in planning, and consummate prudence in executing. If, after all, the mischief prove too deeply rooted, and all your efforts should be baffled, you will deserve our gratitude for having, at least, made a struggle for the deliverance of your country.—A few words, at parting, on a subject which has hurt the feelings of your friends, and given too much ground of triumph to your enemies. I allude to the tenderness you seem to shew to measures of your predecessor, on the ground, that, having been once adopted, however much, when proposed, reprobated, and condemned, as *radically bad*, more mischief may result from their abrogation than their continuance. This doctrine must undoubtedly depend upon the different individual cases, and whether the Irish Union be a proper application or illustration of it, I shall not pretend to determine. At the same time, instead of the plea of adoption, perseverance, or even inveteracy, with regard to measures *radically bad*, and pregnant with ruinous consequences; according to my poor notions of consistency, will be much better urged the necessity of arresting their progress. If such a vacillating, temporising line of conduct, with respect to matters of the highest importance, be allowable, I am curious to know whether that act of indelible infamy, "the restriction of the Bank of "England from paying in specie," is much longer to find a shelter under it. How do I blush for the degenerate character of my countrymen, when a measure unquestionably more consonant with the shuffling and trick of a nation of swindlers, than with the former unsullied honour and probity of the greatest commercial people in the universe; has not only been resorted to, under the vile and contemptible plea of necessity; but suffered for many years to remain a standing monument of national disgrace!!! To this single cause, may most clearly be attributed, the greater part of the evils that we have now to contend with. Every day, every hour, of its continuance, is adding to the imminent perils of the country. Sooner or later, you must bring your *paper riches* to Buonaparté's test: the sooner you do so, the less violent will be the convulsion that awaits the dissolution of a rotten, tottering fabrick. If I were not most deeply impressed with the belief that such is the fact, and that consequences of the most fearful importance are involved in what I now allude to; I might, perhaps, be inclined to dilate upon what cannot escape the most superficial observer—I mean the alarming increase of forgeries to which it has given rise. Humanity ought to shudder at the ignominious loss of lives it has every year cost the nation. Thinking, however, as I do that the continuance of this evil threatens the absolute destruction of the monarchy, it is a waste of time to talk of comparatively trifling evils, which we *all* know it has produced.—After so much complaint of positive grievances, perhaps, the reader may think it incumbent upon me to suggest some remedy. I am ready to offer the only one my intellect is capable of devising, and I certainly should be happy to be convinced, that there is any other left. I have long sought in vain, for any other resource commensurate to the magnitude of the evil. I solemnly declare that I believe

it cannot be delayed much longer, without risking the prostration of the country, at the foot of our sanguinary and implacable foe. My remedy is two-fold, the first part is all the economy and reform that is possible in the administration of *every* department of the government; and the other, the *exclusive* taxation, *by slow degrees* of the funds, in the place of *all the war taxes*. To those who can be amused with the patriotic effusions of George Rose, if, indeed, among my countrymen there is one stupid enough; it is not my intention to justify the opinion I have pronounced. This *modest* gentleman is welcome to all the popularity he deserves, for prating about additional taxation on livery servants, pleasure horses, &c. To you, Sir, who do not, like an *empty thing*, float on the surface; I recommend the opinion of a celebrated writer: "Que quelques citoyens ne paient pas assez, le mal n'est pas grand; leur aisance revient toujours au public: que quelques particuliers paient trop, leur ruine se tourne contre le public." I shall close my letter by submitting to you an epitome of our finances, should your labours for restoring peace be crowned with success. The statement is partly real and partly speculative. You will observe, that I have calculated upon the presumption of your being obliged to abandon the sinking fund, in order to relieve the country from a *part* of the war taxes. It may also be highly proper to take into consideration how far the produce of the taxes may be affected by the Bank resuming its payments in specie; an experiment that *must* be seriously thought of. I have only a few words to add: they are to declare my unfeigned sorrow at the indisposition with which you are at present afflicted; my most sincere wishes for the speedy and perfect restoration of your health, and that you may long remain, as I have always thought you, one of the greatest ornaments of the country.——I have the honour to be, &c. I. T.——*London, July 2*, 1806.

PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

Dr. England.		Per contra.	
To total expenditure, including the interest on the redeemed debt, as stated in the last budget - - - -	73,378,000	By supposed reduction of expenditure in the army, navy, ordnance, &c. - - -	18,000,000
		By extinction of the sinking fund, the annual interest upon the redeemed stock being taken at - - - -	10,000,000
		By permanent taxes, including malt and lottery, as stated in the last budget - - -	36,000,000
		Deficiency	9,378,000
	73,378,000		73,378,000

WINDOW TAX ON SCHOOLS.

TO THE RT. HON. LORD HENRY PETTY.

My Lord,——I offer no apology, because I deem none necessary for addressing you on a subject, with which the interests of truth and virtue, and with these the prosperity of every country, are intimately connected. The education of youth has, in every well constituted state, formed a primary object of attention. Every enlightened statesman has regarded the rising generation, as the growing hopes of his country against future years, when he and his contemporaries shall have quitted the scene, or have been disqualified by age or infirmity, from the labours of active life. To make provision for the proper instruction of youth, formed, in the wisdom of ancient ages, one of the leading objects of the legislator's care. My lord, the man, who believes that ignorance is more friendly to virtue and happiness, than science and philosophy, is a pitiable fool he, who through a misguided policy, obstructs the liberal education of youth, and the consequent diffusion of knowledge, is any thing, but a statesman; while the man, who would bury them in ignorance that he may the more easily enslave them, is a tyrant of the most detestable species.——My Lord, you have been lately addressed by a body of men, the utility of whose labours, and the respectability of whose profession, as they are universally acknowledged, require neither example nor argument to demonstrate. You have received from them a memorial, praying for relief from the extreme pressure of a tax, which, how just soever in its abstract principle, or how equal

soever in its general operation, becomes, in their case an oppressive burden. You need not to be informed, my Lord, that I allude to the Tax on Houses and Windows. I will not repeat the arguments, by which the prayers of that Petition came so forcibly recommended. Their cogency was admitted by the late Mr. Pitt, who, when the Act of Triple Assessment took place, granted to that respectable body a large abatement. They were admitted by Lord Sidmouth, when he filled the office which you now hold; and from that upright nobleman's justice and liberality, we had reason to hope for the desired relief. Nay, my Lord, the extreme severity of the tax, as it affects the masters of Boarding Schools, is admitted by yourself. Indeed, where is the man, who, after examining the case with the least attention, will not acknowledge it? Is it not a monstrous iniquity, that the master of a boarding school, because he professionally occupies a large house, of which but a small part is appropriated to his own private accommodation, shall be taxed equally with the man of opulence, occupying a house of the same dimensions?—Does it consist with the principles of common justice, that an additional assessment on houses and windows shall take from the former, I shall say one-tenth, while it takes from the latter not a two-hundredth part of his revenue?—My Lord, you cannot be ignorant, that the necessary effect of war is the enhancement of the price of provisions; and that this circumstance operates on every master of a boarding school as a very heavy tax. You are not ignorant, for the fact has been demonstrated to you by every evidence of which it is capable, that the profits of a boarding school have by various causes been considerably reduced. Nor, need I say, that those profits though earned by a species of labour, which above all others exhausts the strength both of body and of mind, were at no time such as to promise an early retirement from the profession, with even a scanty independence. It is not to be dissembled, my Lord, that the masters of boarding schools have raised their terms; but it is equally certain, that this increase is far from affording them full indemnification. Hence arises a double evil; for not only is education rendered less accessible to the middle and lower orders of the community, which is an evil certainly of no common magnitude, but men of competent talents and industry are discouraged from engaging in this profession, by the scantiness of the recompense, compared with the arduous labour which attends it. Is it wisdom, my Lord, in any legislator to aggravate these evils? Does that man consult the interests of humanity, or does he deserve the name of statesman, who would curtail the humble remuneration of those, by whom chiefly the rising generation are trained to habits of virtue and industry? There is none so deplorably ignorant as to maintain the affirmative.—Now, my Lord, when it is considered that you admit the extreme severity of the tax in question, as affecting the masters of Boarding Schools, it will naturally be inquired, why the desired relief was not granted. Your Lordship, perhaps I should rather say, your Lordship's secretary, assigned a reason; a reason as irreconcileable with the principles of equity and common sense, as it is repugnant to the dictates of a liberal and enlightened policy. It was answered, "that you could not grant the prayer of the petition, because it would open a door to similar applications." Because it might open a door to similar applications!!! Is justice then to be refused to one, because another also may prefer his claim? Or is the revenue to be sustained by iniquity and oppression? The idea is monstrous. Had you told us, that our complaint was, in your judgment, ill founded: had you said, that the tax did not, in your apprehension, press on us more severely than on others, whatever opinion we might have formed of your understanding, we might at least have respected your regard for justice, and should have silently lamented, that our application had been defeated by an unfortunate, but conscientious difference of opinion. But you admit the facts on which our petition is grounded; you admit, that the tax presses on us with extreme severity, but you will not, it is said, grant us relief, because others also may prefer their claim. "O let not this be told in Gath; let it not "be published in the streets of Askelon."—You may boast indeed, my Lord, the singular merit of attempting to introduce a tax, which though not new, had it passed in the form, in which you at first proposed it, by paying little or no regard to a diversity of condition, would have outraged every feeling of humanity and justice. The widow, subsisting on a slender income, which she cannot improve; the father of a numerous family toiling hard to earn them bread, and to give them that education, which may one day render them useful members of society, formed no objects of your Lordship's commiseration, when you first introduced your celebrated Budget. Never, I believe, did a minister acquit himself more wretchedly in his financial projections, than you, my Lord. And it may be affirmed, without the fear of

contradiction, that your conduct in this respect, has done more to destroy the popularity of the present ministry, than all their wise and patriotic counsels will be able to repair. The people, my Lord, are not so blind, as to be incapable of distinguishing between what is equal, and what is unequal; between what is simply heavy, and what is absolutely oppressive.——Your years, my Lord, which are yet few, cannot have imparted to you much experience. In the strength of your colleagues you are now strong. Age will, it is hoped, mature your talents into wisdom and sagacity. Then you will learn, what consideration is due to diversity of condition; and that in imposing taxes, not efficiency only, but also equity demands your regard. You will learn that, though it be impossible to adjust the burthen to the ability of every individual, yet to approximate as near as possible to this adjustment, while it bespeaks the superior talents of the financier, is at once wisdom, justice, and sound policy.—My Lord, it is rumoured that you intend to resign your office. Whether this be, or be not, "a consummation "devoutly to be wished," I will not presume to determine. Certain it is, that not a few would piously join with you in a *nunc dimittis*. Whatever be your determination on this subject, suffer me to advise you in your financial schemes to listen to reason, not to influence; to argument, not authority. When you resist petitions or remonstrances, let your resistance be founded in justice, otherwise your firmness becomes obstinacy. When you concede, remembering the Iron Tax, let your concession be to reason and pure conviction, not to selfish clamour; to the complaints of honest industry, and not to the claims of avaricious opulence.—I have the honour to be, yours, &c.——G.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

To Lord Grenville.

My Lord,—I have read with much surprise in the report of your speech in parliament on the 8th inst. the following passage "that it was your opinion that the govern-"ment of Marquis Wellesley had added "lustre to the British name, and was most "advantageous to the British interests in "India." Now, my Lord, being a plain observer, unconnected with government or parties, I cannot but consider the above declaration, at this particular moment, as of the most serious and important consequence, because it publicly declares what is the kind of conduct, in a governor-general, which you, in your high station, are ready to countenance and applaud, and as it is a fair inference that what is applauded ought to be imitated, you have, of course, by the expressions above cited, given a certain pledge to the person who may be appointed governor-general, that if he follows the same line of conduct as his predecessor, he will be sure to meet with your highest approbation.—Not to go into any of the intricacies and mazes of criminality which some are disposed to attribute to Lord Wellesley, I shall only mention two or three circumstances which are proved or acknowledged, and ask you if it be such acts as they are which you consider to have added lustre to our name and promoted the British interests in India.—In the first place, then, it is beyond all doubt that in 7 years he added to the debt of the Company 18 millions sterling, borrowed at an interest of from 10 to 12 per cent. and of course entailing upon our government there an annual expense of near 2 millions sterling, and it is remarkable, that although we had been in possession of the country upwards of 40 years, previous to the commencement of his government, during which time our revenue was comparatively small, and we had carried on many wars, not for speculative objects, but for the very existence of our territory and trade, yet the whole amount of debt which he found on his arrival in Bengal, was 9 millions, but which at the end of his 7 years government he left at 28 millions.—Is it then this part of his conduct which you mean, my Lord, to characterise as advantageous to the British interests in India, and which you hold out to his successor as meeting your high approbation? The manner in which this vast sum, in addition to the great revenue of the country was expended, may be learned from documents at the India-House, by which it will appear, that almost the whole of it was laid out upon objects disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and a great deal of it for purposes expressly contrary to their orders and instructions. I must be understood to except from this observation the expenses of the war with Tippoo, for as that was the only war he entered into of real benefit to the Company, so it was the only one which paid its own expenses, and it is therefore fair that no part of the money borrowed be ultimately placed to that account. Another circumstance of Lord Wellesley's conduct of which there is proof in the letter of the Directors themselves, is his marked and continued disobedience and

contempt of their orders, which by his oath of office and the law of the land, he was bound to obey; and, is it in this instance that you praise his conduct and hold it out for imitation? Indeed your lordship knows well that it was on this account, as well as for other instances of misconduct, that the late Premier, Lord Wellesley's warmest friend and patron, was, at last, obliged to give him up, and consent to his recal; and, is it really to be believed, that he did this for conduct deserving to be eulogised?—It is also a well known fact, that Lord Wellesley did bereave of one half of his country, an inoffensive native prince, under our protection, and one of our old and faithful allies, without even a pretext of want of loyalty, or of failure in his engagements with our government; and is it an act like this which you think will add lustre to the British name? And allow me to add another circumstance for your information, which, although not in proof in this country, is well known to many, who, like myself, have long resided in India, that the character of the English government for justice, moderation, and good faith, has been materially altered and degraded by Lord Wellesley's conduct during his government. The subject is inexhaustible, but I have said enough to show how ill-timed and misplaced is such praise as that expressed in your speech of the 8th inst.—A REAL WELL-WISHER TO THE BRITISH INTEREST IN INDIA.

HANOVERIAN WAR.

SIR,——It was my intention to have offered you some few observations respecting our discussions with Prussia, which I had begun to throw together immediately upon the appearance of his Majesty's Message to Parliament; but, as I had reason to suppose, from what appeared in your Register at the time, that the subject would be taken up either by yourself or by some one of your correspondents, I relinquished my design, under the persuasion that so interesting a matter would be better treated by a more able hand. Nothing, however, having as yet appeared, and the subject having derived an additional degree of importance from the rumoured existence of negociation for peace, I cannot refrain from resuming my pen.——With respect to the *unanimity* with which the address relative to the affairs of the Electorate of Hanover was carried in both Houses of Parliament, I entirely concur in the opinions which you expressed in the number of your Register above alluded to. To those, who know the interest which is felt both at St. James's and at Carlton House on Hanoverian concerns, the causes of this unanimity may not be inexplicable; but passing over all speculations as to the motives which may have produced it, let us come at once to the real merits of the case, as unconnected with the views and interests of the respective parties in this country, all of whom, perhaps, may have thought it prudent to manifest their concurrence upon a point which was known or supposed to be an object of predilection with those personages to whose present or future favour they look up.——The charges which were alleged against the King of Prussia, as stated in the documents laid before parliament, divide themselves into two branches, perfectly distinct in principle, and not necessarily connected in their consequences, namely; the violent seizure of the Hanoverian territory, which seems to have been the main branch of the question; and the exclusion of our shipping from certain ports of the North.——That the latter measure is of a sufficiently hostile complexion to afford a just cause of war is a position which will not be controverted; but our assumption of the former ground, either wholly or in part, is, in my conception, neither warrantable in point of right, nor judicious as a measure of political expediency. It leads directly to the admission of an identity between his Majesty's British and German dominions, which both governments have hitherto strenuously disclaimed, and which *all* their antecedent acts; the invariable practice of every English administration, and the edicts of the Hanoverian government (more particularly those which appeared at several periods of the last and at the commencement of the present war), have clearly shewn not to exist either in theory or in fact. I readily admit that the politics of this country have on many occasions, more especially in the two preceding reigns, been warped and strained for the purpose of accommodating them to the interests of Hanover; but a political identity between the two countries has never till now been formally and distinctly acknowledged and avowed. Not to go further back than the present war, I will refer you for proofs of this position to his Majesty's Proclamation (as Elector of Hanover) of May 16, 1803, which you will find in your Register of the following month, p. 859. To Lord Hawkesbury's answer to Talleyrand of June 15, 1803, (in your Register of July) where you will see this doctrine most ex-

plicitly laid down. To the statement of the Hanoverian minister resident in London of July 1, 1803; and, in a word, to all the official documents of both governments which have appeared either in this or in the preceding war, and which at all touch the question. If further proofs should be necessary to shew that the two countries "are *perfectly distinct, perfectly independent of each other*," they may be easily adduced, but I shall not dwell longer on a position which the past practice of both governments entitles me to consider as incontrovertible. I shall only observe, that if we had injudiciously exercised any controul over the councils of Hanover, to involve that state (purely as our ally) in a war in which it had no immediate interests of its own in view, and of the conquest of it. Territory by the enemy had resulted from so imprudent a measure, we should have been bound in honour to exert every effort to procure its restitution to its proper Sovereign, although no formal obligation to that effect, either specific or arising out of a general and mutual guarantee, had subsisted. Hanover or any other power would have had equally the same claim upon us, under the circumstances which I have described, for the full benefit of such an obligation, whether tacit or express; but no obligation *whatever* have been specifically contracted by us in the present instance, nor can their existence be inferred from any voluntary services rendered by Hanover to us, or from any previously subsisting avowed connexion between the two governments. If their existence be in any shape admitted, such an admission would at once establish the principle of "the right of conquest," which we and the Hanoverian government have been all along labouring to refute. It would demonstrate the falsehood of all the past professions and protestations of neutrality reiterated by the latter; and it would completely cut away the only ground upon which rested all its remonstrances against the injustice of the proceedings of France, and all its appeals to the head and its co-estates of the empire.—But strong as my objections are to the interference of the British government *in respect of the occupation of Hanover* in point of right, they are at least equally so as a measure of political expediency, and I shall endeavour to point out some of its consequences, as affecting *our* interests in any negociations for peace which may take place, and as creating for our enemy a certain and effectual means of offence in any future war.—In the King's Declaration (as Elector of Hanover) relative to the occupation of his hereditary dominions by the Prussians, his Majesty expresses a firm resolution never in any case, or under any circumstances to relinquish his rights by sanctioning that unjust measure; and this determination, coupled with the terms of the Message to Parliament, the addresses of both Houses, and the language of his Majesty's ministers in the debates which took place thereon, affords the strongest grounds of presumption, if not of positive certainty, that the restitution of Hanover is to become an object of *British* negociation; or, in other words, that *we* are to cede some *British* object in order to effect the retrocession of that territory. That the occupation of that territory is one of the avowed motives of the war of England with Prussia, cannot be questioned; and if its occupation has been a motive of the war, its restitution must naturally be one of the objects of a negociation for peace: but, as it is altogether improbable, considering the relative positions of the contending parties, that the enemy will relinquish what it chuses to call a rightful conquest, without an equivalent concession on our part, it follows, that some British possession must be the price of the recovery of a country with which *we* were not connected by any tie whatever; and, perhaps, nothing less than Malta or the Cape of Good Hope, will be considered by the enemy as an adequate sacrifice on our part. It will be said, perhaps, that although we are not bound by any positive obligation to deliver Hanover from its invaders, we are called to it by every consideration of honour and interest, since the existence of war between England and France was the avowed pretext of its invasion by the latter, of the subsequent hardships to which it was exposed, and, finally, of its severance from its lawful Sovereign.—I do not deny that these aggressions were more or less a direct consequence of a state of war between Great Britain and France; but I deny that we are bound in honour to remedy the evils which the violence and injustice of the French may inflict on any independent state of Europe, which has not the power of resisting its force; and, I think, I have already sufficiently shewn that Hanover stands in no other relationship with respect to Great Britain, than in that of a purely independent state, wholly unconnected with it by any alliance or compact whatever. If we are to put ourselves forward as the universal avengers of wrong, we shall have I believe pretty full employment; and if British possessions are to be balanced in the scale against the unjust acquisitions of France, there

are many Sovereigns of Europe who have a far more valid and stronger claim upon us than Hanover. There are Sovereigns who have been dispossessed of their states, some wholly, and some in part, in consequence of the direct assistance which they have afforded us, and these have positive engagements upon which to ground their appeal to our justice, and to our honour. But Hanover has not at any period of this or of the preceding war, interested herself in our fortunes, further than as she was led to it by Prussia. She has invariably adapted her policy to the Prussian system, until the late occupation. She made war when Prussia made war. She was at peace when Prussia was at peace; and she adopted a strict neutrality whenever Prussia became neutral. Her conduct was purely Prussian, without any mixture of regard (at least of visible regard) to British interest; and, being such, I do not see what claim her misfortunes can give her upon British honour.——I do not apprehend that any of your correspondents will be inclined to controvert what I have advanced with respect to the Prussian system being prevalent at the Court of Hanover: but if the correctness of my statement should be questioned, I pledge myself to establish it by a reference to specific public acts of that government, the perusal of which will leave not a shadow of doubt upon the question.—It would not be a very difficult task to shew, that our interests are not much more implicated in this question than our honour; but, as my letter would soon swell into the bulk of a pamphlet, if I were to enter upon a full illustration of this branch of my subject, I shall content myself for the present with noticing some few circumstances and facts which seem applicable to the point. I admit that it may be desirable that the Banks of the Weser, and the Southern Bank of the Elbe, should not be in the possession of a power who might be inclined to impose restrictions on our commerce with those rivers, and I am ready to admit also, that if Hanover were capable of maintaining the freedom of their navigation, we ought to go great lengths to replace that country on its former footing, and to preserve it in its former state of independence under the House of Brunswick. But all arguments drawn from a consideration of the commercial advantages to be derived from his Majesty's possession of Hanover, have now lost whatever force they formerly might have had, since the occupation of that country by the French, and the exclusion of our commerce has been, now is, and probably ever will be the consequence and effect of a state of warfare between Great Britain and France. The object is therefore become too precarious to be worth purchasing at however low a price. —If we turn our eyes to the political interests of England and Hanover, we shall find, I think, that they are in many points at variance, and that the instances in which they can coincide are very few indeed, and those few arising wholly from some peculiar combinations, which may be considered rather as political eccentricities than as parts of a regular and general system. It would require an historical dissertation upon the events of the last century, to point out all the political anomalies which the union of the two countries under the same head has produced; to detail all the deviations which each have been at times induced to make from their respective lines of policy; and to enumerate and describe all the instances in which their respective political and military operations have been embarrassed and fettered. Should any of your readers be disposed to examine with attention the political conduct and transactions of England and Hanover during the reigns of George the 1st. and 2d. they will convince themselves that the *interest of Hanover* had no small share of influence on the actions of those Sovereigns, and that the politics of England were on many occasions turned out of their true and natural course, in order to combine them with systems which were at the least foreign to British interests.—I feel, Sir, as much as any man can feel for the distresses of his Majesty's Hanoverian subjects, and I deplore the loss which they have suffered of a mild, just, virtuous, and beneficent Sovereign. But, nevertheless, we must ars, Englishmen, discuss this question upon English grounds, and upon principles of English policy alone. If we are bound by compact, by our honour, or by our interest, to recover Hanover for his Majesty, we ought to make an adequate sacrifice to effect its restoration; but if neither of these grounds can be alleged or established, we ought not, whatever our feelings may be, to have embarrassed ourselves with its concerns to the extent we have done; we ought not to have imposed on ourselves the burthen of obtaining the retrocession of that country, the advantages of which *to us* are not less problematical than they are precarious as to their existence and permanency. At any rate, and in every view of the subject, the assumption of the occupation of Hanover as one of the grounds of war, was not becoming a prudent statesman. We had already a sufficiently strong

ground in the exclusion of our shipping and commerce from the Northern Ports. We might have left the question on that footing, and there was no necessity whatever for tying ourselves down to any specific pledge, by taking a ground upon which a *British minister* had no *right* to place himself. Had we kept aloof from all interference in respect of the *occupation of Hanover*, we should have been equally at liberty to stipulate for its restoration, and to make such sacrifices for that purpose as the state of our own affairs might render adviseable or prudent, or to insist on this condition if the events of the war should enable us to speak with authority in the negociations for peace: but we have most improvidently gone further than the nature of the case required, and we have virtually bound ourselves to redeem at any price, however onerous, and under any circumstances however inconvenient or disadvantageous, a pledge which we shall not be able to preserve to its proprietor one moment beyond the period when the French may chuse to resume it. If Hanover is thus to become a security in the hands of the enemy for the restitution of British conquests, we shall never again make war with effect or advantage; and it was probably this state of things that M. de Maurepas had in his contemplation when he observed, "Que "c'étoit, sans doute, par amitié pour les "François que les Anglois avoient mis l'il- "lustre maison d'Hanovre sur le Trône." But, I trust, Sir, that Hanover is not to become such security, and then the observation of the French statesman remains unverified.——A. B.——*London, July 6th* 1806.

BOARD OF CLAIMS ON AMERICAN DEBTORS.

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis?

Sir,——The publicity which your correspondent Decius, in p. 22, vol. 10 of your valuable Miscellany, recommends in the investigation of the proceedings of the proposed Board of Auditors, with respect to national accounts, I admire much, as it would tend to frustrate any sinister views of a delinquent party, and be the means of urging those persons, who may be selected to attend to that branch of the public affairs, to a strict and conscientious discharge of their duties, and prevent any affection to public accountants, who might otherwise have opportunities to explain away items in their accounts, which would not bear day light. It would have another advantage, viz. the eye of every one would be upon the Board, and they would thus be visibly accountable for the time they expended; time, they could not then pass over, without attention to the concerns before them, and which has, perhaps, hitherto, in public offices been too slightly valued, oftentimes totally neglected. Your general information authorises me to assume, that you are not ignorant of the existence of the treaty of amity, between this country and the United States of America of 1794. I may assume still more, that you are not uninformed of the existence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and America of 1783; and, I may also assume, that you know, it was agreed between both the contracting powers, by the 4th article of the last mentioned treaty, "that "creditors on either side should meet with "no lawful impediment to the recovery of "the full value in sterling money of all the "bona fide debts theretofore contracted." Knowing these matters, as know them you must, and the conduct of the citizens of America towards the British creditor, the observation, that impediments did not exist, and have existed for three and twenty years, down to the present time, against the recovery of British debts, will cause no surprise perhaps, to you, but to many of your readers it must, when for the first time they are informed of it; and, that neither the American government has had the fortitude to attempt to carry the 4th article of the treaty of peace into effect, nor that this country has had the dignified resolution to insist upon the execution of that article. From the year 1783 to the year 1794, a period of eleven long years, were the British merchants constrained to use their individual endeavours, to recover from the grasp of the most selfish and unprincipled of mankind, (those I mean exclusively, who stood indebted to the merchants of this country at the peace of 1783, for that there are in the United States, some men of principle I do not deny,) their bona fide debts, threatened with personal violence; having to combat with interested judges and interested juries; and oftentimes compelled to resort for aid, and the only aid they could resort to in an alien country, to practitioners of law alike interested with those judges and juries; this, too, at an extreme expense, which frequently could be illy borne by creditors, who had been plundered of the greatest part of their property, by men who owed their origin to this country. Such a situation loudly called for redress. Redress was ultimately promised, measures were adopted by this country, to enable the creditors to seek that justice, the treaty of peace had held out to them; but, alas! like the former

agreement, those exertions proved unavailing.——By the 6th article of the treaty of amity, of 19 November, 1794, ratified 29 February, 1796, it was stipulated, that two commissioners be appointed by each of the two countries, to meet in the United States, to examine and award, debts claimed by British subjects against American debtors, due before, and during the war, to the date of the treaty of peace; and, that, to carry this agreement into full affect, a fifth commission be appointed by lot. The fifth commissioner appointed, the Board opened their commission on the 18th May, 1797, and proceeded to business at Philadelphia, 29th May following, and continued to proceed on business, until 17th July, 1799; when, without having decided on a single case before them, the Board ceased to sit, and declared their commission at an end. The cause that produced such event, arose at one of their meetings, I think it was on 16th July, 1799, when the word "rebellion," was used, as properly descriptive of the state, in which America was, at the commencement of the war of 1775, during that melancholy epocha, and, until the hour that this country sanctioned the independence of America. Whether that term was proper to use towards an independent nation, is not necessary now to discuss; the consequence, of the adoption of it, was, that the claims of the British merchants were as far from being settled at the close of the proceedings of that Board, as they were at the commencement of their sittings; the merchants were again plunged into misery; their hopes of recovering their debts receded; and the event was, that many of those who survived the cruel treatment they experienced, survived merely to awaken to increased misery and wretchedness. One would imagine, that so great a concern, such a respectable body of men, would have had the strictest attention paid to repeated applications, and that their sufferings would have been relieved by the justice of their *own* country, if America refused to extend to them, the common acts of honesty due from the individuals of one nation, to the subjects of another. Not so, Sir. It was nearly three years after the Board of Secrecy in America had closed their "sanc- "tum sanctorum," that this country had the resolution to conclude the business with America; and, when the business was finally settled, short, very far short indeed, of the extent of justice, was condescended to be granted by the government of America, and dastardly accepted by the then government of this country. The amount of claims, which was known to this country, to exist against the debtors of America, and alike known to the American government, was five millions sterling. Yet, to preserve a good understanding between *the two governments*, the merchants' interest was sacrificed for the sum of 600,000l. sterling, payable in three annual instalments by the American government, in discharge of the debts due; and the merchant, who was assured by the treaty of peace, and by the treaty of amity, that he would receive twenty shillings for every pound of his demand, was made to accept, by the guardians of his interest, 12 per cent., or 2s. 4d.$\frac{4}{5}$ in the pound! Accept, do I say, would even that, *that* were the case to this hour, I know not, that I shall receive one shilling of my claims, which were undertaken to be paid to me in full.—A Board, under the sanction of parliament, has been appointed, the commissioners have been closeted ever since September, 1802, and I am informed, that *twenty* claims and no more have been paid, after the rate of 12 per cent. Whether I may receive 100l. or 100,000l. the amount nearly of my claim, I know not; but, this I know, that the age of Methuselah would not be long enough to insure the receipt of my money in person; nor, would the amount I may receive, compensate for the miseries I have undergone, and do endure.—My creditors, for 30 years, have looked to me to satisfy them, which I am unable to do, by reason of the dishonesty of my American debtors. I cannot, like the Cameleon, live on the air: new debts arise for very bare support; the rapacity of lawyers and agents in America, and the additional charges of lawyers and agents here, have, independent of every other difficulty, nearly ruined me; and I know not, when I may be indemnified! Publicity, which your correspondent Decius so powerfully recommends, if not *wholly* satisfactory, would be, yet, some relief to the miseries of the British creditors, who might form an opinion with respect to the proceedings of this closetted Board, the members of which, enjoy princely salaries; one-tenth part of which, would make the proportion of 9 out of 10 of the claimants, comfortable for life; and, if the proceedings of that Board, should appear to be extending to the end of the creditors life, surely, the legislature should interpose, and grant some immediate relief to the creditors. I am told, the amount of individual claims is 600. If, in 4 years, the length of time elapsed since the Board proceeded to sit on the business, they have decided on 20 claims, and no more, who,

among us unfortunate, can without a miracle expect to survive a decision? If, I say, in four years, 20 claims only, have been decided; by the same progression, the 600 claims will be decided in 140 years! Is not this relief, Sir, as it is called, a mockery? Is this justice, Sir? To award relief when the subject has ceased to exist, and long departed, "to that undiscovered country from "whose bourne no traveller returns;" becomes *vox et præterea nihil.* Of the gentlemen appointed to act at the Board, men, I am told, of unexampled integrity, sound and discriminating knowledge, and of the greatest activity of mind, I have nothing to say. It is the tendency of their authorities, and not the men, I complain of. If the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, who are now seeking relief, by a similar commission from parliament, expect to gain indemnity by the proposed redress, let them previously consider the foregoing observations of a ruined old AMERICAN MERCHANT.—*St. George's Row, Surry. July* 14, 1806.

MILITARY OFFICER'S PAY.

MR. COBBETT,——Having seen a letter in your last Register, signed by "An Alderman," which is a gross libel on the liberality of the country, in as much as it merely represents the *present* situation of the ensign, without shewing the advantages he may arrive at, by length of service, and hard fighting; I trust to your impartiality and love of truth, to expose the fallacy of the statement; and, by shewing the emoluments of a lieut. colonel commanding a battalion of the line, contrasted with his necessary and unavoidable expenditure, prove to the satisfaction of a British public, how *amply* the defenders of the country are provided for, and how little is the sacrifice of life or limb, where *such* rewards await the survivor.—— I am, Sir, &c. &c —ONE OF THE COMMITTEE AT LLOYD'S.——*Stock Exchange, July* 8, 1806.

Estimate of the unavoidable Daily and Yearly Expense of a Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding a Regiment of the Line, in the British Service.

	Daily. L.	s.	d.
Breakfast for himself, the adjutant, and orderly officer -	0	2	0
Dinner, with a pint of wine, *never asking a friend,* as is sometimes (improperly no doubt) expected - -	0	5	0
Supper, bread and cheese, with 1 glass of spirits and water, and an officer *occasionally* asked to partake - -	0	1	8
Washing - - - - -	0	0	9
Pomatum, powder, soap, black ball, &c. - - - - -	0	0	8
1 Servant and 1 bat man, both from the ranks at 3d per diem each - - - - -	0	0	6
Per diem £	0	10	7
Or per annum - - - -	192	2	11
Mess furniture per annum -	1	1	0
Subscription to band - -	10	10	0
Wear and tear of saddles, bridles, holsters, horse furniture, shoeing, &c. and of personal appointments - - - -	10	10	0
2 Regimental coats per year, with 2 epaulettes to each, the commanding officer being expected to dress as an example to the regiment - -	26	0	0
2 Pair leather breeches - -	6	6	0
2 Pair kerseymere do - -	2	14	0
4 Pair of boots, never wearing any thing else - -	9	0	0
3 New shirts per annum -	3	3	0
3 Pair stockings do - -	0	15	0
Neckcloths - - -	1	1	0
Pocket handkerchiefs - -	0	10	6
2 Hats, feathers, and tassels, per year - - - - -	7	8	0
1 Pair sheets per annum -	0	18	0
Pillow-case, towels, breakfast-cloths, &c. - - - -	1	1	0
Gloves, being always mounted	1	1	0
1 Regimental great coat in 2 years - - - -	1	11	6
Black stocks per annum -	0	10	6
Soleing boots, mending shirts, and stockings, regimentals, &c. per annum - -	3	3	0
1 Sword knot per annum -	0	9	6
Extra expenses on marching -	10	10	0
Unavoidable losses of clothes, &c. - - - - -	4	4	0
The keep of 2 horses, according to his Majesty's regulation, with only 2 feeds of oats per day, and at billet - -	80	3	0
Duty on do - - -	8	0	0
Hair powder tax - - -	1	1	0
A livery for the servant, and jacket and trowsers for the bat man - - - - -	9	9	0
Total of *necessary* expenditure	393	2	11
Amount of pay, after deducting			

10 per cent. for the Income Tax - - - -	271	8	8
Total minus - - -	£ 121	14	3

N. B. No allowance has been made for hire of lodgings, because an officer ought to avail himself of his billet, and has therefore, no *claim* on that account. Supposing him to have purchased half of his commissions, the value of 1800l. at 10 years purchase (which is 3 more than it is worth, and 10 more than any *officer* will *give*), that makes a deduction of 180l. more, leaving a total minus of 301l. 14s. 3d. to be placed to the account of Honour and Glory and a Wooden Leg!!!

MILITARY OFFICER'S PAY.

SIR,——I have this moment seen an estimate of the increase intended to be made in the pay of the army, which affords a fresh instance of want of consideration in the present ministry, indeed, I might have said, of palpable injustice. I mean the very partial distinction made in withholding from several branches of the army, and particularly the cavalry, the paltry advantages proposed. A young man wishing to serve his country in a regiment of dragoons, must pay at least seven hundred guineas for a bounty, and will, in a few years, if he is fortunate, get a lieutenancy to *purchase* for perhaps three hundred, in addition to which, four hundred more will not provide him with horses and appointments, and then his gross pay amounts to the mighty sum of seven and seven pence per diem, upon which the Secretary at War thinks he may very well *go on*. So he can, and rapidly too, to a gaol! On the other hand a man may, if he purchases at all, procure an ensigncy for three hundred pounds, and a lieutenancy will follow by the *course of promotion* to a certainty in a few months, and then his whole equipment does not cost him five-and-twenty pounds, and his six months services are rewarded with six and six pence per diem, and prospects of further increase and quick promotion; while the cavalry officer, who is not a man of large fortune, may remain for years a subaltern. Ministry may be thought liberal in bringing forward this measure, but they have an extensive fund to pay it from, by taxing subalterns of cavalry for three horses, and the grooms necessarily employed about them, as they are not like the infantry indulged with servants from the ranks. In short, it will not be uncommon I suppose in future for officers of dragoons to give large differences to be allowed to serve his Majesty on foot. *O tempora, O mores!* Taking notice of these remarks in your impartial paper will oblige—AN OFFICER.—*July 13th*, 1806.

THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY.

SIR,——As Boards of Admiralty have of late been more frequently changed, and sometimes so constituted as to deter men of experience and profound political knowledge from taking upon them a charge of so much responsibility, when, like shuttlecocks in air, they can only reach the arc of their ambition as they pass in premature volition from the battledores and succeeding administrations, thus evincing the science of government to be merely child's play, as is indeed proved by the facility with which a youngster, just escaped the dominion of his tutor, slides the yoke over the neck of John Bull. I regret that rumour should have proclaimed that Lord Howick is about to leave the helm of naval administration so soon. The warmth with which he lately advocated the cause of the veteran seamen, entitles him to much credit, notwithstanding the unseemliness of his trumpeting forth his brother, the commissioner's praise in parliament, in order to qualify his nomination of him to a place, which the custom of the navy has always given, till lately, to elder and more experienced officers; to those who, having devoted the whole of their years of active strength to the service, receive such situations, where by their talents and experience they can render essential good to the navy. As it was not necessary for Lord Howick to say any thing on the subject, we ought to receive it as a kind of homage paid to the public opinion, as individuals sometimes find it necessary to make a lame excuse for having done what they must know to be wrong. It however serves to shew, that we must submit to endure the pretensions of the members of a political family, and to pay the price of retaining them, because the chief of them, who happens to be blest with more brains than the rest, cannot seperate himself from the recollections of his nursery, to devote himself wholly and individually to the cause of his country. It is an amiable weakness; but it unfortunately sanctions a system in the service which may ultimately prove its bane and ruin; that of suffering relative feelings to supersede moral justice and political economy, inasmuch as the placing young inexperienced persons in any of the departments of government, and more particularly in the semi-civil stations of

the navy, is a robbery of the veteran officers rights, consequently it must create a spirit of discontent, where harmony ought to prevail, and eventually even the youth of the service will foresee that their laudable ambition of devoting the morning and meridian of their lives to enjoy its close, if not promoted to flags, in honourable though less active employment, will be cheated by an illusory phantom, when they find that the bloodsuckers of the service, like serpents, have seized the nests which they had hoped to cradle, a rising generation in which might emulate the toils and virtues of their fathers.
——PHILO NAUTÆ.

ARTICLE OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAHS AND ZEMINDARS IN THE DOAB; AND PARTICULARLY IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RAJAH EUGWUNT SING, ZEMINDAR OF SASNEE AND BIDJEGHUR, AND THE RAJAH KAKOOR ADDKEERIN, ZEMINDAR OF CUTCHOURA.

Concluded from p. 64.

That all these acts and proceedings, so disgraceful to the British name, so openly in violation of all law, so repugnant to justice, and so shocking to humanity, were committed towards persons over whom the said Marq. Wellesley had no just or legal control, from whom he had no right to exact allegiance, and who owed no obedience to his commands, but who were, in law and in fact, the subjects of the Nabob Vizier of Oude; the said Marq. having most iniquitously extorted the countries in which these deeds were acted from that unfortunate and despoiled Prince, and exercising in it, in the name of the East India Company, an unlawful, despotic, and usurped authority. —That the said act and proceedings having been committed either by the said Marq. Wellesley himself or by persons whom he had illegally appointed, and for whose conduct he was responsible, or by persons who acted under his orders, and for whose actions he was accountable; and the said Marq. having been regularly and duly informed of the said acts and proceedings while they were in the course of commission, and not only having never discountenanced, prohibited or censured them, but, on the contrary, having formally approved them, and publicly thanked those by whom they were committed; the said Marq. is justly chargeable with all the said acts and proceedings. —That, in all and singular of the above recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley Marq. Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the East-India Company, to his sovereign and to his country, by him entered into, has daringly contemned the parliament, the King, and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanors.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.——*Speech of the Lords Commisssoners, on Proroguing Parliament, Wednesday, July 23, 1806.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,——His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that the state of the public business enables his Majesty to close this session of parliament.—We are at the same time directed to express to you, the great satisfaction which his Majesty has derived from your unremitting zeal and diligence, and from that attention to the most important interests of His Empire, which has been so conspicuously manifested in all your proceedings.——The measures which have been adopted for the permanent improvement of the various branches of our military system, your attention to combine these arrangements with the great object of public economy, and the regulations which you have established for the speedy and effectual audit of the public accounts, call for his Majesty's particular acknowledgments.—Gentlemen of the House of Commons,——We have it in command from his Majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the various exigencies of the public service, particularly by raising, within the year, so very large a proportion of the necessary supplies; a measure in itself highly advantageous, and which must create, both at home and abroad, the most favourable impression of our national resources, and of the spirit which animates the British people. You may be assured, that the utmost attention shall be paid to the frugal administration of those supplies, which you have so liberally granted.—His Majesty is particularly sensible of the fresh proof he has received of your affectionate attachment to him, in the provision which you have made for enabling the younger branches of his Royal Family, to meet the necessary expenses of their station ——My Lords and Gentlemen,——His Majesty being always anxious for the restoration of peace, on just and honourable terms, [illegible] with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end, their success must

depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy; and, in every event, his Majesty looks with the fullest confidence to the continuance of that union and public spirit among all ranks of his people, which can alone give energy to war or security to peace.

A second commission, empowering the lords whose names were therein mentioned, or any three or more of them, to declare and notify his Majesty's royal will and pleasure for the prorogation of parliament, was then read; after which the Lord Chancellor addressed both Houses as follows:—My Lords and Gentlemen,—By virtue of his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in his Majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the 28th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 28th day of August next.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

SWEDEN. — *Proclamation of the King of Sweden on dissolving the Constitution of the State of Pomerania.*

By order of His Majesty the King of Sweden, J. Jean Henri Baron D'Essen makes known, &c.;—" His Maj. my most gracious King and Sovereign, having condescended to appoint me to cause to be published a general Proclamation relative to the suppression of the Pomeranian Regency: that I may fulfil this order, I make known to all the inhabitants, that His Maj. has informed me, by a letter of the 18th instant, that he learned, with surprize and displeasure, that, during the deliberations which lately took place on the subject of the appeal intimated by the states against the organization of a provincial militia in Pomerania; the major part of the members of the Regency were chargeable with a culpable disobedience, in completely departing from the order prescribed by his Maj. that His Maj. the King, in order to prevent similar scenes from being renewed in future, has judged it proper to dissolve the Pomeranian Regency, and to charge me in consequence, with the sole execution of his orders, in future, throughout all his German States. The aforesaid letter of His Maj. was publicly read, on the 19th instant, in presence of the ci-devant Members of the Regency; their functions immediately ceased. — In virtue of the powers with which His Maj. the King has invested me, in the manner aforesaid, I give public notice to all the inhabitants of Pomerania, that they conform themselves to this royal ordonnance, and, in consequence, address to me all those papers which would formerly have been presented to the ci-devant Regency, but to send, notwithstanding, duplicates to the Archives of that Regency.— Done in the fortress of Stralsund, June 21, 1806. Baron D'ESSEN, J. C. SINNIG."

[The Regency of the country being deposed, and the military Governor already in possession of his functions, His Majesty, on the 26th of June, addressed the following letter to him, by which his Maj. abolished the Constitution, and dissolved the States of the Province, in order that they should be replaced by the laws and the Constitutional Authorities of Sweden.]

" With concern we have long since perceived, that all the pain and solicitude that we have been engaged in for the prosperity of our faithful Pomeranian subjects, have met with unexpected difficulties in their execution; which have either prevented the fulfilment of our benedolent views, or retarded their effects by continual delays, and a recourse upon every occasion to ancient privileges.———*To be Continued.*

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Sixth Volume of the Parliamentary Debates comprising the period between the 21st of January and the 6th of May, 1806, will be ready for delivery on Tuesday next. In the pages immediately succeeding the Table of Contents will be found correct Lists of the Ministry as they stood in January and April; together with a List of the Members of the House of Commons. The Appendix contains: 1. Copies of the Treaties, &c, presented, by His Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament; 2. The Twelfth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry; 3. The First Report of the Commissioners for Revising and Digesting the Civil Affairs of the Navy; 4. Report from the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Viscount Melville; and, 5. The First Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry. The Seventh Volume, (which is in great forwardness) will close the Debates of the Session, and will contain the Financial Accounts, and other Documents connected with the Proceedings of Parliament during the Session.

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"Erskine, and the Liberty of the Press.—Three times three huzzas!"——WHIG-CLUB proceedings, before the change of ministry, in 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ——I could not refrain from repeating the motto that I have now taken. Those honest but silly fellows who used to stretch their throats upon such occasions ought to be reminded of their folly; for, though, perhaps, they may be incorrigibly stupid, their shame may be a warning to others.——As to myself, whatever follies I may have fallen into, that of spending my money and my breath upon trading patriots no one can accuse me of; and, for the WHIG CLUB, I always detested it; not only because it served to keep up the delusive idea of the existence of two parties of public men, each actuated by a great political *principle*, but also, because I disliked the Whig principle, supposing it had still been alive, having observed that all, nay *all*, those measures, which have proved greatly and permanently injurious and disgraceful to England, originated with the pretenders to exclusive patriotism, who called themselves *Whigs*. But, my chief dislike was to the deception, the fraud, practised upon the unthinking, by the founders of and the leaders in the Whig Club. They had no principle different from that of Mr. Pitt and his set. Mr. Pitt himself was a Whig. In fact, there has been no Tory principle existing amongst public men for the last seventy years; the *name* of Whig was kept up merely for want of another wherewith to attract a crowd of empty-headed partizans; and, if the change of ministry produces no other good than that of destroying the deception, and of teaching the people to turn with contempt from all future professors of Whiggism, it will be an event whereon for the honest part of the nation to congratulate themselves.——If this ministry continue to exist long, we shall witness instances enough of their "unshaken attachment to liberty "all over the world;" and, particularly of their attachment to the liberty of the press, the "Palladium of free men," as one of their great apostles styles it. They have made a pretty good beginning, and let him who is astonished at any thing they do in this way keep his astonishment to himself, unless he wishes to be pointed at as the prince of all the gulls in the world.——The Pittites said, when the Whigs got uppermost, "*give them* "*rope.*" It was well and wisely and prophetically said. They have already verified the prediction. They have, from the love of place, from the mere love of place, not only bowed down under their adversaries; not only have they tamely yielded all their professed principles, but they have become the instruments, the low and grovelling instruments, in the hands of those whose principles they formerly pretended to abhor. They have already *done*, actually done, more towards extinguishing the *useful* liberty of the press, than was ever done, or contemplated, by those whom they reviled, and justly reviled, for their measures hostile to that liberty.——With regard to the particular person, whose name stands at the head of my motto, the public will remember what, upon many occasions, was the opinion I gave of him. I often described what he would be, if he had the power; and, I now leave them to say, whether my opinion was correct. To refer to what he has said and written upon the *liberty of the press*, that standing dish at the Whig dinners, is quite useless. His speeches at those dinners are fresh in every one's memory; and, I trust, *there will come a day*, when he may be reminded of them with advantage.——Many persons are apprehensive, and not without cause, that the treaty of peace with France, whenever it comes, will contain some stipulations relative to the *press*. To me, who always detested the name of Whig, this will be a subject of laughter; but, what will be said by the gulls who have expended their money upon portraits of SYDNEY and RUSSEL, wherewith to adorn the meeting-room of the Whig-Club? What will be their feelings, if, indeed, they have brains enough to teach them to feel?——Really, when I contemplate what has passed during the last six months, I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction at the triumph of LORD MELVILLE, whom, from the bottom of my heart, I believe to be a better and an honester man than any one of the Whigs, the professing, the noisy, the clamorous, the disgusting Whigs; I cannot refrain from expressing

my hearty satisfaction at seeing these latter baffled by him, who was, at any rate, always *frank* in his actions as well as in his words, and who never *sneaked* his way along through the dirt.

PROROGATION SPEECH.——The Speech made on the 23d ultimo, upon the Prorogation of Parliament, will be found in the preceding sheet, page 158.——The expression, with which the Speech sets out, of His Majesty's "great satisfaction at the *unremitted* "zeal and diligence" visible in the conduct of the parliament must have appeared singularly proper and fitting in the eyes of those members who happened to stay in town to hear it, and who had been witnesses of the crowded houses for several weeks before, while the public money was voted away in millions upon millions.——Not less fitting was the high commendation of the measures adopted for the "permanent im- "provement of the military system," of which improvement we shall, in due time, I dare say, be able to perceive the effects, though, for the present, they elude, as, doubtless, they ought to do, every thing bordering upon vulgar observation, it being the chief merit of a refined system of improvement, to operate in a manner unseen and unheard of; and, accordingly, there appears not, in any part of the country, any effect whatever to have been produced by the military measures of the last six months. The legend tells us, that, when the Devil sheered the pig, he exclaimed, "Much cry and "little wool." And, though we perceive no effects produced by these permanent improvers of the army, it must be confessed, that what they may want on the score of deeds, they have amply made up for on that of words; for, surely, nothing in the whole world was ever so much *talked* of as this "permanent improvement of our military "system." MR. WINDHAM has certainly done as much as he was able to do; but, the question is, whether, not being able to do more, he should have retained his place. I think not, and especially after the assertion of LORD GRENVILLE, who, in defending the measure of limited service, said that he had approved of it, "*because it was* "*approved of by that great and unrivalled* "*statesman, Mr. Pitt!*" And yet Mr. Windham holds his place! Not one hour, after that speech was made, ought he, in my opinion, to have remained in the ministry. What! to be held forth as the mere imitator of the *projector* Pitt, of the shallow-brained Pitt; of the author of the Parish Bill! The servile imitator of the wordy, the bragging, the constantly-baffled Pitt! The low imitator of the man, under whose council England has been brought into its present wretched state! But, MR. WINDHAM is not singular. All his colleagues, who were not of the Pitt school, are in the same situation. In the discussion of every measure that has been adopted care has been taken to compel them to act, as if they confessed themselves to have no merit, except as the imitators of Pitt, of whom, after having, for twenty years, represented him as the mortal enemy of the prosperity and liberty of his country, they acknowledged, explicitly acknowledged in words, the "*great* "*public merit,*" which acknowledgement they sealed by a vote to pay his debts *out of the pocket of the people!* By this generous and high-spirited act they began their career; and, from such a beginning, had we not reason to fear all that has since taken place? To have witnessed conduct like this in the SHERIDANS and the FITZPATRICKS, in the man who pledged himself to prosecute the oppressors of the Nabob of Arcot, or in the man who pledged himself to bring forward the complaint of COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE; to have witnessed conduct, like that above described, in such men, would have been a subject of little surprize, and of not much regret; but, to see MR. WINDHAM become a sort of butt to the reputation of Pitt, and to the humours and interests of his surviving partizans, was what no man in the nation could possibly have expected; it must have astonished every man, and, for my own part, it has mortified me beyond any thing that I ever met with in my life. What! (for there is no getting off from the subject) What! MR. WINDHAM, that MR. WINDHAM to whom I, and to whom the nation, looked up for a radical improvement in our military system; this gentleman, whom we wished not to sleep until his plans were brought forward, at last, and after long reflection, produces his plans; and, when the leading man amongst his colleagues comes to support them, he does it upon the express ground, that he knew them to have been approved of by Pitt; by the very man, of the whole of whose military projects MR. WINDHAM had, a hundred times over, expressed his contempt! And yet MR. WINDHAM is in place! Surely there is something in the air of the offices that lowers the minds of men! It was with still better reason than I thought, that I recommended a clean-sweeping and a fumigation of the haunts of the Pitts and the Roses.——The next topic of praise, is, the "regulations established for the *speedy* and "*effectual* audit of the public accounts;"

and, these regulations do, we are told, call for the particular acknowledgments of His Majesty. In the present sheet will be found two letters upon this subject. Enough has been said upon it; and, experience will *soon* show, that the effects of it will be any thing but "*speedy*." This measure is like the rest; a poor attempt at making *a shew* of doing something; for, to do any thing, a new mode of *keeping* and *stating* the public accounts must be established. As the accounts are now kept and stated, it is next to impossible that the House of Commons should ever *know how the money is expended*. Of the intolerable confusion that the present mode exhibits I have given a pretty good instance in my description of the CIVIL LIST, and that is a very fair sample of the whole. This confusion is such that it is quite impossible that it should not have been the result of *choice*. To do it away would require but very little trouble; but, that it will ever be done away by the consent of ministers, while the present system of supporting power remains, I am not sanguine enough to hope. It would be much better, if no account at all were kept; if the ministers were to say, at once, that the House of Commons had nothing to do but to grant the money. People's minds would not then be confused. The people would feel the weight of the taxes, and as they would necessarily know what events happened, they would naturally form a tolerably correct judgment as to the conduct of the government. But, as things now are, no man knows what to think. We complain of heavy burdens, and we are answered with an account, specious in appearance, but which not one man out of fifty thousand does ever understand. A French writer, in detailing a plan for the establishment of a "maritime army" for the constant annoyance of England (which plan, to the very letter, has been adopted and steadily acted upon) beseeches the FIRST CONSUL (as he then was) to cause the accounts of expenditure to be *few* and *simple*. Let them be framed, says he, by a clear head, and they will set the corrupt heart at defiance; but, above all things, let them be few in number; "car, où il y a beaucoup *de papier*, il y a "toujours beaucoup de *gaspillage*;" that is, "the more *paper*, the more *plunder*." The very reverse of this advice would seem to have been given to our finance ministers. There are cart-loads; without exaggeration, cart-loads of accounts produced, at a terrible expense, every session of parliament; and, I now put it to the reader, whether *he* knows how the public money is expended; or, whether he knows any man that does? "Oh," say the gentlemen of Whitehall, "but you should consider how vast are the "concerns of a *great nation* like this;" and, they seem to consider every addition to the expenditure, and every new difficulty in the way of rendering the accounts intelligible, as a fresh proof of increasing *greatness*. But, is this the case with individuals? Was there ever in the world an individual who prospered, or, who was not ruined, if his accounts were constantly in an unintelligible state?——In the statement of the Lords Commissioners, that His Majesty has charged them to thank the House of Commons for their wise measures for raising so large a part of the supplies within the year, we merely see again the influence of the Pitts; but, when they observe, that the adoption of these measures "*must* create, both at "home and abroad the most *favourable impression of our national resources*, and of "the *spirit* which animates the British "People;" when they talk thus, they seem to have forgotten the *Pig Iron* and the *Brewery* taxes; they seem to have forgotten Lord Henry Petty's remark, that, in imposing taxes, we were now reduced to *a choice of evils*; and MR. FOX's, that, such was now the state of our financial concerns, that it was impossible to impose any additional tax, without *affecting the prosperity* of some branch or other of our trade or commerce; they seem to have quite forgotten MR. FOX's remark, that all must now be taxed upon their income *who did not receive aid from the Parish*; and, as to the "*spirit* of "the British People," the howlings at the Bank, when the last dividends were received, and the outcry for peace, in the same quarter, seem to have entirely escaped the notice of the Lords Commissioners, or more properly speaking, the framers of the *Speech*. I have always disliked the *Income Tax*, because it is not only destructive, as far as it goes, of every vestige of freedom, but because it is so shockingly partial in its operation. But, as making a *Deduction from the Dividends*; as producing an *Abatement of the Interest upon the National Debt*, I think the measure both wise and just; and, the only fault I find with it here, is, that it is *wrong named*. It is evident that this tax, or deduction, must go on augmenting. A peace, which may be called peace, perhaps, will not stop it. In two years time it will, in all probability, be *twenty per centum*. One would suppose that it could not be higher than that without extirpating the thing it feeds upon; but, go on it must now, as long as the debt itself is in existence. This

ten per centum, levied, or rather *deducted* without any exception (unless in the case of FOREIGNERS and of HIS MAJESTY) has set the fund-holders to thinking more seriously than they have ever been prevailed upon to think before. They cannot but perceive, that those whose income arises from trade, or from real property, make shift, in one way or another, to elude the tax, in part, at least. It is quite impossible to prevent this; and, it is as impossible to prevent the full deduction being made from the annuitants of the state, that is to say, the fund-holders. People are very slow to comprehend upon subjects of this sort, but their minds will be cleared and quickened by their feelings, and, in proportion as this effect is produced, a right opinion with regard to the funds will be formed and acted upon. The progress of this opinion will, for a time, be gradual; but, at last, the light will break in upon hundreds of thousands all at once; then the thing is done; and, in a very few weeks afterwards, people will be laughing at the dreadful apprehensions which they now entertain as to the consequences. I cannot comprehend what course of thought it is that has led to the notion, but a notion does certainly prevail, that, if the funds were to be destroyed, all the victuals and drink and cloathing, and all the horses and sheep and cattle and hogs and poultry and game would, in the same instant, be destroyed too. Men do not tell you this in words; but, they tell you it very plainly in the inferences necessarily flowing from the apprehensions which they express; for, if the destruction of the funds is not expected to produce a destruction of the means of subsistence, whence all the dread of ruin, beggary, and famine that we daily and hourly hear expressed? This bugbear it is that has haunted the minds of more than one half of those who have written upon the subject. Proceeding upon such a notion, they have given way to their humanity, and discarded their reason. I blame them not, but, I must say, that there is a glaring inconsistency in their reprobating my propositions for *annihilating* the debt, while they highly approve of the deductions from the dividends, which is, in fact, an annihilation of one tenth part of it. The argument, that this is no deduction from the dividends, but merely a *tax*, because all other income is obliged to pay at the same rate, would, even if the latter proposition were true in practice, be fallacious; for, from other incomes, the tax is *raised*, whereas from the income in the funds it is *deducted*. The tax upon other incomes first comes into the hands of the person who pays it; but, into the hands of the fund-holder it never comes at all. In the former case it is a sum levied in contravention of no contract whatever; but, in the latter case it is a sum deducted by the sole will of the party contracting to pay. I beg leave to add, that I am far from disapproving of the exercise of this will; I am far from disputing the right of the nation to make the deduction of ten per centum from the dividends; but, I must at the same time, insist, that, the right to deduct one tenth necessarily implies a right to cut off the whole.——When the Speech came to express His Majesty's sensibility of the fresh proof which his "faithful Commons had given of their affectionate attachment to him, in the provision they had made for enabling the younger branches of his Royal Family to meet the necessary expences of their station," it was peculiarly proper to preface the expression with an assurance respecting *œconomy*. But, if the depreciation of money has called for an addition to the incomes of the Royal Dukes, how can it be denied; how is it possible to deny, that *all other pensioners* have, upon the same ground, a claim to an augmentation? The Morning Chronicle has made a feeble attempt (oh! lamentable fall!) to make the public believe, that, in fact, *no augmentation* at all has been made. But, if this be the case, why thank the faithful Commons for having *made provision* to enable the younger branches of the Royal Family to meet the *expenses* of their station? Can it be believed, that the parliament and the king should have thought that they were making an augmentation, when they were making no augmentation? This attempt of the Morning Chronicle is a striking instance of the mischievous effect of proving (I should call it asserting) too much. Had the attempt aimed no further than to shew that only a trifling augmentation had been made, it might have succeeded amongst readers of a certain description; but, as it is, there is a moral impossibility of its imposing upon any man in his senses.——PEACE, lovely peace, closes the Royal communication; and, upon this subject, the first remark naturally is, that we are treating *alone*; RUSSIA having, as it is supposed, made her peace already. To go back to the month of November or December last, in order to remind my readers of the famous *Potsdam oath*, and of the threats of *prosecution* thrown out against an eloquent and sagacious writer in the Morning Herald, who ridiculed that oath, and who then foretold, with almost perfect precision, all that has since come to pass, would now be useless. For

the state, in which we now are, none but the Addington part of the present ministry are to blame; and, I shall not be in haste to say, that *any* peace they make is inexpedient; for, I cannot see how our situation is to become better by war; though, on the other hand, I cannot see how it is to become better by the *name* of peace, being convinced that no treaty will, under the present circumstances, produce any thing more. As to any thing that we have *taken*, or any thing that we *possess*, out of Great Britain and Ireland and the West-Indies, I shall feel no sorrow at any surrender or cession that may be made. Yet, I have my fears, and those fears I will express now, before it be too late. I fear, that HANOVER will be the great object, and surely I am warranted in that fear, when I consider the declarations of MR. FOX, the language of his note to the Prussian minister, and, especially when I consider the feeble hold which the Fox part of the ministry now have of their power. Upon this subject an admirable letter will be found in the preceding sheet, page 143, to which I beg leave to refer for what I deem proof of the inexpediency of making Hanover a subject of negociation between Great Britain and France. Yet do I fear, that, for this Electorate we shall make almost any sacrifices that may be demanded at our hands. If they affect us not in our maritime establishment, or in our internal government; even in that case, I should protest against sacrifices for Hanover, for the sake of which I would not give up a rock stone upon the sea beach of the coast of Africa, because I am convinced, that the precedent would be ruinous to England; but, what then, will be our feelings, if our interests and our safety *at home* should be hazarded for such an object? The 20th and 21st articles of the Treaty of Amiens contain destruction in every word. The latter formed the pretext for the complaints against *the Press*, and the former for demanding the *surrender of the Vendean Royalists*. I beg leave to refer the reader to some remarks to be found in Vol. II. of the Political Register, at pages 279 and 303, upon the dangerous tendency of the former article in particular. These articles were *entirely new*; and I now protest before hand against their being considered as precedents; for what can the imagination engender more hateful or more dreadful than English magistrates *acting upon requisitions made from France?* Yet, to that extent do these articles go, and they apply, too, to *subjects of Great Britain* as well as subjects of France, or of any other country, who may commit offences, or *be accused* of having committed offences, in the French dominions! Nations are, by foreign states as well as by their own rulers, generally *enslaved by degrees*. First they surrender their honour, next their property and privileges, next their freedom of uttering their thoughts, and last of all their personal security; and they are frequently brought very near, if not quite, to the last stage, without the actual employment of any physical force immediately upon them. What progress *we* have made in the fatal course I leave the reader to say; but, I hope, that we shall proceed no further; I hope that nothing will be done to break our minds down to the last degree of subjection; I hope, and I trust, that no desire to eke out their official existence will induce the ministers to commit such a deed of infamy; if, however, it should, I shall not dare to express my feelings at their conduct; and, therefore, I now beforehand declare, that if they thus act, they will merit the curses of the country, and that they shall have my curse, at any rate, as long as they and I live. There is nothing now left for us to do but to take care of *home*. The rest of the world is now separated from us, and the conqueror of the world is looking towards our country as the last object of his ambition, and, indeed, as the last object of his fear. "The "government," as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is stated to have observed the other day, at the Middlesex Meeting, "being now deserted by all *foreign* allies, has only to "look to its old and faithful ally—the "People; with whose affection properly "conciliated, and with whose power, judiciously directed, the country may yet "be extricated from its difficulties, and restored to the glorious eminence which it "formerly occupied, and which, but for "the folly and wickedness of those servants of the public who have perverted "its resources to the gratification of their "own ambition and avarice, it always "would have occupied in the world." But, in order to secure this "old and faithful "ally," there must be *a radical reform in the expenditure of the public money*. Here is the point to begin at. Without this nothing good can be effected; for, can it be believed, that the people will cheerfully make *sacrifices*, in order to furnish forth the means of *waste?*

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——The reader will have observed, that, upon this subject, I have confined myself to the insertion of articles from the Morning Post, making thereon such comments as appeared to me proper. It will also be recollected,

that the writer in that paper has, from time to time, promised us the publication of the *report* of the Committee of the Privy Council. He has asserted, that that report was laid before the King on a day named; he has asserted, that the accusers were infamous calumniators; that they deserved to die; and that he was *sorry* that no *greater* punishments than that due to calumniators of the most infamous degree awaited them. He seemed, as the reader will recollect, to regret, that the calumniators, as he called them, could not, with any degree of decency, be put to death for their offence; and, at the same time, he clearly pointed out *who* those calumniators were, and besought the public to bestow its everlasting execration upon them.——Now, then, let us hear what he says, in his paper of the 30th ultimo, respecting an accusation of calumny, which, it would appear, is about to be preferred against himself.——"THE INFAMOUS CALUMNY—Every transaction "of which *sifting* forms a principal feature, does not necessarily abound with "*honey*; there are some from which are "derived many more *stings* than *sweets*.— "Let the galled jades wince; our withers "are unwrung.—The part we have taken "with respect to the important State Inquiry which has for some time engrossed "and which still continues to engross so "much of the public attention, has, it "seems, excited very uneasy sensations in "the breasts of some persons concerned; "not those, of course, comprehended in "the acquittal, but those instrumental in "the wicked accusation. The files of THE "MORNING POST, we are assured, are examined, day after day, by counsel learned "in the law, and attornies hackned in discovering grounds of prosecution. We "know not what the learning of such "counsel, or the experience of such attornies, may find to urge against us;—we "will boldly add, WE CARE NOT!—The "part we have taken in respect to this important, though secret trial, has been that "which British Loyalty, British Justice, "and British Freedom counselled; and if "we are to be accused by those who are inimical to such principles, or obnoxious "to the exercise of them, we have at least "the satisfaction of thinking we shall be "tried, not by a secret tribunal, upon secret evidence, but by the known maxims, "principles, and forms of a British Court "of Justice. We know not why all this "rage should be felt against us. *We "have mentioned no names*, judging it "more respectful to the Commissioners "to leave that duty to them. We have "merely stated, what has been proved, "that calumny and malice were at the "bottom of the charges, and that the calumniators ought to be exposed, prosecuted "and punished. We know not, therefore, "what ground of complaint any one person "can urge against us, except it be that this "term calumniator can mean no other than "him: *Qui caput ille facit*. The calumniators, we knew, consisted of a combination of persons; we never pretended "to judge, much less to say, who was best "deserving of the principal title; but in "titles of this kind, the modest merit that "seeks most particularly to avoid the distinction, is generally thought best entitled "to it. The distribution of the infamy that "attaches to base transactions is a sort of "agency that we should be very sorry to be "solicitous to possess. We care not whether the filthy hoard that results from such "transactions is a droit to be divided or "retained according to favour, or a prize "in which every person concerned is to "share in proportion to his rank and service. Let those to whom it belongs divide it among them as they like, (and we "understand there is actually a contention "to this effect); and God forbid that we, "or any one we wish well, should diminish "any of their shares by the smallest particle. If we are to be accused, we will "stand the charge, not only with resolution, but with pride and satisfaction. "Relying upon the strength of British "Loyalty, British Justice, and British "Freedom, which we have always exercised "and supported, but never abused, we "laugh at the impotent malice of those who "would criminate us before a tribunal animated with principles congenial to our "own, with charges fit only to be urged "before a bench of tyrants (unknown, thank "Heaven, in this envied land of liberty) "actuated by the worst passions, and the "worst interests. We shall again return to "this subject in a few days."——No: pray don't! Don't *return to* it again, unless you can make better out; for this is miserable work indeed! Is this the *report*, the famous and solemn report that you promised us, and that you assured us would be mentioned, "in a dignified way," in the King's speech? For shame! Are you not ashamed, now! You "have *mentioned no names!*" What a sneaking, what a pitiful subterfuge! Did you not mention a *Baronet and his Lady*, who had been before the Secret Committee, and who had been in great favour with the Illustrious Personage? And

was not that a designation more than sufficiently clear? Never slink, man! You, who were the other day, a *Knight*, a Knight not inferior to a madman, who, in the "BRISTOL MERCURY," fights on your side, and who answers all my arguments, solves all my doubts, and dissipates all my fears, by invoking the manes of "*Henri Quatre*," and swearing by "the dear, the sacred name "of Woman." What, will such Knights slink! Will they shuffle! I should be sorry to see the Baronet and his Lady have recourse to the law; because I never knew a reputation repaired in that way; but, if the former were disposed to make use, in a reasonable degree, of a good horse-whip, I really think, the matter might be settled very much to the satisfaction of you both; and, it might not be amiss, if my friend at Bristol were included in the compromise. ——The *less is said* upon this subject the better, I think; and, for my part, I never should have meddled with it, had I not seen made a most wicked attempt to prepossess the public mind against two persons, whose only crime was, as far as the *proof* went, the having been cited as witnesses touching the conduct of an *Illustrious* Personage. This appeared to me to be something so wicked and so base, that I could not help animadverting upon it. My animadversions have, I think, produced the proper effect; and, I do seriously advise the persons, aimed at in this writer's invectives, not to have recourse to the law, well assured as I am that that is not the way to efface any evil impressions that may have been made upon the public mind. Vengeance was never yet considered as a characteristic of conscious innocence, and, they may be assured, that it never will be so considered.

P. S. An Address to the Public from Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE will appear in the next number.——*Botley, July* 31.

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS TO DECIDE ON THE CLAIMS MADE BY HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE CONVENTION WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MR. COBBETT,—As you have inserted in your last Register "a letter from a ruined "old American Merchant" who seems to state very candidly what, according to his impressions on the subject, he would have good reason to feel, I am sure you will very readily give a place to what I now communicate for the information of that unfortunate gentleman and others in his situation.—I write of course anonymously; but that the information may be the more relied on, I have informed you of my name, and you are welcome to disclose it to your correspondent on his making himself known to you.—Your correspondent is mistaken as to the cause which put an end to the proceedings of the Board at Philadelphia before they had done more than established certain leading principles of construction; such as would, however, have gone far to determine much of the business before them:—but as that matter is foreign to the present purposes I will only say that it has been extremely well stated and explained by yourself in "Porcupine's works" Vol 12 page 53.—Your correspondent does not exaggerate in stating the magnitude of the business before the Board, and of the trust conferred on the Commissioners by the Act of Parliament. That trust was certainly without precedent, all other Parliamentary Commissions having been only to require and report, while the Board in question was charged with the duly and high responsibility of deciding conclusively, and without appeal, on claims which amount to more than five millions sterling; and not only deciding, but applying their own decisions, by apportioning and distributing 600,000*l.* among those whom they had declared to be entitled. It cannot therefore be doubted that the Commissioners felt the full force of that stimulus to a conscientious discharge of duty which great confidence inspires; and they certainly cannot be ambitious of a higher character personally than your correspondent has given them. But your correspondent complains that the proceedings of the Board have no publicity—that they "are closetted"—that little has "been done, and that the Commissioners "enjoy "princely salaries" To speak of the last article first, I beg to inform you that the Commissioners enjoy no salaries; that although it is now nearly four years since they first issued their notices to those concerned, and more than three years since the Act of Parliament passed, they have neither received nor applied to his Majesty's Government for remunerations of any sort:—further I wish it to be known that the probability of much reluctance in point of explanation on the part of many claimants who knew the defects of their own cases, and of others who (notwithstanding the minute instructions of the Board) were either negligent or ignorant of the business; with the certainty that as the cause of necessary delay could not be explained to the public, much of it would be imputed to interested motives on the part of the Commissioners if they derived any benefit from it, and an impatience under the possibility of such a surmise, in-

duced the first Commissioner to communicate a wish (to which the two other commissioners very readily acceded), that whatever remunerations might in the end be conferred on them, such remunerations should not be settled on a statement of yearly salaries; but on a just and honorable estimate of the trust conferred and duty done—*under which impression the proceedings of the Board have been conducted from the beginning.*—As to the complaint of want of publicity in their proceedings, not only the London Gazette but the numerous explanatory notices and anxious call for attention and dispatch on the part of claimants, with the intimation of leading determinations and principles which from time to time have been printed and circulated in the form of general orders and Resolutions of the Board, exclusive of those special orders and decisions which they are constantly transmitting to claimants, with the grounds on which they proceed, bear sufficient testimony to the contrary. It was indeed an early object with the Board to give all possible publicity to their proceedings, as your correspondent will find on referring to the conclusion of a notice of the 7th May, 1803, published in the London Gazette, informing all claimants and their Agents that full inspection would be given at the office of all claims before the Board, including of course the orders and proceedings upon them.—As to the state of the business before the Board your correspondent has been equally misled, and will I am persuaded in that respect, as well as in other particulars, be happy to receive the information I now give. The Board have hitherto been chiefly occupied in settling leading points, and forcing forward the unnecessary proofs and explanations; but they have nevertheless decided claims to the amount of nearly a million sterling; other cases to a great amount being now nearly ripe for adjudication;—and as the determination of a claim to the amount of fifty pounds may carry along with it of course the decision of fifty thousand, I can assure him that the termination of the business is much nearer at hand than he and probably many others may have been very naturally led to conclude.—As to the dividends paid, it is true that they amount to no more than 12 per cent. of the sums adjudged to be good; but the same persons will receive subsequent dividends in proportion to the increasing sum of rejected claims; to the amount perhaps, according to present appearances, of about as much more.—A. B.—*London—30th, July,* 1806.

FINANCIAL ABUSES.

SIR,——The nation feels no moderate share of abhorrence at the frauds and abuses which have been in part, so meritoriously developed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the inclination so clearly evinced, the pledge so positively given by the present ministry of punishing public delinquents, and preventing a recurrence of similar abuses, have not failed to excite the gratitude, and gain the applauses of the people. And no inconsiderable portion of the nation's gratitude and applause is due to you, Mr. Cobbett, who have firmly and uniformly hunted down corruption in whatever shape it might appear, to you who have apprised the public of the abuses that existed in the application of their money, and of the inadequacy of the measures resorted to for their detection. Of the truth of several of your statements, Lord St. Vincent's administration afforded ample testimony. And it certainly is matter of exultation and triumph, that the present ministry is desirous of accomplishing in every department what part of it had commenced in the naval only. But, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech introductory of the bill for appointing new commissioners, exposed many enormities, and has since on various occasions reprobated the practice that has hitherto prevailed in the examination of accounts, he has merely stated the amount *unaudited* in each department, and never mentioned a syllable as to the amount of the accounts unexamined, or at least unpassed in each department. I mean those accounts which are under the controul and management of the different boards, &c. and which never see the Auditors' Office. And which information is absolutely necessary, in order to ascertain what portion of blame attaches to each department, though not essential to prove the danger that may result, and the imposition that may be practised on the unthinking multitude; 1st. from the Commissioners of Auditors not examining the accounts of sub-accountants; and, 2dly, from granting a quietus without inquiring whether the sums actually paid away have been duly accounted for. The existence of which practice, and the manner in which a treasurer of the navy's accounts are audited, may be collected from the Eighth Report of the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts, by which it appears that a Treasurer of the Navy, in order to pass his accounts, sends sections of the ledgers, and other papers, from time to time from the Pay Office of the Navy, to the Office of the Auditor of the Imprest; but none of the vouchers for the entries are sent with them, (except a few for extra payments) nor does the auditor inspect any of these vouchers,

but relies for the existence as well as for the truth of them, on the subscription of three of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, in pursuance of a writ of privy seal.—The Commissioners of Audit observe that the Commissioners of the Navy, are the ultimate judges of the ground and consideration of every payment; and that these powers must be entrusted somewhere without appeal, and where to all appearance, so properly as with the presiding officers of the several boards subject to the superintending eye of parliament. From the preceding fact which is established beyond the possibility of refutation, very alarming and serious inferences must necessarily be drawn. We have,

First. The information that the vouchers and accounts which compose and make up the aggregate of the Treasurer of the Navy's account, are never submitted to the examination of the Auditors.

Second. We learn that the Commissioners of the Navy are the ultimate judges of the ground and consideration of every payment.

Third. We find recorded the opinion of the Commissioners of the Auditors, that these powers must be entrusted somewhere without appeal, and where to all appearance so properly as with the presiding officers of the several boards, subject to the superintending eye of parliament.

Although the information contained in the first article was to be found in a public record, the public were certainly not aware that a Treasurer of the Navy, or any other officer, could possibly gain his quietus without the vouchers and accounts having been previously investigated, and admitted by the auditors themselves, till, as appears by the Morning Chronicle of last Friday, Lord Henry Petty read a letter from the Auditors to the Treasury in 1800, stating the necessity of auditing *at their office* the Bank and Navy accounts, and such as had been contended wanted only a formal audit. With such examination certainly the Treasurer of the Navy individually can have nothing to do, but the public have. The Commissioners of Audit even now see the necessity of, and invite such an examination. The impropriety and evil tendency of such a practice is manifest, but what aggravates the case, is, that at the time the Treasurer of the Navy has audited his accounts, it may be possible that the services for which sums have been issued by and allowed to the Treasurer, have not been at all accounted for; and, consequently, at the time that the public believe they have balanced their accounts in the naval department, and granted the Treasurer a quietus, there may actually be outstanding imprests to a very considerable amount. No longer ought such a delusion to be practised upon the credulity of the people; no longer ought negligence so unparalleled, or ignorance so profound, be permitted to produce mischiefs so deceitfully imposing, so incalculably pernicious, as evidently may result from the existence of such a practice.—In reflecting that the Commissioners of the Navy are the ultimate judges of the ground, and consideration of every payment, it would be satisfactory to be able to state, that the evils anticipated in considering the former article had really never occurred. And that in deprecating the fallacy and mischievous tendency of the principle, we might at least have boasted that no ill consequences had arisen therefrom. But unfortunately for the Commissioners of the Navy, though happily for the public, the Board of Naval Inquiry have in some degree exposed the great inattention and ignorance that have prevailed in the Navy Office alone. The procrastinations and delays that have taken place in passing accounts are notorious, which, as Lord Henry Petty very justly remarked, operated most prejudicially to the interests of the honest accountant, and served as a veil to the iniquitous transactions of the sharper. And every one who has read, and is fully acquainted with the circumstances of the mal-practices of many naval officers, must admit, that had the Commissioners of the Navy, or that part of them under whose directions the naval accountants act, either understood the customs of merchants in general, or been men of activity, penetration, and spirit, they would not have become the dupes of designing knaves, or derision of regular systematic and well-informed men. And, can even a Commissioner of the Navy read with unblushing cheeks some of the reports of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, can he manufacture a quibble by which to extricate himself from the severe remarks of these commissioners, must he not be conscious that a candid and discriminating public will not consider him as a judge, to be respected for the acumen and promptitude in investigating and deciding upon the admissibility of accounts, but rather as a charlatan armed with a little brief authority, who has nothing to boast of but his patent? Must he not consider his disgrace indelible and humiliation complete? Must he not be apprehensive that the dusty piles of neglected accounts, will not be sufficient to screen him from the shafts of national indignation; and will he

not tremble if the public ask with Horace,

Quid causæ est, merito quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore post hac
Tam facilem dicat, votis ut præbeat aurem?

The opinion of the Commissioners of Audit, that these powers must be entrusted somewhere without appeal, is obviously correct, but the question, where to all appearance so properly as with the presiding officers of the several boards, subject to the superintending eye of parliament, has been answered by the present board directly in the negative. Supposing, however, what is very improbable, that the present ministry should not deem it expedient to remove the power of passing accounts from these presiding officers, guarded as they are by the superintending eye of parliament, (which phrase forsooth made the commissioners question much more plausible and palatable) still the frauds and neglect which have been either authoritatively reported, as by the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, and to a small extent by those of Military Inquiry, or published to the world by individuals, as by Mr. H. Le Mesurier, or communicated by members of parliament, as Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Robson and others, render a rigorous retrospective examination and legislative correction indispensibly necessary. The public naturally wish to be informed, whether that simplicity and uniformity, that mercantile regularity and precision, of the necessity of which Lord Henry Petty has so strongly and justly insisted, is to be found in any, and what degree in the public offices. A report should be made of the manner in which the accounts have been hitherto examined, the steps that have been taken to recover public balances, the actual amount lost to the public by the ignorance or partiality of the examiners and others, and the corruptions of the accountant. The suggestion of Sir William Young should be minutely attended to with respect to exchange operation. It should be a subject of serious and particular investigation, whether, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer hinted, those persons who in obedience to the dictates of conscience, the suggestions of their own superior minds, or from the experience and information derived from other sources than a public office, have dared to dive into the principle of an account, to apply their own information and ability in detecting and exposing impositions and errors, have in reality been visited with contempt and neglect, if not decided enmity and cruel persecution. And these inquiries should not be made by precept, and answered by letters, but the new commissioners should themselves attend in the offices, and be satisfied of the practice and detail, and not amused with the ambiguous and studied phrases, and partial and mysterious expositions of Boards. For every man knows,

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

If the investigation were conducted in this manner, it would be very easy to ascertain whether the existing abuses are to be attributed to a defect in principle, or to the inefficiency of those to whom the execution of that principle has been committed, or to both. The defect in principle is what the present ministry boast of supplying, and it cannot be too strongly recommended to them to consider, what it is to be feared has been too little attended to in many departments,

Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.

This letter has already swelled to an unexpected and tedious length; much I am convinced is superfluous, and more, perhaps, impertinent and irrelevant; should you, however, consider the practice that has prevailed in auditing a Treasurer of the Navy and other officer's accounts, and the consequent insecurity and probable loss of the public money, a fit subject for public information, and immediate correction; I shall feel amply repaid if you will communicate it in that way which best suits your own convenience, and meets your own ideas.——I remain with great respect, Sir, your obedient humble servant.——INVESTIGATOR.

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.

SIR,——I beg that you will allow me to call once more the attention of the public, through the medium of your Register, to a subject which has already been discussed by you as one of great importance.—I allude, Sir, to the new plan for the audit of the public accounts, and to the bill brought into parliament for an increase of establishment and of powers to the office entrusted with that duty. Having been many years a clerk in the auditors office, I have taken a professional interest in the discussions which this measure, and the statements upon which it is founded have given rise, in and out of parliament; and unconcerned as I am in its operations as far as my personal interest is involved, my opinions upon the subject are unmixed with any party prejudices or private views. My only object in thus addressing you, Sir, is to solicit the public attention to a few observations from a practical man, upon a question which appears to me not to

have been well understood; and to afford to military gentlemen and other persons who may become public accountants, some knowledge of the chief provisions of the new bill. I shall, therefore, state as briefly as possible, what causes may in my humble opinion be assigned for the arrears in the audit of the public accounts of the country, and consider afterwards, the adequacy of the present measure to the purposes intended to be attained. —With respect to the first point, I can take upon me to state, that for many years back, no man of common sense in the auditors office, has entertained a doubt, on comparing the quantity of business actually dispatched in the office, with the sum of labour assigned to it, but that the growing arrears of unexamined accounts, independently of the arrears of accounts not yet delivered in for examination, would sooner or later attract the attention of parliament, and call for a public investigation of so public a grievance. —The causes of the evil were various; some were inherent to the establishment and to the system pursued; others were accidental. Amongst the first the pre-eminence may be assigned to the internal regulations adopted by the board on its institution, which established written communications upon all subjects within the walls of the office, and thus not only occasioned at least three times as much labour as would have been necessary for the dispatch of the business, but so separated the board from the departments acting under it, and drew so strict a line of demarcation between the commissioners and the clerks, that the first of these could seldom possess any accurate knowledge of the industry of their officers, of the progress which was made, or to speak more correctly, which *ought* to be made in the several departments, and, indeed, of the business itself upon which they had to decide. The small portion of labour which the commissioners assigned to themselves, principally originated in a fundamental defect of the establishment, at the first formation of which, the comptrollers of army accounts, who had great and important duties to perform as comptrollers, even constituted *ex-officers*, two members of the Board of Auditors.—Another principal and permanent cause of the evil has been from the beginning, the insufficiency of the establishment for the purposes of its institution; the sum total of the accounts audited within the year, never having equalled the sum total to be audited; and notwithstanding this striking fact, and the continued growth of the arrears and increased expenditure of the country, no increase having been made to the establishment from the year 1785 to 1798.——Amongst the *accidental* causes of delay, may justly be placed the almost constant state of war in which we have been for 13 years; the intricacy and difficulties of the accounts arising out of expeditions to foreign and distant countries, with the coins, the exchanges, the languages of which it became necessary to be acquainted: the discovery and investigation of the great frauds committed in the West Indies, which preceded the establishment of a special commission for that purpose; lastly, the great portion of time employed in considering and answering references from the Treasury, on subjects connected with the large military expenditure of the country.—From the year 1785 to 1797, the Board of Auditors appears not to have been conscious of its inefficacy, and during the whole intervening period, although many accounts of the American war remained untouched, although one single army account had been delivered and examined, although the navy and barrack accounts remained in arrear, and the extraordinary accounts continued to accumulate in a most alarming progression, yet the Treasury, under whose immediate controul the auditors were placed, never made any inquiry into the mode of conducting the business of that office, and into the causes of its delays. For the first time in February, 1798, when the extraordinary accounts of the late war began to alarm the auditors, they called the attention of the Treasury to the inefficient state of their establishment. Mr. Pitt expressed the utmost readiness to afford them the assistance which they might want, and 10 clerks were then added to the office; but this increase was soon found quite inadequate, and in consequence of repeated representations, the Treasury new modelled the establishment in 1801, by increasing the number of inspectors and clerks, and raising their salaries: about 35 clerks were thus added to the original establishment between 1797 and 1801. Yet no greater progress appearing to be made in the accounts, notwithstanding this increase of inspectors, of clerks, and of salaries, Mr. Pitt became at last convinced of the necessity of a thorough investigation into the causes of delay, and of the adoption of some great and efficient measure to clear the arrears, and secure a more regular examination, in future, of the increasing expenditure of the country. With this view, a clause was introduced last year into the bill constituting Military Commissioners of Inquiry, directing them to inquire into the delays which had taken place in the audit of the public accounts; and nearly at the same time, a new Board of Auditors was

instituted with a distinct establishment, for the purpose of examining the extraordinary accounts not yet proceeded upon. The old office was thus left for the present in its inefficient state; but, it appears probable, that Mr. Pitt intended hereafter to consolidate the two offices, on the suggestions likely to result from the inquiry of the Military Commissioners: the objects of this Commission of Inquiry, however, are so various and important, and the evil was increasing every year in so alarming a progression, that when once seen in all its magnitude, ministers could hardly have been justified in delaying even for one session, the investigation left to the slow labours of the Military Commissioners, and the adoption of such measures as might appear calculated to stop its progress.—On the formation of the present administration an immediate inquiry was therefore gone into respecting *all* the causes of delay, which had been productive of so immense an arrear in this important branch of the public administration, and the measure now adopted is the result of that inquiry. The three great principles upon which it is founded are, 1. The necessity of separating the examination and audit of the arreared accounts, from that of the current accounts of the country, in order to simplify and divide the labour in such a mode, as will enable parliament to ascertain annually what progress has been made towards clearing the arrears of extraordinary and ordinary accounts, and also what strength of establishment is necessary for the constant and regular audit of the current accounts, the examination of which being left free from all incumbrance of arrears to the principal board, and the accounts being regularly delivered in, any deficiency in the establishment for the requisite purpose, will be immediately and accurately ascertained and remedied, so that the lamentable grievance now complained of can never recur again.—2. The propriety of enforcing the regular and personal attendance of the commissioners to the examination of the accounts; a place which I understand to have been already adopted by the Commissioners of the new board established last year, with every appearance of success; and which possesses the particular advantage of placing the investigation of the accounts and the responsibility resulting therefrom in the most proper hands; as also that of affording to the commissioners a complete knowledge of the objects upon which they are to decide, and of the abilities and industry of their several officers and clerks. This mode of placing individual commissioners at the head of distinct departments under the same boards, requires a greater proportion of commissioners to the same number of clerks, than when acting merely as boards; but the security and the advantages likely to result from this practice, will in my opinion far outweigh the small additional expense thereby incurred by the public. In order to carry this part of the plan into effect it became necessary to separate the comptrollers of army accounts from the auditors, for the reasons before mentioned; and whatever was the plan pursued, this altercation in the original establishment of the Auditors' Office, would have been of strict necessity, the comptrollers having distinct duties, which if duly performed, will require the whole of their time; and it being otherwise highly expedient that these officers should resume certain functions of considerable importance to the public, to the neglect of which in my humble opinion, may be attributed chiefly if not entirely, most of the abuses and the extravagance which have attended our military expenditure.—3. To secure to the public such a gradual reduction of the establishments now required to bring up the mass of arrears, as will leave only to its charge when the objects of the measure shall have been accomplished, the establishment experimentally ascertained to be necessary for the examination of the annual expenditure of the country: and to provide for the exigency of the moment with the least possible permanent expense.—Such appears to be the principal features of the new plan for the audit of the public accounts, and I know that they have met with the approbation of the most experienced and able men in this office. As to the new bill, its enactments have chiefly in view, independently of the provisions founded on the general grounds above-mentioned: 1. To oblige all public accountants to make up and deliver within a given time, the accounts, not of their receipts and issues *for* the year, it having been found impracticable to enforce such a regulation, but of their receipts and issues *within* the year; there being no reason why they should not do what is done by every merchant and banker. 2. To enable the auditors to bring sub-accountants to account for monies received by them of principal accountants, before the accounts of such principal accountants are declared, much inconvenience and delay having been experienced in some cases from the want of such a provision. 3. To give to the boards the power of charging any commander-in-chief or other person under whose authority public accountants are placed, with the account of any payments authorised and directed by them to be made,

but which on investigation should appear to have been improper. 4. To enable the auditors admit to the credit of any accountant, a sum not exceeding 30l. without vouchers, or other sufficient evidence of payment; such discretionary power having been found desirable in cases of expenditure incurred in difficult circumstances. 5thly, To give to the auditors and comptrollers certain powers for requiring the delivery and examining store accounts of every description, and for surcharging persons entrusted with the management of such public property with the value of any embezzlement, waste, or improper issues of the same.—These several provisions, together with a very proper clause introduced by Mr. Huskisson for leaving to the discretion of the commissioners, to judge of the propriety of the expenditure in cases of old accounts, are the principal enactments of the new bill, enactments which are all founded on the results of experience, and which in the opinion of those most able to judge of their usefulness, will both facilitate the regular examination of the public accounts, and give it a greater efficiency.—The grounds upon which this measure has been opposed are: that its object is to increase the patronage of government;—that the present establishments are adequate to the purpose;—and that the unaudited accounts are generally not of a *nature* to acquire examination by the auditors.—As to the first point, it is to be observed, that the number of Commissioners is only increased by two, there being at present 5 Commissioners at the old, and 3 Commissioners at the new Board; the patronage complained of is, therefore, very limited; but it must be recollected that this increase particularly arises from the division of business and the adoption of a new system of examination above described; and that the limitations of the bill which forbid the appointment of any new Commissioners in cases of vacancies, without calling to parliament until they are reduced to 6, are not very favourable to patronage, and go, in fact, to the reduction of the present permanent establishments. After the full experiment which the nation has had of the inefficacy of the old Board of Auditors, for the examination within the year, of a sum total of accounts at all approaching to the expenditure of the year, it can be asserted without further proof, that they are unequal to the task of regularly auditing the current annual accounts and of bringing up both the arrears of extraordinary accounts now under examination, amounting to 100 millions, and the arrears of Navy and Pay Office accounts not yet delivered, amounting to 230 millions. As to the new Board, their establishment is certainly not more than sufficient to enable them to carry into effect in a reasonable time the purposes of their institution, there being now about 50 millions of extraordinary accounts not proceeded upon, and the account of arrears of extraordinaries not yet delivered, amounting to at least that sum.—With respect to the *nature* of the accounts remaining unexamined, it being impossible to deny the *amount* of the arrears, parliament were told, for the first time, by the financial friend of a minister, whose opinions and measures invariably spoke a very different language, that the regular audit of the ordinary accounts of the country was a matter of no importance whatever; that the checks established by Mr. Pitt himself on the application of the public monies to the purposes for which they were granted parliament, were mere insignificant *matters of form*, from which no useful result can ever be expected; and that the present state of the public accounts had, in fact, nothing alarming; an opinion which does not appear to have been entertained by Mr. Pitt when he called for parliamentary investigations into the causes of the delays that had taken place in their examination, and established a new Board at an expense of 10,000l. per annum, to assist the old office.—But, the fact is, that the regular audit of the ordinary accounts is both laborious and useful; and that, far from considering, for instance, the examination of the Pay Office accounts as the mere check of a banker's book, the light in which they were held up by an ex-paymaster of the forces in the House of Commons, this office has invariably attached much and deserved importance to that examination. I am able to state, from personal knowledge, that the charge part of those accounts is often liable to considerable errors and abuses which it would be impossible here to detail; and when it is recollected that a deputy paymaster in the West-Indies made 80 thousand pounds in the last war by profits on exchange not brought to account, no further proof need be adduced of the necessity of a check on the article of profit and losss by exchange only. With respect to the examination of the navy and bank accounts, I shall beg leave to transcribe a few paasages, some of which seem almost to be prophetic when applied to the possible abuses in the navy department, from a letter addressed by the Auditors to the Lords of the Treasury on the 25th July, 1803, in answer to a letter from Mr. Rose, then Secretary of the Treasury, requesting

to have the opinion of the Board on the necessity of examining the navy and bank accounts in their office. After stating that the bank is equally, with every department entrusted with the management of public monies, an account of public, and for concerns of vast [illegible], the detail of which ought to [illegible] some branch of the [illegible], and which seems [illegible] to a commission [illegible] for the purpose, the [illegible] Accounts observe as follo[illegible] his opinion "upon reasoning of general policy rather "than upon the trivial errors occasionally "discovered in these accounts, holding it to "be an unerring principle of prudence, that "no money should be issued on behalf of "the public, without being regularly ac-"counted for to the public, by accounts "submitted to the examination of servants of "the public."—Also: "We think it im-"portant that there is an unconnected of-"fice, whose peculiar and imperious duty "it is to call for and enforce the regular "keeping and periodical delivery of ac-"counts; whose province it is to detect "and prevent a greater accumulation of ba-"lances in the hands of subordinate account-"tants than the necessity of the service re-"quires: for, notwithstanding those salu-"tary regulations of law, by which the "sums voted for the service of the navy are "now paid into the bank, it is obvious that, "when these sums are to be applied to the "particular services, interested and artful "persons may still find means of getting "into their hands larger sums, or of retain-"ing the necessary sums for a longer time "than the good of the service requires; and "however regularly the accounts may be "kept, and the services performed at this "moment, in any, or in all the departments "which are subject to account in this office, "it is by no means clear, that, if any one of "the present checks were removed, irregu-"larities and abuses would not arise where "they do not exist."—I hope, Sir, that you will excuse the length of these observations, into which I have been led by the importance of the subject: they are the results of the little experience I possess, and of a very sincere conviction. Should you think the whole, or any part of it worthy of the public attention, I request that you will [illegible] in your valuable [illegible]. I am, Sir,—Your very obedient [illegible]—AND OBEDIENT SERVANT OF THE [illegible]

A [illegible]

Somerset [illegible].

PUBLIC PAPER.

PEACE IN INDIA.—*From the Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary; dated Fort William, Jan. 27, 1806.*

A Dispatch, from the Governor General, to the Hon. G. Udny, Vice-President in Council.

Honourable Sir: in my dispatch of the 5th ult. I had the honour to transmit the Copy of a Treaty concluded with Dowlut Row Scindiah, by the right hon. Lord Lake, on the 24d of Nov. under my instructions, by which all differences between the British Government and Dowlut Row Scindiah, had been satisfactorily adjusted. I also transmitted a Copy of Declaratory Articles, which I judged it to be proper to annex to the Treaty, and which I desired his Lordship to transmit to Dowlut Row Scindiah. 2. I have already had the honour to apprise you of my having received from the right hon. Lord Lake, official information of the arrival in his Lordship's Camp, of the Treaty duly ratified by that Chieftain, with a slight modification of the 6th Article. I request that you will be pleased to direct the immediate publication of the Treaty, and of the Declaratory Articles annexed to it, for general information. 3. I consider it unnecessary to postpone this measure until the receipt of the Declaratory Articles ratified by Dowlut Row Scindiah, as the object of those Articles is to relinquish some of the concessions which Dowlut Row Scindiah had voluntarily proposed, and consequently the mere delivery of the Declaratory Articles to that Chieftain, will answer the purpose for which they were framed.—I have the honour to be, Hon. Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant, (Signed) G. H. Barlow. On the River near Rajmahl, Jan. 21, 1806.

Definite treaty of amity and alliance between the Honourable the English East India Company and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah Bahadur, and his Children, Heirs and Successors.

Whereas various doubts and misunderstandings have arisen respecting the clear meaning and interpretation of parts of the Treaty of Peace concluded between the British Government and Dowlut Row Scindiah at Serjee Arjengaum, on the 30th Dec. 1803; with a view of doing away all such doubts, and of preventing the recurrence in future of any misunderstanding, this Definitive Treaty of Amity and Alliance is concluded between the two states, by Lieut. Col. John Malcolm, acting under the immediate direction and superintendance of the right hon. General Gerard Lord Lake, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's and

the Hon. Company's Forces, &c. and vested with full powers and authority from the Hon. Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. appointed by the hon. the Court of Directors of the said Company, to controul and direct all their affairs in the East Indies; and Mocnshee Kavil Nyne, vested with full powers and authority on the part of the said Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah.—Art. I. Every part of the Treaty of Peace concluded by General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. at Serjee Anjengaum, except what may be altered by this engagement, is to remain binding upon the two States.—Art. II. The Hon. Company can never acknowledge, that Dowlut Row Scindiah has any claim or right grounded on the Treaty of Serjee Anjengaum to possess the Fort of Gualior, or the Territories of Gohud, but from considerations of friendship, it agrees to cede to the Maharajah that Fortress, and such parts of the territory of Gohud, as are described in the accompanying Schedule.—Art. III. As a compensation for this cession, and to remunerate the English Government for the annual expense incurred in supporting the Ranah of Gohud, Dowlut Row Scindiah agrees on his own part, and that of his Sirdars, to relinquish, after the 1st of Jan. 1806, all right and claim whatever to the pensions of fifteen lacks of rupees, granted to several of the chief Officers of his State, by the 7th Art. of the aforesaid Treaty of Serjee Anjengaum.—Art. IV. The Hon. Company agree to pay to Dowlut Row Scindiah the arrears due, upon the pensions granted by the 7th Article of the Treaty of Peace, as above mentioned, up to the 31st of Dec. 1805, and also the balance due upon the revenues of Dholepoor, Rajah-Kerrah, and Barree, up to the same date, making deductions on the following heads:—1st Pensions forfeited by Bappoo Scindiah and Sudasheo Row, by acts of hostility towards the British Government, to be stopped from the date of their hostility. 2d. Plunder of the British Residency. 3d. Cash advanced by Mr. Jenkins, to parties of the Maharajah's troops. 4th. Charges of collection, &c. for the provinces of Dholepoor, Barree and Rajah Kerrah.—Art. V. With a view of preventing any misunderstanding relating to their respective possessions in the quarter of Hindostan, it is agreed, that the river Chumbul shall form the boundary between the two States, from the city of Kottah to the West, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the East, and within that extent of the course of the Chumbul, Dowlut Row Scindiah shall have no claims or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on its North bank, and the Hon. Company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues or possessions on the South bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadek and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the Honourable Company.—Art. VI. By the 5th article of this Treaty, which makes the river Chumbul the boundary of the two states, from the city of Kottah to the West, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the East, the Maharajah resigns all pretensions and claims to any tribute from the Rajah of Boondee, or any other on the north bank of the Chumbul, within the aforementioned limits, as also to the countries of Kenendah, Dholepoor, Rajah-Kerrah, and Barree, anciently in the possession of the Maharajah, all which now remain in the possession of the Honourable Company.—Art. VII. The Hon. Company, on consideration of the benefits derived from the Article which makes the Chumbul the boundary between the two States, and from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments through the Resident at the Durbar; and the Honourable Company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a Jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum to Baeezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and a Jaggeer amounting to the sum of one lack of rupees per annum to Chumnah Bhye, the daughter of that Chief.—Art. VIII. The Hon. Company engage to enter into no treaties with the Rajahs of Oudeepoor and Joudpoor and Cottah, or other Chiefs, tributaries of Dowlut Row Scindiah, situated in Malwa, or Mewar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Scindiah may make with those Chiefs.—Art. IX. The Hon. Company are now engaged in a war with Jeswunt Row Holkar, and using every exertion for his reduction, but should they hereafter make a peace, or enter into any agreement with that Chief, they engage not to restore to him, or desire to be restored to him any of the possessions of the family of Holkar, in the province of Malwa, lying between the river Tapti and Chumbul, which may have been taken by Dowlut Row Scindiah, nor will the Hon. Company interfere in any manner whatever, in the disposal of those provinces, and they will consider Dowlut Row Scindiah at full liberty to make such arrangement as he chuses with Jeswunt Row Holkar, or with any other Branch of the

Holkar family, respecting the claims of that family to tribute from the Rajahs or others, or to any possessions situated to the north of the river Tapti, and to the south of the river Chumbul; but it is clearly to be understood, that as the Company's government agrees not to concern itself with the arrangements which Scindiah may make with the family of Holkar, respecting their claims or hereditary possessions situated between the Tapti and the Chumbul, that government will not take part in any dispute or war which may be the result or consequence of any such arrangement or settlement.—Art. X. As Serjee Row Ghautka has acted in a manner calculated to disturb the friendship between the two States, the Maharajah agrees never to admit that chief to share in his councils, or to hold any public employment under his government.—Art. XI. This treaty, consisting of eleven articles, has been this day settled by Lieut.-Col Malcolm, acting under the direction of the right hon. Lord Lake, on the part of the Hon. Company, and by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, on the part of Dowlut Row Scindiah; Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne.

To be Continued.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

SWEDEN. — *Proclamation of the King of Sweden on dissolving the Constitution of the State of Pomerania.*

Concluded from page 160.

We are the more convinced of the imperfections of the present constitution, from the consideration of the rapid progress of industry, and the increase of population, in those countries where all those obstacles have ceased, which hitherto have deprived our German States of those sources of prosperity, so necessary to a well organised State. We have lately had a fresh proof of the dangerous consequences of the present order of things: our order for raising the Pomeranian Militia, in consequence of a very unsuitable interpretation, has been referred by the States to an examination of the Tribunals of the Empire, at a time when the enemy threatened the frontiers of the country.—The consideration of these important motives—the late events which have occurred—and a desire to consolidate the security of the country, have reduced us to the necessity of declaring—'That the constitution which has hitherto governed our German States do cease from this day; that the provincial states and councils are dissolved; and that all institutions relative thereto be abolished for ever.' But if, on the one hand, we have been forced to take this resolution, on the other we wish to prove, that our only design is to secure the future prosperity of our German subjects, and not to assume to ourselves oppressive rights; and of this we have thought that we could not give a more convincing proof, than by introducing the Swedish constitution into our German States. As King of a free people, and as obeying only the law, we feel a particular pleasure in preparing a happier fate for our subjects of Pomerania and Rugen. Equal, both in respect of their duties to us, and in their immunities and privileges; protected by just laws, they will no longer form a body separated from the Swedish people; but will, on the contrary, enjoy in fraternal union the benefits of a constitution which has established, for ages, the security of that people.—We ordain, by this act, that the constitution of the Kingdom of Sweden, of the 21st of Aug. 1772; the acts of union and of security of the 21st of Feb. and 3d of April, 1789; the privileges and immunities granted to the four Estates of Sweden; and the law of that kingdom, be in future the fundamental and constitutional laws of our German states. We ordain, that all the necessary dispositions be made to put this act into execution. On this occasion we however declare, in the most solemn manner, to our Pomeranian subjects, that they shall never be subjected, either for the present, or the future, to the payment of the debts of the kingdom of Sweden, or to the imposts which have relation to it. Moreover, if any thing should occur with respects, peculiarly and properly, Pomerania and Rugen, and on which, conformably to the Swedish constitution, we ought to hear the humble supplications of the representatives of the country, we will convoke them in a general diet, in the country itself; this convocation, for which we shall give ulterior orders, shall be held without delay; and it will give satisfaction to our heart, to see assembled round our throne a faithful people, who, no longer led astray by a complicated constitution, and fulfilling the duties of subjects, will second, by their assistance, our paternal efforts for their prosperity, in which we shall find our highest recompence ——From the Royal Head-Quarters at Griefswald, June 26, 1806.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"The English are free only forty days, once in seven years; and, the use, which they then make of "their freedom, shows that they deserve to be enslaved all the rest of their lives."——ROUSSEAU:—Social Contract.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER I.

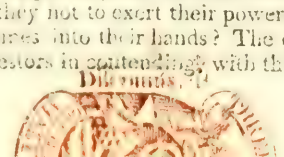
GENTLEMEN,—On the 10th of May last, I addressed a letter to you upon the subject of the waste of the public money, under the head of "*letter the first*," it being then my intention to address a series of letters to you upon that, and other subjects, therewith connected. But, it being now become almost certain, that *a dissolution of the present parliament* will speedily take place, I propose to address to you about four or five letters thereupon, and upon your duties which will therefrom arise; which letters, that they may not be confounded with any others, I shall number from one to as many as they shall amount to.

Before I proceed to submit to you the observations and suggestions, which, upon the abovementioned subject, present themselves to my mind as being likely to be useful at the present moment, give me leave to express a hope, that you are duly impressed with the importance of the subject itself; for, if you regard, or, if you act as if you regarded, the days of an election as a time merely for keeping holiday and making a noise; as a time for assembling in a tumultuous manner, without running the risk of smarting under the lash of the law; if, like the slaves of Rome, whose tyrannical and cunning rulers let them loose, once in a while, to commit all manner of foolish and beastly acts, in order thereby to terrify their own children from the commission of such acts; if, like these degraded creatures, you suffer yourselves to be made the sport of those who solicit your votes, then, indeed, will you verify the assertion of the French writer, from whom I have selected my motto; then, indeed, will you deserve to be slaves all the rest of your lives. But, my hope is, and, indeed, my expectation is, that your conduct will be exactly the reverse; that, 1st, you will look back to the days of your forefathers, and revive in your minds the arduous and successful efforts, which, at various times, they made for the preservation of the privilege, which you will soon have an opportunity of exercising, and that you will duly reflect upon the nature of that privilege: that, 2dly, you will view, in its true light, the present situation of your country, and that you will diligently and impartially enquire, whether all the evils we endure, and all the dangers that threaten us, are not to be ascribed to the folly and baseness of those, who have possessed, and who have so shamefully abused, their privilege of choosing members of parliament; that, 3dly, you will enquire, whether, at any time heretofore, the members whom you have chosen, have held to their professed principles, or their promises, and that you will endeavour to ascertain the cause of their desertion of their principles and of you; that, 4thly, you will, beforehand, while you have time well to weigh and to consider, enquire, and resolve upon, what sort of men those ought to be whom you shall elect, and what sort of security you ought to demand for their holding to the principles which they profess; and that, 5thly, you will, as soon as may be, determine upon the very men for whom you will vote, and in support of whom, as your representatives in the parliament, as the makers of the laws to which you are to submit, as the guardians of your property and your personal freedom, you will use all the lawful means within your power. To assist you in these considerations and enquiries is the object of the letters that I am now beginning to address to you; and though I am well aware that the far greater part of you stand in need of no such assistance, yet I am persuaded, that want of the habit of reflecting in some, and want of leisure in others, have heretofore prevented them from forming right opinions upon the subject, and, under that persuasion I cannot refrain from endeavouring to do some little in the way of guiding those opinions upon the present important occasion, begging you to bear in mind, however, that it is not my intention to offer *myself* to you as a candidate, unless it shall be found that no other man in the kingdom has the public spirit to stand forward upon that ground, whereon alone I think any man ought to be chosen as a member of the House of Commons, and particularly as a

member to represent the City of Westminster.

1. In looking back to the days of our forefathers, we find them, in ancient times, fallen in a state of personal bondage to the few great possessors of the soil, who were the only part of the subjects of the king enjoying any thing worthy of the name of freedom; we find, that, from this degraded state they began to rise under the reigns of those Kings of England, who carried the English banners in triumph over the fields of France, who won and who left, as an everlasting memorial of the valour of Englishmen, those Lillies, which, only six years ago, were effaced from our arms; we find, that the right, or the duty, of voting for members of the House of Commons, which right had, by those gallant kings, been conferred upon every man not a mere bondsman, was, by a foolish and cowardly successor, restricted, in many cases, to persons having a certain portion of property of a particular kind; we find, that, in more recent times, the advisers of the kings, the creatures who swarm about a court, and who rob the people of their substance as the drone robs the industrious bee, contrived various means of rendering the representatives of the people the mere tools of the court, and, that, when unable to succeed in corrupting them to their purposes, they caused the parliament to be dissolved; we find, that, when this scheme had been tried to its utmost without success, a weak and bigot king endeavoured to govern without a parliament, and soon after we find him driven from his throne, the crown being settled in succession upon another family, and provision being made, a solemn compact being entered into, that, for ever afterwards, the people should have an opportunity of choosing a new House of Commons once in *three* years; we find, however, that a House of Commons, so elected, became parties to a law for depriving the people of this right, and for making the term *seven* years instead of three, from the passing of which law we may date the rapid decline of public liberty, and the no less rapid increase of the public burdens. Until that fatal day great and almost constant were the exertions of the people to maintain their due weight in the government; since that day, they have made but few and those very contemptible exertions; but, now, when they see that there is no hope left of safety from any other source, ought they not to rouze themselves? Ought they not to exert their power as often as it comes into their hands? The object of our ancestors in contending with their lives, for their rights as relating to the choice of members of parliament, was, to keep a check upon the power of the crown; to prevent the king, or his favourites, from taking from them any more of their property than what should be found necessary for the support of the government and for the carrying into effect such measures as should be found requisite for the good of the nation in general; to prevent their substance from being drawn from them to fatten idlers and profligates; to prevent any part of their fellow subjects from becoming oppressors of the rest; to prevent, in short, the loss of their freedom and of the enjoyments therefrom arising. The *means* was the power, given to representatives of the people, of *refusing to grant money to the king.* And, when I say the power, I mean the *real* power of refusing, and not the mere *nominal* power of refusing; for, if the power be merely nominal, it is no power at all; and, if it be *never exercised,* it is merely nominal.

"To what," some one may say, "does "all this tend, but to convince me, that all "exertions on the part of the electors "would be useless?" Yet, this is not so. The fault has been with the *independent* electors; for, though, owing to several causes, there always will be, until a material change in the representation takes place, a great majority in favour of whomsoever is minister; though the representation arising from the decayed boroughs will always produce, in point of mere numbers, the means of overbalancing any thing that can be done by the independent electors, still, these latter, are able, if they were willing, to make such a choice as would be a sufficient means of protection against all the schemes of oppression that ambition or rapacity could devise. The electors of boroughs, where their numbers are small, or where they are, in some way or other, dependent upon one or two rich men; the electors of such places, whether they actually take bribes, or not, have some excuse for becoming the miserable and degraded tools of a corruptor. Their crime is, indeed, detestable; they deserve to be held in execration; their names ought to be inscribed upon the gallows-tree, after their carcases have therefrom been carried piece-meal by the fowls of the air; "BE "SUCH THE FATE OF THE VEN-"DERS OF THEIR CHILDREN'S LI-"BERTIES AND HAPPINESS," ought to be uttered from the lips of every honest man; but, still, *they* have some excuse; they have the excuse of the hungry robber and assassin, whose crimes they equal and



whose fate they deserve. But for you, Electors of Westminster, what excuse shall be made for *you*, if you fail in the performance of your duty; if you violate so sacred a trust? If you, who have all the political advantages that time and place can give; who well understand what is right, and who have no temptation to do what is wrong; who can plead neither ignorance nor want; who are, in short, as free as you could possibly be made by any scheme of liberty that human art is capable of devising; what shall be said for you, if, setting at nought all considerations of country and of individual honour, you become the passive instruments, the trodden down things, of some half dozen of opulent men, whose only merit, in the eyes of the world, would be, that they would hold you in a degree of contempt surpassing that which they entertain for the beasts that perish?

To hear some persons talk of an election for Westminster, a stranger to the state of things would believe, that the electors were the bondsmen, or, at best, the mere menial servants of a few great families. The question, upon hearing such persons talk, seems to be, not what man the electors may wish to choose, but what man is preferred by a few of the noblemen, though, by-the-by, it is well known, that the law positively forbids such noblemen to interfere in elections. Notwithstanding this law, we hear the boroughs called after the names of the peers who are the *owners* of them; we hear that such a peer has so many members in the House of Commons, and such a peer so many more; and this we, at last, have become to hear and to talk about with perfect unconcern; but, this is no excuse for *you*. Neither peers nor any body else can render you dependant, if you are disposed to be free. You are nearly *twenty thousand* in number. Your trades and occupations are, generally speaking, full as necessary to your employers as their employment is necessary to you. If you are turned out of one house, there is always another ready to receive you; if you lose one customer, you gain another; you need court the smiles, you need fear the frowns, of no man, and no set of men, living. Some few unfortunate dependants there may be amongst you; but, the number is so small as to be unworthy of notice, when compared to the whole. Yet, under these circumstances it is that we hear of the *interest* of such or such a nobleman, and, indeed, of such or such a nobleman's *Butler* or *House-keeper*; and, after hearing what we do hear in this way at every Westminster election, it seems surprising, that the Butler does not himself become your representative in parliament. The king has his powers; the peers have theirs, and ample powers they have, every one of them being his *own representative* in parliament. These powers it is our duty to maintain; but, it is also our duty to maintain our own powers, and, if we basely surrender them at the command of the Butlers and Footmen of peers, we deserve every species of insolence that the minds of Butlers and Footmen are capable of conceiving. To make use of any interested motive for the purpose of inducing an elector to give, or to withhold, his vote, is a crime in the eye of the law, which has provided injunctions and oaths, which has prepared shame and punishment for every such crime; but, to attempt to induce an elector to vote contrary to his conscience, is also a personal offence, that every honest man will resent with as much indignation as he would an accusation of perjury. How scandalous, then, is it that tradesmen should patiently listen to the commands of their customers, nay, that they should obey those commands, in direct opposition to the dictates of their own minds, from the paltry consideration of gain, which, when compared to the weight of taxes, brought upon them from the want of real representatives, is as a farthing to a pound!

Men who have been *born* slaves, who, and whose fathers before them, have never had an idea of freedom, may be pitied, but they cannot reasonably be blamed, any more than the Pagans of Peru could be blamed for their want of Christian faith. Yet, it is not rare to hear Englishmen speaking contemptuously of those nations who quietly submit to the absolute will, and who lick the foot, of a ruler; but, if such nations be objects of just contempt, what shall be said of us, if, with all the noble examples of our ancestors before us, with all the laws which their valour obtained and their wisdom has secured, we give up, and that, too, from the basest of motives, all the *real* freedom, which we enjoy, or which we might enjoy? In the exercise of perfect freedom at elections, we are not only secured by the law; not only does the law say, that we shall be permitted freely to make our choice of persons to represent us; but, it commands us not to be biassed, and it provides heavy penalties for all those who attempt to bias us. In short, men must arrive at a state of sheer baseness of mind, before they can suffer themselves to be induced to vote for persons, of whom, in their consciences, they do not approve; and this must be more especially the case in a city

like Westminster, where it is morally impossible that any motive of real *interest* should exist sufficiently powerful to bias a rational man.

The possessor of the elective franchise is the holder of a trust; he acts not only for himself, but for his country in general, and more especially for his family and his children. To violate his trust, or to neglect the performance of what it imposes upon him, is, therefore, not merely an act of baseness, not merely a degradation of himself, but a crime against others; and, a man so acting, ought to be regarded by his neighbours as a public offender; as an injurer of every other man; as a person to be shunned and abhorred; as a person very little, if at all, less detestable than one who betrays his country into the hands of an enemy. It is no justification of such a man, to say that those who bias him are his superiors, or that the temptation is great. In the case of Westminster there is no temptation at all; and, besides, what crime is there which might not, upon such a principle, be justified? And, as to the "*superiors*" who bias, they may be superior in riches; but, in every other respect, are they not the basest of mankind, except only those who are biassed by them? Are they not violators of the law? Are they not hypocrites of the most odious description? Are they not, with the sound of loyalty and patriotism on their lips, the worst of enemies to their King and their country? I shall be told, that, in some instances, even the Clergy have used the means of corruption at elections. I hope such instances are rare; and it cannot but shock any one to know that they at all exist; but, if they existed in ever so great a number, no countenance would thereby be afforded to the corrupted; for, of all detestable characters, the most detestable assuredly is, what is called "an *electioneering parson*." From the chalice of such a priest one would flee as from a goblet of poison; and if ten such instances could exist, without producing an ecclesiastical censure and punishment, the Church ought to be destroyed, root and branch, for ever.

Having now endeavoured to describe to you the nature of the privilege, which you will speedily be called upon to exercise, I shall, in my next, proceed upon those inquiries, the result of which will, I trust, convince you, that it is entirely owing to the shameful abuse of that privilege, that we now have to lament being so situated as to have very little to hope either from peace, or from a continuation of the war. In the mean while I am, Gentlemen, yours &c. &c.

W. COBBETT.

Botley, 6th August, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PEACE.——Of the state of the negociation between England and France, it is next impossible, that any one but the ministers themselves should know any thing. It is, perhaps, true, that negociations, in some shape or other, have been going on ever since March last; but, confident as some persons seem to be of a speedy termination of the war, it does not appear to me as being in the smallest degree probable. Lest, however, I should be deceived, in this respect, it may not be amiss to offer a remark or two upon the *terms* of which the writers, who are opposed to the ministry, are representing as proper to be demanded and insisted on, and the chief of which are, that France should enter into a commercial treaty opening all ports to us, and that she should give us *security*, that she will not make a sudden attack upon us after the conclusion of the peace, or, in other words, *that the Boulogne Flotilla should be destroyed.* If we would agree to burn the British fleet, it is probable, that Buonaparté would agree to burn his boats; but, I venture to say, that he will not burn a single boat upon any other condition. To hear these writers, one would imagine, that we were negociating at the end of another Queen Anne's War. But, the fact is, they expect no such terms. Shallow and uninformed as they may be, they well know, that, after the proposing of such terms, Lord Lauderdale would not remain at Paris long enough to pack up his papers. They know this, and they are mean enough to hold a high-sounding language, in order to provide themselves beforehand with a sort of consistent ground for censuring such a peace as they know must be made, if any peace at all be made, under our present circumstances. In order, however, to give a colour of reason for these feigned expectations as to terms, these writers, and particularly my foolish friend of the MORNING POST, deal largely in flattering descriptions of the "*advantageous position*" in which this country is now placed; and, as if he was resolved to set ridicule and contempt at open defiance, he dwells with peculiar delight upon *the flourishing state of our finances!* The reader will need no detail to convince him of the folly of such a writer; but it is out of my power to refrain from laying before him the following statement upon the subject, taken from that print of the 5th instant ——"But, it is said that

" the finances of the country are unequal to " the prosecution of the contest. So Buonaparté said long since, and such has been " the uniform cant of certain persons within this country, even from an early period of last war. But how have the representations of the enemy, and the apprehensions of our internal croakers, been " justified by events, or affected by the unerring test of experience? The financial " operations of the present war are at once a complete refutation of all such injurious misrepresentations, and a *satisfactory proof of the very flourishing state of our national means and resources.* When we advert to the astonishing circumstance of thirty-two millions sterling being raised within the year, *independant of loans*, and *exclussve of the interest of the national debt, the civil list, &c.* we think it impossible that any person *in his senses* could give way to any fears for the extent and stability of our finances. The amount of the sinking fund is nine millions this year; the surplus of the consolidated fund is taken at three millions; and the estimated produce of the war taxes twenty millions; *in all thirty-two millions.* If the war were to continue six years longer, and the amount of the loan of each year to be exactly equal to the loan of the present year, the accumulation of the sinking fund within that period would *cover the interest of the sums borrowed,* and leave a sinking fund nearly equal to its present amount for the ultimate reduction of the national debt. So that *if* the interest of each successive loan were, pending the war, to be defrayed out of the war taxes, and on the conclusion of peace to be permanently provided for out of the sinking fund, which at the end of *six years* will be at least thirteen millions, the war may be carried on for that period *without any fresh taxes,* the whole of the war taxes would then be taken off, and the sinking fund would be seven millions sterling."——This conclusion puts me in mind of the promises made, in 1799, by the schemer, Pitt, who then assured the wise House of Commons of that day, that " the war might be carried on for any length of time without imposing any new tax," who, from that day forward imposed new taxes in abundance every year. But, what is this " satisfactory *proof*" (I like prodigiously the *proofs* of the Morning Post) " of the very flourishing state of our national means and resources?" Why, he asserts, that, independent of loans, and exclusive of the interest of the National Debt, the Civil List, &c. 32 millions are raised. What we are to understand by the *et cetera*, I know not, but, even without that, here is, in the enumeration, a strange confusion of ideas; for who would not imagine, that the interest of the *national debt, civil list, &c.* were so many sources of national *income*, instead of *expenditure.* What he *would* say, however, is, probably, this: that, over and above what is wanted to defray the expenses of the civil-list, national debt, &c. 32 millions are annually raised in this country, to which position I should have nothing to object, except that it is *false.* The whole of the money raised in taxes last year, amounted to 46 millions; the interest upon the national debt alone required 28 millions, and, of course, to say nothing about the civil-list, *et cetera*, there remained but 18, instead of 32 millions.——So much for that part of the statement, which he produces " as *proof* of " the flourishing state of our national re" sources."——But, then, we have another view of the matter, lest, after having witnessed the embarrassments of the Budge, we should have some unfavourable doubts hanging about our minds.——" The *amount* " of the *Sinking Fund* is 9 millions this " year; the Surplus of the Consolidated " Fund is taken at 3 millions; and the esti" mated produce of the war-taxes at 20 " millions; in all, 32 millions."——This man would certainly have accompanied the renowned ideot, who, it is said, went, in all simplicity of heart, to see the dance of the bottle-conjurer! He thinks, in good earnest, that the nation *receives* 9 millions a year from the Sinking Fund. " And so it does!", will he exclaim with foaming vehemence; but, who *pays* it to the nation? That question staggers him for a moment: he recovers, and answers: " Why the Bank, to be" sure." And who pays it to the Bank? " Why the Exchequer." And where does the Exchequer get it? " What a fool you " you are," says he, " why every one " knows, that the Exchequer collects it in " from the Excise and the Customs and the " Taxes." That is to say, then, *from the nation;* and, so the bottle conjuror " now " unhappily no more," as my Lord Grenville and Old Rose frequently sigh out, has persuaded you, that the paying of 9 millions with one hand and the receiving of 9 millions with the other hand is the way to gain 9 millions of money for the purpose of carrying on the war!——To make any thing like a serious remark upon the remaining part of the statement would be to pay too much respect to the addled brain in which it was conceived. Enough has been said to expose

the ignorance (for it really is ignorance here) of this stickler for *high terms* of peace, upon the ground of our pecuniary ability to carry on the war.——The fact is, that, if the war be carried on, *new taxes must be imposed*; or, in other words, an addition must be made to the Income Tax; or, still more properly speaking, *a greater deduction must be made from the dividends.* People may cry out against this as long as they please; but, let them, then, not expect high terms of peace; let them not vapour about *security*; let them submit to the deduction, to a greater and a greater and a greater deduction at the Bank, or let them be silent about the terms of a disgraceful peace; for, one or the other they *must* submit to. Many of the measures of the ministers I greatly dislike, particularly those which have had a tendency to screen public robbers; but, I shall not for this, or for any other cause, join in the cry of those, who, this minute censure them for "a breach of faith" (a breach committed by Pitt), and the next, censure them for intending, as it is *assumed*, to make a humiliating peace; who, one minute reproach them with having hastened to put an end to the war, and the next, censure them for having adopted the *only* means, by which it is *possible*, under the present system of expenditure, that the war can be supported for any length of time.——I would, *first*, have cut off the *pensions* and *sinecures*, not granted for *real* services or losses, in behalf of the public; and I would have winnowed to the very last grain, every department of expenditure; but, the sticklers for high terms and for abstaining from touching the dividends, are also sticklers for pensions, sinecures, and all sorts of emoluments! They are for national honour and security, as the means of annoying the ministers; but, not one particle of plunder will they give up, though the fate of the nation depend upon the loosening of their grasp.

Upon the communications which are contained in the remaining pages of this sheet, some remarks will be offered in my next.

HON. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.

TO THE PUBLIC.——Shortly after the present administration came into place, the Earl of Moira informed me that he had had an interview with the Duke of York, the Commander in Chief, upon the subject of my Case, to represent to His Royal Highness the extreme hardship of my situation, the justice and expediency of his immediately attending to the subject, and of moving his Majesty to confer upon me the rank of major general. Lord Moira informed me that at this meeting, THE DUKE OF YORK ASSURED HIM, OF HIS READINESS TO ATTEND TO THE SUBJECT, AND THAT HE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY RECOMMEND TO HIS MAJESTY TO CONFER UPON ME THE RANK OF MAJOR GENERAL.——Lord Moira has informed me that several other meetings on this subject took place, both with the Duke of York and Colonel Gordon the Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief. At one of these meetings it was arranged that Mr. Bond the present Judge Advocate General should wait upon his Majesty and report, that upon inspecting the papers of his office after succeeding Sir Charles Morgan, (the former Judge Advocate General) he had perused the proceedings of my court martial, that he was sorry to state that Sir Charles Morgan had not made a correct report to his Majesty of the state of the proceedings, that it had consequently excited a considerable degree of uneasiness throughout the army, which could only be allayed by conferring upon me the rank of major general. I was also informed, that a letter to the same effect signed by the Commander-in-Chief was to be presented at the same time by Mr. Bond to the King.——After this statement I never doubted but that my name would appear in the Gazette in a few days afterwards as Major General, and such also was Lord Moira's opinion, who congratulated me upon the state in which matters were.—Mr. Mc. Arthur, late Judge Advocate General to the Navy, the day after I had seen Lord Moira, informed me (agreeably to his letter, which I have now in my possession,) that he had, the day before, been in company at dinner with Lord Hutchinson, Colonel Gordon (the Commander-in-Chief's Secretary) and others; that a conversation had taken place with regard to my case; and that Colonel Gordon stated *that it was then before his Majesty*, and he did not doubt but that my name would appear in the Gazette in a few days as Major General.—Having waited a considerable period in the hopes, that day after day would have produced the wished-for decision in my case, and wearied with the state of suspense in which I was kept, I at last addressed the following letter to Colonel Gordon, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.——"*Harley Street, May* 2, 1806.

——"SIR,—Having been informed some "time ago from unquestionable authority, "that it was the intention of his Royal "Highness the Commander-in-Chief, to "advise his Majesty to cancel his accept-"ance of the resignation of the commission "of colonel, which I tendered last year,

" and to confer upon me the rank of major " general in the army, I had, therefore, " given up my intention of pursuing ano- " ther line of life, not doubting but that the " gracious recommendation of the Com- " mander-in-Chief, would have due weight " with the King.——As a considerable time " has elapsed since I received this informa- " tion, and not having heard of any thing " having been decided on the subject, I " trust that you will pardon the liberty I " take in requesting that you will be pleased " to move His Royal Highness to favour " me with the determination of his Majesty " on the subject; for, if the door shall be " finally shut against my anxious wish to " join those of my own family who are " daily gaining laurels in his Majesty's ser- " vice, and who have evinced the loyalty " and attachment of the name of Cochrane " to the King's person and government, I " must then make the strongest immediate " exertions for retrieving my injured inte- " rests, and endeavouring to save the re- " mains of a fortune, which the vindictive " attacks of injustice and malice had so " cruelly conspired to ruin.——I have the " honour to be, with respect, Sir, your " most obedient and most humble servant. " *(Signed)* A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE."

——To the above letter I received the following answer.——" *Horse Guards, May* " 3, 1806.——SIR,—I have to acknow- " ledge your letter of yesterday, acquaint- " ing me that you had been informed of " the intention of his Royal Highness the " Commander-in-Chief, to advise his Ma- " jesty to cancel his acceptance of the re- " signation of the commission of colonel " which you tendered last year, and to con- " fer upon you the rank of major general in " the army; and, *having submitted the* " *same to the Commander-in-Chief, I am* " *commanded to communicate to you, that* " His Royal Highness HAS NOT EN- " TERTAINED ANY INTENTION TO THAT " EFFECT, NOR CAN HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS " RECOMMEND SUCH A MEASURE TO HIS " MAJESTY.——I have the honour to be, " Sir, your most obedient humble servant, " *(Signed)* J. W. GORDON." — Having now submitted to the public what is consistent with my knowledge, of the attempt made by my noble and respected friend the Earl of Moira to procure me justice, it only remains for me to express my sense of obligation to his lordship, and my perfect conviction, which will, I am confident, be that of the public, that implicit faith will be given to the statement afforded to me by his lordship.——A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.—*London, July* 10, 1806.

BARRACK-ABUSES.

The following Affidavits were, on the 29th of June, 1806, transmitted to the Secretary at War by MR. ATKINS, late Barrack-Master of Sandown Bay Division in the Isle of Wight. On the 18th of July, they were printed by order of the House; and, from the printed copy, they are now laid before the Public.

Copy of an Affidavit made by Harriet Atkins; dated 27th June, 1806.

I HARRIET ATKINS, MAKE OATH AS FOLLOWS:——In the month of Aug. 1805, I went to the house of my brother Becher Westropp Atkins, then Barrack-Master of Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, and residing at Langbridge House near New Church; that shortly after, and to the best of my recollection, early in Sept., a person of the name of Medley, a Contractor for Coals, came to my brother's house in the morning on business; that immediately on his going away, my brother came into the parlour where I was sitting with his family, and said, " I have learned a strange circum- " stance from Medley; he tells me there is " a report circulated in Newport that Far- " mer Ward says I demanded 15 guineas of " him for keeping his barn; now I think it " best to go to Ward, and, Harriet, you " must come with me to be a witness of " the conversation." Accordingly, on the very evening of that day, and to the best of my recollection between the hours of 7 and 8 o'clock, we went to Ward's house, who was very civil, and pressed us to take refreshments; my brother immediately addressed him in these words: " Ward, I am " come on very particular business; Mr. " Medley has informed me you have report- " ed in Newport, that I demanded from " you 15 guineas for continuing to rent " your barn."—" It is a very great false- " hood, Sir," said Ward, " and I shall give " you every satisfaction you please to desire " as to its falsehood; and, as I am going to " Newport on Saturday next to sell a load " of corn, I shall call on Mr. Medley and " ask him about it; and, Sir, as you have " mentioned the subject, I shall tell you, " that one of your department came out " here a little time ago, and said to me, " 'Ward, has not your Barrack-Master " done you out of 15 guineas for keeping " on your barn?' I answered him, that so " far from giving you money, I offered you " some (and to the best of my recollection, " he said he had offered my brother a two " pound note) but you refused."—" Now, (said my brother) mark, Harriet, what Ward is telling you. Have I not told you

the same, that I refused money from him and Farmer Kent?"—"Yes, Sir (said Ward) you are right, we went both together to receive the rent of you. The old farmer said to me, "come Ward, prepare a note, let us make a present to the Barrack-master," and as perfectly as I can recollect, he said it was a two pound note, he (Ward) had prepared to give him. "But Ward," said my brother, interrupting him, "which of my department was it who came out and asked this question of you; was it Page?"—"Why, Sir," said he, "if you insist on it I shall tell you, but I don't much like to make enmity between you."—"Do not tell," said I, eagerly interrupting them, "for I know my brother to be naturally warm." "Then, Sir," said Ward, "at any time hereafter, should you insist on it, I shall tell you." The conversation here ended on this subject, and Ward passed to that of his telling us, that a person employed by Miss Simpson, the supposed heiress to Sir Richard Worseley, who was then lately deceased, had come to him to tell him not to pay his rent to any one till it was decided by law who was to inherit Sir Richard's estates.——On Thursday the 27th of Feb. 1806, Capt. Bygrave, attended by Capt. Cumberland, successor to my brother, called on my brother to accompany them to Sandown Barracks, in order to deliver up the stores. My brother being then in durance in his own house, begged me to receive Capt. Bygrave at the outward gate, and to express to him, that he could not possibly attend to make the delivery on any other day than Sunday, as his liberty was now to him and his family of most material consideration. I then went out to Capt. Bygrave, who said, "can I not see Atkins?" to which I replied, "I know he does not wish to see any one at present, but if it is your wish to speak to him, I shall let him know it." I did so, and my brother consented to see him. As Capt. Bygrave entered the parlour where he was, he exclaimed, "By G— Atkins, it is all your own fault, you know that Davis and I wanted to suppress those charges and you ordered them to be sent up."—"I know you did," said my brother, "but what would be the consequence?" "Certainly," said I, turning round to Capt. Bygrave, "I should consider it a tacit confession of his guilt, did he consent to suppress them; but, Capt. Bygrave, has he not a right to a court-martial?"—"Not on this occasion," he replied, "when the charges were on the affidavit of a person not immediately in the Barrack Department." Capt. Bygrave then told my brother, it was better to nominate a person to deliver up the stores. My brother then mentioned an officer, when Capt. Bygrave observed, it would be better to appoint one who was neither a military man, nor a lawyer. "I know not then whom I shall get," said my brother; when Capt. Bygrave said "Wilkins's clerk is a smart little fellow, write to him, and I shall take the note for you;" my brother returned to write the note, and Capt. Bygrave asked me, what does Atkins mean to do? "He has never been brought up to business," said I, "and his dismissal precludes his return to any part of the service, you say, (for Capt. Bygrave had observed so to me in his discourse) or otherwise he might have returned into the line; he must instantly institute a civil suit, and bring it before a court of justice, or he and his family must perish." "Oh God! said Capt. Bygrave, it would be madness of him to do so, he will ruin himself like that foolish fellow Pritchard; Miss Atkins, every thing depends on the first affidavit; he will only get involved by it, and imprisoned for life." "I should be much better pleased," said I, "that that should be the case, than that the matter should not be brought before the public, and his character cleared." Having accompanied my brother to the lodging of Major Davis on Monday the 20th Jan. 1806, official business being closed, Major Davis said he wished to speak to me in the adjoining room. He prefaced what he had to say by a great appearance of solemnity, and said, he was sorry to tell me that he had got charges against my brother. I asked him, what charges? "Charges of so black a dye, that, upon my honour it has deprived me of my rest these two nights; I have taken up the paper at different times to peruse, but my feelings really would not permit me to go through it." I smiled, and said, "it must indeed be terrific; can't you let me know the nature of the charge, Major Davis?" "Not at present;" and the feeling Major Davis appeared to shudder at the thought of it, if I could see you again, I could acquaint you with it. I did not answer him, but returned into the room where my brother and Capt. Bygrave were, saying, "Becher, there are charges against you," when the conversation already related in my brother's affidavit took place.—I declare that I do swear to the truth of the different conversations in which I bore a part, and to which I was witness, as stated by my brother in his affidavit. *(Signed)* HARRIET ATKINS.

Sworn before me this 27th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1806. *(Signed)* JOHN COLLICK.

Copy of the Affidavits of the Mother and Sister of Mr. Atkins, late Barrack-Master at Sandown; dated 27th June, 1806.

I MARY ATKINS, MAKE OATH AS FOLLOWS:——That in 1804, Farmer Kent, senior, came to my brother's house at New Church, for the purpose of receiving his half year's rent, for his barn at Brading: that he offered my brother bank notes, the amount of which I cannot swear to: that my brother declined the acceptance of them, and returned the notes to the farmer, when the farmer put them into the hands of one of the children of my brother, who took them out of the child's hands, and insisted on Farmer Kent's taking them. (*Signed*) MARY ATKINS.

Sworn before me this 27th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1806.—(*Signed*) JOHN COLLICK.

I Mary Atkins, mother of Becher Westropp Atkins, declare, that I was present during the whole transaction to which my daughter Mary Atkins swears; and that I equally attest the truth of the circumstances attending it.—(*Signed*) MARY ATKINS.

Sworn before me this 27th day of June, 1806.—(*Signed*) JOHN COLLICK.

Copy of an Affidavit of Becher Westropp Atkins, late Barrack-Master of Sandown, Isle of Wight; dated 27th June, 1806.

I BECHER WESTROPP ATKINS, formerly Lieutenant in his Majesty's 27th regiment of infantry, serving in the West Indies in the year 1797, 1798, &c. under the late ever-to-be-lamented Sir Ralph Abercrombie, from whom I obtained an ensigncy in that regiment, and from which I was allowed to sell out by his Royal Highness Field Marshal the Duke of York, on a representation that my sight had suffered materially in the West Indies; and lately, Barrack-Master of Sandown Bay Division, in the Isle of Wight, to the best of my recollection and belief, make oath to the following statements and conversations that took place between me and the several persons therein mentioned, and as follow: that in March, 1804, Major Davis came by invitation to dine and spend the day with me, at my house, at Chilton: that shortly after dinner, he observed, that I had enemies in my department in the Island, who had represented to him, on his arrival there, that I was a man much involved, and who made too free with my bottle, and advised me to beware of them. My sister, Mary Atkins, who was with me, asked him if it was Mr. Page, Deputy Barrack-Master, who had done so. He replied, he could not tell the name, she might guess; but added, "Atkins, you are now appointed to one of the best situations in the Island; you say you are taking a new house; you can furnish it without expence to yourself, and cover it in the accounts of the Barracks. I see those things, but I take no notice of them. I give this to you as friendly advice, and when I return to the Island, I shall be very angry if I do not find it furnished in that manner. When you are settled, I shall bring Mrs. Davis over to see you." Turning to my sister, he said, to enforce it, do you make him do it; he further added, he could break Capt. Bygrave. Having seen that he was apparently on good terms at this time with Capt. Bygrave, I thought it the part of a man of honour to apprize Capt. Bygrave of this assertion. From that hour I never gave Major Davis an invitation to my house, considering him as a dangerous man. When I removed to Langbridge, I avoided Major Davis, and, on his return to the Island, I never called on him but expressly on official business. Hence I incurred his enmity. * ——Some of my papers being at the present moment mislaid, in consequence of my removal, I cannot avail myself of some that I consider as necessary to make my exculpation from particular charges more clear, and am therefore obliged, for a few days, to refer to the copies of them now in the Barrack Office, namely, the certificates of Col. Chichester, and Capt. Anwyl, commanding in the absence of Col. Vaughan, the Merioneth militia, contradicting the charge of Major Davis of inattention to the troops in consequence of my habits of drinking.——On the 6th of Jan. 1806, I received a letter from Major Davis, requesting to see me instantly on business of a pressing and important nature; I accordingly waited on him that evening, and found him at the house of Mr. Wilkins, when, without entering on the subject for which he had given me the trouble of walking ten miles, he dismissed me by merely saying, that he wished to see me on the following morning, the 7th Jan. I waited on him accordingly on the morning of the 7th Jan. at his lodgings, when the following conversation took place: he asked me, whether I had not been in London? To which I answered evasively. "Is not this your letter?" said he, presenting me my letter of the 29th Dec, inclosing the plan and

* Having proceeded in my statement so far as the word enmity, I was in momentary expectation of being able to find the papers above-mentioned, and therefore left a blank here for their insertion, and have now, to avoid delay, only referred to them as above.

proposals of Mr. Day, and addressed to the Right hon. Mr. Dundas, the then Secretary at War. "It is, Sir." "What right had you to go to London without permission?" "Sir, the business I went on was of a public nature, and I did not consider it necessary." He then said he was convinced Mr. Day could not mean to fulfil his agreement. I assured him I was perfectly satisfied he would, and should bring Mr. Day to him for that purpose. "By no means, Sir," said he, "I desire you will not; I shall either go to him myself, or send." Observing the visible chagrin of Major Davis, I determined to call on Mr. Day that evening, and to accompany him to Major Davis, which I did the next day, the 8th. Jan., when I immediately presented Major Davis with a written paper, of which the following is a copy, and the original of which is now in my possession; observing to him, "This, Sir, is Mr. Day's agreement with me." "It is, Sir," said Mr. Day; on which Major Davis turned sharply to me, and said, "What right had you to make an agreement?"——"I James Day agree to build a Barrack to the construction of 384 men, at £220 per annum, provided the premises are taken for one year and a half certain. ——James Day."——Major Davis then addressing Mr. Day, said, "What profession are you of?" An innkeeper, Sir." "Pray, how could you presume to let to government for £220 per annum, what government pays £1,100 for, and to put up births and chimneys?" "No, Sir; I only mean to give the building in the same manner as the barns have been given." "Is this your plan," said he, (holding out the plan which had been drawn by Mr. Atkey, architect) "you must have been drunk, or mad, when you made it." "Perhaps I may be mad, Sir," said Mr. Day, "but I was never drunk but once in my life." Major Davis then said, that this wall must be made to a certain thickness and length, which he mentioned, and to which Mr. Day said he agreed, for the same rent, namely, £220 per annum. "Pray, whose land are you letting," said Capt. Bygrave, who, with his deputy, Mr. Page, Barrack-Master, had about this time, come into the room. "My own free land," said Mr. Day; "thank God, I have more too, and am worth from two to three thousand pounds." The clerk of the works, Mr. Anston, who had also come into the room, was then sent out with Mr. Day, to purchase a twenty shilling stamp, in order that Mr. Day might sign the agreement, and I returned to my duty. I heard no more of the agreement till the following week, when I went over to Ryde, and met the architect, Mr. Atkey, who told me of the following conversation which Major Davis had with Mr. Day, which was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr. Day himself, at his (Mr. Day's) house at Brading, in the presence of my sister Harriet Atkins.—Major Davis said to Mr. Day, "Pray, what do you give Mr. Atkins for making this agreement; is he not joined with you in this business?" "No, Sir," replied Mr. Day, "on my oath I believe he did it for the good of government." "Do you know that the best of the barns in the Island are to be given up from this agreement of yours?" "Sir, that is nothing to me; I must serve myself." "Are you aware of the many enemies it will raise over your head?" "I must do the best for myself, Sir." "But, Sir, I do not wish your Barrack to be of this construction; it would be much better if it contained fewer men. Pray, are you not concerned in the canteen of Sandown?" "Yes, Sir, my son-in-law keeps it." "You have not paid the money, and I have a number of letters from the Barrack-Master-General on that subject." "Well, Sir, I will pay you now for it;" and he took a parcel of notes out of his pocket for that purpose. "What, then, have you not paid Mr. Atkins?" "No, Sir, Mr. Atkins has not yet demanded it of me, but I shall pay you, if you have a right to receive it." "No, no, pay it to Mr. Atkins." Mr. Day, in repeating this conversation to me, observed, that Major Davis and Mr. Ansten, Clerk of the Works, had frightened the architect, Mr. Atkey, so much, that he said he was sorry he had any thing to do with the business. From what causes Mr. Day declined from his agreement, he best can say. I declare, that in about a fortnight after this, Mr. Day, in the presence of Mr. Kemp, of Brading, begged me to notify to the Barrack-Master-General, that he would build chimneys to his Barrack, if they would agree to give him £250 a year for the time specified; but no communication having been made to me through the office, I waited the report of Major Davis, and did not transmit this last proposal. And I further declare, that my verbal agreement with Mr. Day was for a regular brick Barrack of four or five detached buildings, with intervals between, according to the present mode of building Barracks; that Mr. Day and Mr. Kemp assured me, the ground was a gravelly soil, with a never-ceasing spring of pure water running near it, and close to the high road, and Mr. Day himself, as he informed me, the overseer of the road. I declare, that all

the following articles were provided and fitted up, in the several barns at the expense of the Barrack Department, consequently government might order them to be removed at any time, and no expense could be incurred but that attending their removal and reputting up:—

Chimneys	None to any of the barns in the Island.
Floors	
Births	
Arm Racks	
Pin Rails	
Grates	
Windows	
Cooking Kitchens	
Boilers	
Mess Rooms	
Cleaning Sheds	
Privies	
Guard House	
Pump and Well	

To the best of recollection no guard-house to more than one or two barns, and these, I understand, built at the expense of government All the water was from the wells or pumps in the farm-yards. There was neither hospital, officers barracks, store-houses, coal-yards or inclosures to any barns in my division; parade ground, none, to any of the barns.—On Monday the 20th of Jan. 1806, I was ordered on official business to Major Davis's lodgings, to which place my sister Harriet Atkins accompanied me, and where I found Captain Bygrave and Mr. Page, with Major Davis, on entering whose apartment I was immediately arrested for debt, upon which I turned round, and exclaimed, "This is a settled business." Major Davis presently desired my sister to step into the adjoining room, as he wished to speak with her. On her return in again, she said, adressing me, "Major Davis has got charges against you."—"Against me!" said I "What are they," turning to Major Davis; "I cannot tell you, Mr. Atkins," said he. "Who has given them in," I added? "Some of those farmers," replied Captain Bygrave, "we all know what fellows they are, and that they hate every one in our department."—"I am fearless of the charges," said I, "and shall call for a court-martial whenever they are forwarded to office." This conversation over, I was taken to a spunging-house, accompanied by my sister, and Mr. Anston, clerk of the works, at the desire of Major Davis. "There are indeed charges given in against you," said Mr. Anston, as we entered the street. "Do you know what they are," said I. "Farmer Ward swears you took money from him," said he. I laughed, and turning to my sister, she exclaimed, "Good God! how fortunate it was that I was witness to Ward's assertion in September," and immediately related to him the substance of her inclosed affidavit, so far as relates to Ward's conversation; when he said, it was an infamous business, and deserved to be punished. I then said I should let it go forward to office, and then call for a court-martial, but I assure you it shall be on more than one person, Anston. Mr. Anston then said, I assure you Sir, the general wish is peace. My sister said, it is sincerely mine; and he rejoined, "I assure you, Miss Atkins, it is the wish of all." A gentleman who had entered the spunging-house, then advised me to make application for a copy of Ward's oath, that I might proceed against him in a court of law.—Having been liberated the next day, I waited on Major Davis, asked him for a copy of Ward's affidavit, and received for answer, that if I would send to him in the course of the week he would let me have it. I then said, "Pray Major Davis, have I your permission to speak freely to you?"—"Certainly," said he. "Pray," said I, "did you ever get pictures from Captain Dickson for raising his rent?" He immediately turned pale, remained silent a short time, and then hesitatingly answered, "Why Atkins, if I have a fault, it is that of being unfortunately fond of pictures. It is the only extravagance I am guilty of: I know the scoundrel who told you so;" (the person who told me he had taken pictures from Captain Dickson, was Mr. Wilkins, Ironmonger and Banker of Newport.) "It is not many days since you dined at his house," said I. He then asked me if I had breakfasted, to which I replied I had, and immediately wished him good morning: nor have I ever seen him since, or at any time been required by him, by letter or otherwise, to enter into any explanation of my conduct with respect to Ward's affidavit, or any charge whatever. In a day or two after this, I begged Captain Carey, who lodged in the same house with Major Davis, and who was going into Newport from my house, to call on him for a copy of the affidavit, which he did, when Major Davis said he wished to see Miss Atkins on the following Friday; that he should stay at home for her till eleven o'clock, and give her the copy required. On Captain Carey's delivering this message, my sister said, "I think it best not to go, he is an artful man, and may hereafter say that I went to him for the purpose of entreating him to keep back the charges;" and she advised me to

wait for the affidavit till I should receive it through the Barrack Master General. I agreed, and saw it in the same point with my sister. On the following Sunday I went into Newport to wait on Colonel Ramsay of the 6th regiment, at the Bugle Inn, when I met Captain Bygrave ordering a chaise to be got ready. "Atkins," said he, "I was first going out to your house to speak with you," and countermanded the chaise; saying to the master of the Inn, "I hope you will not charge me any thing, as this is the gentleman I was going to see." He then asked me to accompany him to his office. I told him I should follow him, after I had seen Colonel Ramsay. On my entering his office, he took out a parcel from his pocket, and said, I have got those charges, and I want you to come to Davis with me, as he wishes to suppress them as I do. He added, that Davis was my friend; and I replied, "D—— such friends; was he my friend when he clandestinely made a false report of me at the former period? I will not go to him; and tell him, if he keeps back those charges, I will report him to the Barrack-Master General, as not having done his duty." I then begged Captain Bygrave to let me take a copy of Ward's affidavit, when he said he was in haste, but would have it written out for me; however, I did not obtain it. Previous to this, on Friday the 16th, Major Davis came to Sandown to make inspection of the Barracks, and I was afterwards informed by Farmer Kent, jun. that he took up his residence at Farmer Smith's, proprietor of four of the barns, for that and the following day, together with Mr. Page, Deputy Barrack-Master, to which place the different Farmers, proprietors of the barns, were summoned: that his father was asked by one of those two gentlemen, whether he had not something to say against me; when he answered, No indeed, he had nothing to say against the gentleman, I then asked the young Farmer, "Whether they had not lowered the rents to half?" "Pretty nearly, Sir," said he; "it is agreed that Mr. Smith should not fall so low as the rest." George Sperring also declared in the presence of my mother, my sister, and myself, that Major Davis and Mr. Page dined, and lay on the night of the 16th at Farmer Smith's, and that Barrack Serjeant Wooldridge, (against whom I had on Tuesday the 19th Nov., 1805, in the presence of the Serjeant and Mr. Page, given in a charge to Captain Bygrave, of robbery of coals, which he had sold out of the King's stores to Mr. John Medley, late contractor for coals, and for the deficiency of which the late Christopher Wollock, Barrack-Master of Sandown's executors were charged 100l. or upwards) sat up most part of the night, was very busy in assembling the Farmers; and that the next day, when he by my order called on him with a message from me, the Serjeant, who was very busy writing, told him he had business enough on his hands already. I have to declare here, from my own knowledge, that Major Davis and Mr. Page left the house of Farmer Smith for Newport, on the 17th, and that Farmers Smith and Ward are near neighbours, and in habits of great intimacy. It will be observed, that the affidavit of Farmer Ward appears to have been made on the day following; and from all the concurring circumstances, I am led to believe that the substance of Ward's affidavit was not solely his, but the joint fabrication of some of the persons named above; and I firmly believe that should the hand-writing be inquired into, it will be found to be that of one of the persons who assisted in dictating it.——I understand from Farmer Kent, that the rents were lowered on Saturday 18th January, or the following Sunday, and that the Farmers assembled at Newport for that purpose. Since I have been in town I have given in to the Barrack-office the charge against the Barrack Serjeant, which Captain Bygrave had neglected to give in. In refutation of Ward's affidavit, I declare, that in returning to my house from the barracks of Sandown, I almost always passed through his grounds, as cutting off a considerable angle of the road, and my most direct way; and one day in particular, but the year or day I cannot remember, passing through his farm-yard, I expostulated with his wife on the state it was in, as I had frequently done before, being almost impassable for the soldiers, who must necessarily pass through it on coming out of the barn; and told her, that when Farmer Ward should pass my house, I would be glad to speak to him. He accordingly called on me, when I told him, I must insist upon it that he should have his yard cleaned, and kept so in future; and I particularly recollect, that I at the same time expressed my astonishment at seeing the whole of the glass and leading of the cooking-rooms entirely broken out, which it was impossible for him not to observe, and which I was positive were whole after the troops had evacuated the barns at Bigbury. I positively swear, that, at Michaelmas 1804, I did not receive any letter from the barrack-master general, or from any other person in the barrack department, relative to giving up any of the barns; that at Michaelmas

1804, I never shewed Farmer Ward any letter, nor had any such conversation as he swears to, relative to the barns; that I never asked him to lend me £20, nor had any such conversation as he states. I recollect, that as a matter of course I desired him, as well as the other farmers in my division, who had let their barns, to bring in his bill for rent at or about the usual times of payment known to them all, namely, on the 24th of June, and 24th of Dec., but I never in the month of May 1805, or at any other time, before or since, received or asked from him or any other person, one farthing, either in money or notes, out of either his or their rent or carting money. I never at that time, or any other, had the conversation with him to which he swears, and positively swear that the whole is a villainous fabrication, and entirely groundless. One day as I was going to Princole, on duty, I met Farmer Ward (I cannot swear to the day or the month, but both can be ascertained by my letter to Mr. Wilkins) who addressed me in a dejected manner, telling me, that he had suffered severe losses from his horses having died; that he was distressed for money to replace them; that he believed he should be able to get it if I would give him a letter to Mr. Wilkins, banker, of Newport, assuring him that I would stop the rent of his barn to the amount of the sum advanced, to indemnify him. I complied with his request, and gave him the letter, by which he obtained the money, and for which he expressed himself very grateful; but I solemnly protest that I complied with his desire from feelings of commiseration, and without receiving from him the least fee or reward. I have received at different times presents of poultry, pigs, and hay, and also from other farmers received presents of a similar kind, as civilities arising in the country out of neighbourhood, and I am positive that other barrack-masters have received similar presents, not conceiving that the slightest criminality could attach to any man's doing so. Early in January 1806, I called on Farmer Ward on my way to the barracks, and recollecting his carting bill, told him I was come to pay him, upon which he opened the door of his parlour, the room I was always shewn into; the outward door opened into his kitchen, and from this kitchen you stepped directly into his parlour, which Farmer Ward says, in his affidavit, was a private room I gave him five pounds in small notes at the window, and not having silver in my pocket, said to him, "Ward I must owe you five shillings;" to which he answered, "It will do at any other time, Sir." He then called to his son, who was in the kitchen, for the pen and ink, and asked me to write the copy of receipt. I told him I should word it to him, and to the best of my recollection it was his son, not Ward, who wrote the receipt, which was witnessed by the son; (that receipt must be now in the barrack-office, and I call on the barrack-office to produce it) There is not an individual, however stupid, in the island, who had any transactions with the barrack-master for rent or otherwise, who did not know that Captain Bygrave was the head of the barrack department in the island. I further state, that I would as soon have requested a loan of money from Farmer Ward as Farmer Smith, did I consider him in circumstances to lend it.—In the most positive terms I declare (and I refer to the barrack-office accounts for the truth of my declaration) that neither Farmer Kent nor Harvey ever carted for my barracks at Sandown, as is implied in his (Ward's) declaration, where he asserts that I told him, they had given me their cartage-money. And I here declare a fact, which I intended to have mentioned before, that in return for Ward's civilities to me, I made him a present of a horse, which he had in his possession on the day I quitted the island, and which I verily believe he has yet.—*(Signed)*—Becher Westropp Atkins

Sworn before me, this 27th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1806.—*(Signed)*—John Collick, J. P.

N. B. Harriet Atkins and Mary Atkins, confirm, by another affidavit, the truth of all that Mr. Atkins avers them to have seen or heard.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Peace in India.—*From the Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary; dated Fort William, Jan. 27, 1806.*

A Dispatch, from the Governor General, to the Hon. G. Udny, Vice-President in Council.

Concluded from page 191.

To be forwarded to the Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, and has received from the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne, a counterpart of the said treaty, signed and sealed by the said Moonshee, Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Hon. the Governor-General, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Moonshee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the Maharajah, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the Maharajah, the treaty

executed by Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm, under the immediate direction of the right hon Lord Lake, shall be returned; and Moonshee Kavil Nyne, in like manner engages that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the Hon. the Governor-General, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the Hon. the Governor-General, the treaty executed by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, by virtue of the full powers and authority vested in him, as above-mentioned, shall also be returned.—Done at Mustafahpoor, this 22d. day of Nov. Anno 1805, or 29th. of Shaban, in the year of the Hejerah 1220. — (Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.—KAVIL NYNE.

Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty concluded between the Right Honourable Lord Lake, on the Part of the Honourable Company, and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, on the 22d of November, 1805.

Whereas objections have arisen to the terms of the 5th, 6th, and 7th Articles of the aforesaid treaty, it is hereby agreed and declared, that in lieu of those three articles, the two following shall be substituted.—Art. I. With a view to prevent any misunderstanding relating to the respective possessions of the Hon. Company and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in the quarters of Hindostan; the Maharajah hereby agrees to cede to the Hon Company all the territory north of the river Chumbul, which was ceded to the Maharajah by the 7th article of the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, that is to say, the whole of the districts of Dholepore, Barree and Rajah Kerrah; and the Hon. Company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues or possessions on the south bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadek and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the Hon. Company.—Art. II. The Hon. Company, from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments, through the resident at the Durbar; and the Hon. Company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a Jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum, to Baeezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah; and a Jaggeer amounting to one lack of rupees per annum to Cumnah Bhye, the daughter of that chief. Done at Illahabad, this 3d day of Dec. 1805. (Signed)—G. H. BARLOW. Published by order of the hon. the Vice-President in Council. THOS. BROWN, Acting Chief Sec. to the Govt.

Fort William, Feb. 5, 1806.—A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the hon. the Governor-General, by the hon. the Vice-President in Council, and is now published, together with the treaty concluded between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the 24th of December, 1805, and the Declaratory Articles annexed to it, for general information.

To the Hon. George Udny, Esq, Vice President in Council.

Honourable Sir;——My separate dispatch of this day conveys a copy of a treaty of peace and amity concluded by the Right Hon. Lord Lake, with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the 24th of Dec. 1805, under my instructions, together with a copy of a declaratory article, which, on the ground stated in that dispatch, I deemed it expedient to annex to the treaty.—2. The treaty having been duly ratified by Holkar, I request that you will be pleased to direct the immediate publication of it, and of the declaratory articles annexed to it, for general information.——3. I consider it unnecessary to postpone this measure until the receipt of the declaratory article ratified by Holkar, as it contains a relinquishment of the concessions made by that chieftain, under the second article of the treaty, without requiring any equivalent, and consequently the mere delivery of the declaratory article to Holkar, will answer the purpose for which it was framed.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) G. H. BARLOW.——On the River, Feb. 2, 1806.

Treaty of Peace and Amity between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Whereas disagreement has arisen between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and it is now the desire of both parties to restore mutual harmony and concord, the following articles of agreement are therefore concluded between Lieut. Col. John Malcolm, on the part of the Hon. Company, and Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of J. R. Holkar; the said Lieut. Col. John Malcolm having special authority for that purpose from the Right Hon. Lord Lake, Commander in Chief, &c. His Lordship aforesaid, being invested with full powers and authority from the Hon. Sir Gr. H. Barlow, Bart. Gov. Gen.

&c. and the said Sheik Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, also duly invested with full powers on the part of J. R. Holkar.—Art. I. The British government engages to abstain from the prosecution of hostilities against J. R. Holkar, and to consider him henceforward as the friend of the Hon. Company; J. R. Holkar agreeing on his part, to abstain from all measures and proceedings of an hostile nature, against the British government and its allies, and from all measures and proceedings in any manner directed to the injury of the British government, or it allies.—Art. II. J. R. Holkar hereby renounces all right and title to the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondee, Lakherie, Sumeydee, Bhamundgaun, Daee, and other places North of the Boondee Hills, and now in the occupation of the British government.——Art. III. The Hon. Company hereby engage to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowtee, or with any of the Rajahs, situated to the South of the Chumbul, and the Hon. Company agree to deliver over immediately to J. R. Holkar, such of the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in the Dekhan, now in the occupation of the Hon. Company, as are South of the River Taptee, with the exception of the Fort and Pergunnah of Chandore, the Pergunnah Ambar and Seagham, and the Villages and Pergunnahs situated to the Southward of the river Godavery, which will remain in possession of the Hon. Company. The Hon. Company, however, in consideration of the respectabiliy of the Holkar family, further engage, that in the event of the conduct of J. R. Holkar being such as to satisfy that state of his amicable and peaceable intentions towards the British government and its allies; it will, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of this treaty, restore to the family of Holkar, the Fort of Chandore and its district, the Pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the districts formerly belonging to the Holkar family, situated to the South of the Godavery.—Art. IV. J. R. Holkar hereby renounces all claims to the district of Kooneh, in the Province of Bundlecund, and all claims of every description in that Province; but in the event of the conduct of J. R. Holkar being such as to satisfy the British government of his amicable intentions towards that state and its allies, the Hon. Company agree, at the expiration of two years from the date of this treaty, to give the district of Kooneh in Jagghire to Beemah Bhye, the daughter of J. R. Holkar, to be holden under the Company's government, on the same terms as that now enjoyed by Bhalla Bye.—Art. V. J. R. Holkar hereby renounces all claims of every description upon the British government and its allies.—Art. VI. J. R. Holkar hereby engages never to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British government.—Art. VII. J. R. Holkar hereby engages not to admit into his council or service, Serjee Rao Ghautka, as that individual has been proclaimed an enemy to the British government ——Art. VIII. Upon the foregoing conditions, J. R. Holkar shall be permitted to return to Indostan, without being molested by the British government, and the British government will not interfere in any manner in the concerns of J. R. Holkar. It is, however, stipulated, that J. R. Holkar shall immediately upon this treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindostan by a route which leaves the towns of Puttealа, Khytuit, Iheend, and the countries of the Hon. Company and the Rajah of Jypoor, on the left, and J. R. Holkar engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder, and that they shall commit no act of hostility in any of the countries through which they may pass.——Art IX. This treaty, consisting of nine articles, being this day settled by Lieut. Col. John Malcolm, on the prrt of the Hon. Company, and Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla, and Bala Ram Seit; on the part of J. R. Holkar, Lieut. Col. John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, and confirmed by the seal and signature of the Right Hon. Lord Lake, to the said Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, who, on their part, have delivered to Lieut. Col. John Malcolm, a counterpart of the same, signed and sealed by themselves, and engage to deliver another copy thereof duly ratified by J. R. Holkar to the Right Hon. Lord Lake, in the space of three days, the said Lieut. Col. John Malcolm also engages to deliver to them a counterpart of the same, duly ratified by the Hon. the Governor General in Council, within the space of one month from this date.——Done in Camp at Raipoor Ghaut, on the Banks of the Bheah River, this 24th Day of Dec. 1805, corresponding with the Second of Shawaul, in the year of the Hijerah 1220. (Signed) JOHN MALCOLM. SHAIKH HUBEEB OOLLA. BALA RAM SEIT.

Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded between the British Government and Mahareejah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, through the Agency of the Right Hon. Lord Lake, on the 24th Dec. 1805.

Whereas by the 2d article of the above-

mentioned treaty, Maharajah J. R. Holkar renounces all right and title to the districts of Tonk Rampoora, Boondee, Leckherree, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Dace, and other places north of the Bondee Hills, and now in the occupation of the British government. And whereas it has been understood that the Maharajah attaches great value to the district of Tonk Rampoorah and other districts in that vicinity, which constituted the antient possessions of the Holkar family; and the relations of amity and peace being now happily restored between the British government and M J. R. Holkar, the British government is desirous of gratifying the wishes of the Maharajah to the utmost practicable extent, consistent with considerations of equity, and of manifesting its solicitude to cultivate the friendship and goodwill of the Maharajah, therefore the British government thereby agrees to consider the provisions of the 2d article of the treaty aforesaid, to be void and of no effect, and to relinquish all claim to the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, and such other districts in their vicinity, as were formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, and are now in the occupation of the British government.—Done on the River Ganges, the 2d day of Feb. 1806. (Signed) G. H. Barlow.—Published by order of the Hon. the Vice President in Council. —— Thomas Brown, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government.

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Prussia.——*Copy of a Letter transmitted by Mr. Jackson to Count Haugwitz, dated 19th April,* 1806.

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, has not delayed to forward to his court, the note which had been transmitted to him on the 27th of last month, by order of his Prussian Majesty; and which has been also presented by the Envoy of Prussia at London, to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—This note announces, on the part of his Prussian Majesty, such measures as are totally incompatible with those ties of friendship which have subsisted for so long a period, and with such mutual advantage, between the two states, and which the King has ardently desired to cultivate and draw still closer, by all the means in his power. It is, therefore, with the most lively regret, that his Majesty finds himself compelled by circumstances which no interference of his could prevent, to command the undersigned to remove without delay from Berlin.—The undersigned has the honour to address himself, in consequence, to the Count Haugwitz, Minister of State, and of the Cabinet of his Prussian Majesty, to request that he will order the necessary passports to be expedited for his return to England, with the different persons attached to his mission.—He is desirous at the same time to renew to his Excellency, the assurance of his high consideration. (Signed) Jackson.

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Prussia.——*By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

The Right Honourable William Windham, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, having by his letter of the 11th instant, acquainted us, that his Majesty had been pleased to order letters of marque and reprisals to be issued against the ships, vessels, and goods of Prussia, as well as of the town of Papenburgh; and at the same time signified to us his Majesty's pleasure, that we should give orders to all admirals and commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels, wherever they may be stationed, to seize or destroy all ships or vessels belonging to Prussia, and to the town of Papenburgh, save and except any ships or vessels to which his Majesty's licence has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from embargo: we do, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure signified to us as aforesaid, hereby require and direct you to seize or destroy all ships or vessels belonging to Prussia, and to the town of Papenburgh, which you may be able to fall in with, save and except any ships or vessels to which his Majesty's licence has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, accordingly; and to give the like directions to all the officers employed under your command.——Given under our hands, the 29th of May, 1803 ——To the respective flag officers, captains, commanders, and commanding officers of his Majesty's ships and vessels.

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Parliamentary Debates.

The Sixth Volume of the Parliamentary Debates comprising the period between the 21st of January and the 6th of May, 1806, is ready for delivery, and may be had of the publisher, R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent-Garden, and of J. Budd, Pall Mall. The Seventh Volume which will close the Debates of the Session, and which will contain the Financial Accounts and other Documents connected with the Proceedings in Parliament during the Session, will be published on the 1st of September.

Printed by Cox and Bayns, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

"At midnight, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of that day which lives in the remembrance of "every Englishman, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia swore, on the tomb of the Great Fre- "derick, in the Church at Potsdam, that they would remain faithful to each other, and to the cause in "which they were engaged. Young and noble-minded and high spirited monarchs! May the spirit and "wisdom of that monarch, over whose tomb your vows were interchanged, animate your holy councils, and "invigorate your arms in so just a cause."——MORNING POST, 18th November, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE.——In the preceding Number, page 200, some observations were made upon the tone, which certain of the public prints are now taking relative to the *terms*, which the nation ought to expect, in case peace should be the result of the present negociation. It will be proper, by-and-by, to add to those observations, and further to expose the ignorance, or the wickedness, which would persuade the people, that it is likely that good terms of peace, under the present circumstances, may be obtained; but, previously, it is necessary to notice, what, as it is now said, is the nature of the terms obtained by the Emperor of Russia; by that "young and "noble-minded and high-spirited mo- "narch," who, as the Morning Post told us, did, no longer ago than on the last Gun-powder Treason day, swear, positively swear, and in a church too, everlasting fidelity to the cause of the third coalition, formed for the express purpose of circumscribing the power of France. This "noble- "minded and high-spirited monarch," for seeming to laugh at whose reported vow a writer in the Morning Herald was threatened with an information in the court of King's Bench; this "noble-minded and high- "spirited monarch," who, as we were told by the wiseacres of the Pitt ministry, rode through the most tremendous fire, during the battle of Austerlitz, calling out to his army "Victory or Death!" and who was answered by his troops, that they would die a thousand deaths rather than see the arms of their dearly beloved sovereign dishonoured; this "noble-minded and high- "spirited monarch," who, as we were told in the Pitt bulletins, recovered, at the battle of Austerlitz, all the cannon he had lost, and "drove back the French army beyond "Austerlitz, and, afterwards, across the "Swartz;" this noble-minded, this high-spirited, this heroic, this wonder-working Emperor, has made his peace with France; has sent his negociator to Paris; has, we may venture to conclude, *laid aside the style adopted by M. Novosiltzoff*; and, in short, has done every thing, which the wise men, who supported the Pitt coalition, expected him not to do. When this is the case, must not these men have assurance, equal at least to their wisdom, to enable them to hold forth to their readers, that *this* is the time, that this, of all others, is the time to demand, and to expect to obtain, high terms of peace, at the hands of France?——But, with respect to the Emperor of Russia and his peace, it is said, that, not only has he not obtained for us any thing advantageous, but that he has given our interests entirely up, and has even agreed *to aid France in compelling us to make a formal surrender of our maritime rights*. Such an agreement was, we know, entered into, in a secret convention between Russia and France, in 1801, (see Political Register, Vol. VI. page 932); and, it was with the knowledge of this, that Pitt and his place-loving crew entered into the third coalition. I endeavoured, at the time, in various ways, to impress the fact upon the minds of my readers. In volume VI. of the Register, several articles will be found, the object of which was, to convince the public, that nothing good was to be expected from a war in alliance with Russia against France, unless it proceeded upon principles very different from those which were the basis of the third coalition.——If it should have been agreed upon, between Russia and France, to compel us to give up our rights with regard to neutral ships; or, if Russia should have merely stipulated to use her *good offices*, in order to prevail upon us to make such surrender, it will form a most delightful puzzle-wit for that acute and profound statesman, MY LORD GRENVILLE! It will certainly draw his attention aside, for a while, from his deep researches into the hidden causes of national wealth and prosperity! He must leave the measures, relative to *cash-payments at the Bank* to be perfected by that no less acute and profound personage, SIR JOHN NEWPORT. Gods!

what a confusion of noddle would be produced by an agreement between Russia and France, such as we have been speaking of! ——For my part, I was always afraid of Russia. From the very beginning of her coalescing, I expressed my fears, that France would easily draw her off from us, and, especially after having given her a little *beating*. —— The Pitt crew of placemen and place-hunters would fain have us believe, that, if the Emperor of Russia has acted, as it is said he has, with respect to peace with France, the *fault* is in the present ministers, who had given him reason to doubt of their intentions with regard to a vigorous prosecution of the war. But, was *he* engaged in a vigorous prosecution of the war? Did they find him so engaged? What was he *doing?* Just nothing at all; and, indeed, nothing could he do *for* us; but, there was no good reason for his doing any thing *against* us, merely, as it is pretended, on account of our having begun to negociate for peace first, supposing that to have been the fact. It is the object of the Pitt crew, to cause it, upon all occasions, to be believed, that, if their master had lived, and they had continued in power, the evil, upon each occasion successively complained of, would not have existed. What insupportable impudence! When every evil, under which the country groans, can be, and has been, *proved*, clearly proved, to have originated in the shallow brain and the selfish heart of their loquacious leader. To gratify his selfish ambition, his love of place, his passion for domineering, his hatred of every one who was not ready to flatter and to crawl to him; to this end it was, that all the measures, which have finally led to our present situation, were adopted. He cared nothing about the *country*; nothing more than about the Wilds of America; self, his own self; his own power of ruling, by means fair or foul, was all he thought about. We were sacrificed to his ambition, and now we are to be insulted by being told, that, if he had lived, that is to say, if we had continued to be sacrificed to him, we should have been much better off than we are. What folly, Good God! What foolery is there, that he was not guilty of, and that we did not smart for? When the mists of deceit and of corruption shall have been dissipated; when the nation shall no longer be the annuitants of the state; when men shall, once more, recover the faculty of thinking rightly, and the right of expressing their thoughts freely, how they will vent their indignation upon our heads, for suffering ourselves to be trampled upon by a man of mind so puerile and contemptible! His followers appear to have acquired the rights of their master. They now hold, as nearly as they are able, the same sort of language that he held. The grand operator is gone, to be sure, but the same impudent pretensions are uttered by the underlings. First they form a coalition, which they tell the poor nation, is to save it for ever, and to hurl Napoleon from his imperial throne; and they tell them, besides, that the Emperor of Russia is to be the main spring of this coalition. The coalition is broken up; Napoleon remains upon his throne; and the Emperor of Russia sends an humble embassy to ask for peace at his hands. Now, one would, under such circumstances, expect *silence* from the authors of the coalition; and, when they saw their successors endeavouring to obtain a peace as well as they could, one would expect them to act as if they thought themselves fortunate at having escaped from punishment of some sort or other; but, instead of this, we hear nothing but their insolent attempts at justification; nay they do not stop there, but have the abominable audacity to affect *to blame their successors*, that things are in a bad state upon the continent, and that we are likely to have hard terms of peace. Rightly, however, are the new ministry served. They were well told of this before hand. They were duly forewarned, that, unless they caused a faithful report of the state of the nation to be made, they would, and they ought to be, answerable for all the evils that should be felt during their administration. The Fox part of the ministry had not the courage to attempt this. The Grenvilles and the Addingtons were implicated in all that Pitt and his crew had done; and, though Mr. Fox clearly saw what must be the consequence of omitting to cause a report, such as we have just spoken of, to be made, he had not the resolution to say, "upon that condition only will I enter the cabinet." If he had, he would, at this day, have been minister *indeed*; and, as he would have avoided all the painful occurrences of the last session, it is probable, that he would have escaped that bodily illness, which is now a subject of so much regret. He fell beneath the Grenvilles. Not for want of forewarning, to be sure; for, it was, from the time of the discussions relative to Lord Melville, impossible not to perceive, that, if Pitt had wished for seven years to provide the means of deadening the Fox party; of benumbing all their limbs; of paring their nails; of drawing their teeth; of taking from them every means of giving

him serious annoyance: if, for seven years he had set himself down to wish for the means of doing this, he could not have wished for any thing more complete than the *coupling* of Lord Grenville with Mr. Fox. If Pitt had lived he would have been turned out of place; that is to say, unless he had taken Lord Grenville and some others in; but, if Mr. Fox had been *coupled* with Lord Grenville, the turning out of Pitt would have been of little use. It would have led to no useful consequences. Pitt would still have hoisted his brazen front in the House of Commons; and Mr. Fox, held in check by the Grenvilles, would soon have sunk beneath him. The strength of the new ministry ought to have grown out of an exposure of the ignorance and the wickedness of their predecessors; and, there can be no doubt, that, if the Grenvilles had occupied the place in the new arrangements, which they ought to have occupied, such an exposure would have taken place; but, the moment it was known, that Lord Grenville was to be *the minister*, that moment every one was assured, that no exposure at all would be made. All at once we saw the discussion, relative to the war, abandoned, though the papers had been moved for and the day appointed. The million, out of the Spanish prize money, was quietly hushed up. Not a word was said upon many other subjects, which were proposed to be discussed. In short, who was there, having the common means of observation, who was not convinced, that the Fox party, had, from mere fear of being kept, for a month or two, out of place, yielded to Lord Grenville, and made up their minds to a settled submission?——But, *now*, this is of little consequence. We now know, that Pitts and Grenvilles and Foxes are all alike. We have now the proof of it before our eyes. We have the proof, that, from the moment they are in place, they act, successively, just as their predecessors acted. When in place, they *all*, with equal zeal, defend and abet such practices as it is useless here to name. I know not which of them goes farthest. I know not which has least shame; and, all the difference, that I am now able to discover between the Pitts and the Foxes is, that while the latter, when out of place, severely condemn peculation, the former, whether in or out of place, always defend it; and, really, I think this the least dishonourable course of the two.——In returning from this digression, I shall now offer to the reader a few remarks upon some arguments, in addition to those quoted in my last number (page 201), from the MORNING POST, tending, as the writer presumes, to show, that we are in a position to warrant a demand of high terms of peace. The passage which I am now about to lay before the reader follows, in the Morning Post of the 5th instant, immediately after the passage quoted in my last number, (page 201).

"Here, it may be said, that, in the "progress of the war, greater loans "would be necessary in each successive "year. Granted. But the loan of the "present year cannot be taken above 15 "millions, five millions of the twenty borrowed having been appropriated to *make "good the grants of the last year*; and if "we suppose the amount of the yearly loan "to be progressive between fifteen and "twenty-five millions, the average, being "twenty millions, would give the result we "calculate upon. Whilst carrying on the "war singly with France, we cannot be so "sensible of the burthens necessary for the "support of it. The greater part of the "expenditure *will take place in the country*, and though the money may be procured by *heavy* impositions, it will *return "to the people*, and by its circulation "amongst them *alleviate the burthens they "sustain*. The same will be, in a great "measure, the case with any expeditions "that may be sent out, till they reach the "place of their destination. The whole of "the outfit will be supplied by the country, "and even the freightage and expense of "transport will be *a benefit to the people*. "When our expeditions accomplish their "object, we see no good reason why we "should not practise the same means for "the support and recruiting of our forces "as our enemies do. The adoption of such "a system would relieve our finances, and "greatly promote our military resources. "On the whole, therefore, *we see every "reason to be confident of the adequacy of "our finances to the continuance of the present war*, and no one motive, on that "ground, to shrink from the contest, without security, or to *relinquish our present "advantages*, without just and satisfactory "*equivalents*."——Now, to proceed in regular order, we may ask, relative to the statement, that, of the this year's loan, 5 millions were wanted to make up the deficiencies of last year, where will this wise-acre writer find us a security, that we shall not want 5 millions *next* year to make up for the deficiencies of *this*? The fact is, that the accounts of the nation exhibit, like those of a tradesman fast approaching to his last stage, a continued series of deficiencies and of anticipations; and, if we have been

obliged to borrow 5 millions this year to make up the deficiencies of the last year, the probability is, that we shall be obliged to borrow 6 or 7 millions next year to make up the deficiencies of this.——But, though it is evident, that the writer had not duly reflected upon this part of his subject, I must confess, that the arguments that follow are of a cast so superior; they contain such strong evidence of profundity, that I should almost be tempted to ascribe them to Lord Grenville, or Sir John Newport himself. The taxes being expended in the country is, we are told, a circumstance, that will render the burdens of the war less severely felt. *Why* this should be so, does not, I must confess, appear to me; and, I think, that this wiseacre would find it difficult to furnish us with a demonstration of it. If a thousand pounds be raised from a certain parish in taxes, what is it to that parish whether the bread and meat and drink, purchased with that thousand pounds, be swallowed by soldiers in England, or by those same soldiers conveyed to the continent of Europe? If the thousand pounds go towards a subsidy, that, indeed, is a different case; for, then it will be found, that it is so much taken from the land and the labour of England and given to foreigners to eat and to wear. "But," some one will say, "is not the laying out of "the money of the army a good to the "country; does it not, by returning to the "people and circulating amongst them, enable them the better to meet their heavy "taxes?" Well, then, if the laying out of the money of the army does produce a "benefit to the whole nation," so must the laying out of other people's money; and, as the expenditure of every man will bear, upon a general scale, an exact proportion to what he receives, it is, if we adopt this principle, very difficult to see how taxes can, in any case, possibly, become *burthensome* to a nation, except only in the case of their being devoted to the payment of foreign subsidies. ——This doctrine of the Morning Post is extremely well adapted to the regions of Whitehall and St. James's. "Why do "you complain?" will the Marquis of Buckingham say: "it is true I receive, "from my sinecure place, about 28,000 "pounds a year; but, what harm does that "produce to the people? It adds, indeed, "so much to their taxes; but, it is spent "every year, and so it returns to them "again." So will Lord Grenville and Lord Melville; so will all the jobbers and contractors say. It *is all spent again* amongst the people, and, therefore, it is as broad as it is long.——Why, then, it is a mistake, all this while, to suppose, that the national debt is an *injury* to the people; for, though it be true, that this debt causes 29 millions a year to be raised from the people in taxes, yet, those who receive the 29 millions spend it again. The same may be said of the Civil-List, and of all the grants at which we have lately been so indignant. Nay, peculation does, at last, no harm, and, it is from sheer ignorance, if peculators consider themselves as less moral than their neighbours. Away we sweep all notions of the weight of taxes. The talk about *economy* becomes nonsense. We have been in a dream, and are now, for the first time in our lives, really awake.—— But, in addressing myself to this writer, I would, for reasons too evident to state, endeavour to render my refutation of his position so simple as to be perfectly intelligible to the lowest capacity. You tell me, would I say, that the taxes, being expended in the country, returning again amongst the people, diminishes the weight of the burthen; for that, nothing being, by means of the taxes, *taken out of the country*, the country must, upon the whole, remain exactly the same as if no taxes at all had ever been imposed. This is the natural and even the necessary drift of your argument; and this it is that I deny.——Suppose, for simplicity's sake, there be an island consisting of ten farms of equal size; suppose the island to be inhabited by ten men, each of them the owner and cultivator of one of the farms, and each having an equal number of children. Suppose one of the men, from whatever cause, to obtain an ascendancy over the rest. Suppose him to have blood-hounds, or wolves, to let loose upon his neighbours at pleasure. Suppose him, no matter how, to be possessed of the power of taking from his nine neighbours, just as much of the produce of their labour as he pleases to take. Suppose him to take from each 50 pounds a year, would not each of the nine be *poorer* by 50 pounds a year? Would not each of them *lose* that 50 pounds a year, in consequence of having such a powerful neighbour; or, would they not, at any rate, be compelled to work much harder in consequence of the tax? But, the powerful man would lay the 50l. a year out with each of them: so he would, but if, for instance, he laid out 50l. in wheat with one of them, would he not receive the wheat in return for the money? Nothing would, indeed, *go out of the island*; but, would the people in it be as happy as they were before? Would not the powerful man cease to labour? Would he not throw his share of the labour upon the other nine?

Would he not eat and drink of the best, while they ate and drank of the worst? Would not some of the nine, from misfortunes of various sorts, be reduced to poverty? Would there not soon be *begging* in the island, or a *work-house?* Would there not be *houses of correction*, and jails? And, is it not clear, that, *without any thing being carried out of the island*, heavy taxation must produce individual poverty and misery? and, must not these produce discontent against the ruling power, or indifference with respect to the safety of the island? and, must not these, upon any emergency, be, inevitably, the cause of weakness in defending the island?——The truth is, that, excessive taxation, bends down industry, with one hand, while, with the other, it creates insolent idleness. It forms society into two classes, the *workers* and the devourers; and, the maxim soon becomes: *the more you work the less you eat.* Taxes, call them by what name you will; do with them what you will; are, after all, neither more nor less than so much money taken from the fruit of labour. The idea, therefore, of the burthen being lightened by the circumstance of the receiver's spending the money in the country, that is to say, making people perform more labour in order to get their own money back again, is perfectly absurd.—— No: it is not now and then half a dozen verbose columns in the Morning Post, that will bring people to the belief, that taxes are of no weight, because the produce of them is expended in the country. They feel that they are of weight; and, say the Morning Post what it will, they feel little consolation, that the money drawn from them, has, in many instances, been expended by the persons, to whom it is granted, *even previous to the grant.*——In applying what has here been said to the question of terms of peace, the reader will, I should think, see little reason to expect high terms of peace from the circumstance of the taxes being expended at home. But, upon this, as upon the former occasions, when I have spoken of the present negociation, I wish always to be understood, not as recommending low terms of peace, but as desirous to caution my readers against expecting high terms, or even good terms, or even terms not deeply disgraceful, if peace be made at the present time; observing, however, that I say, that, if the ministers would have recourse to the proper means of alleviating the burdens of the people, *they need not make peace at this time.* I abhor the idea of a peace such as I think they will make; but, I am persuaded, that it is impossible for them to carry on the war, without *a great change in the financial system.* Our choice lies between *such a change* and *a peace shockingly disgraceful.* I shall blame the ministers for such a peace; I shall remind Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham of all their attacks upon the peace of Amiens; but, those, who are clamouring against the tax upon the funds, will have no right to blame them at all. The pensions and sinecures not granted for *real* services or losses on behalf of the public, first abolished; these first abolished, and a rigid system of economy introduced into every department of the public expenditure, and that being found insufficient, a further and a further tax ought, in my opinion, to be imposed upon the funds, until the debt be reduced to nothing. I call it *tax*, because others choose to call it so. *Deduction from the dividends* is the proper phrase; and this deduction must be, in my opinion, freely applied, or we must have a most ignominious peace. It will answer no purpose to put off the evil day. If we are to have peace, with our present financial system, it may as well come to-day as two years hence. Now, indeed, is the *best* time of the two; for, does any one imagine, that France will be more disposed to grant us good terms of peace, when she comes to see *the statement of the Affairs of the East India Company?* Lord Grenville has, indeed, assured us, that this under Empire is in a most flourishing state; but, how comes it, then, that Lord Castlereagh, the late president of the Board of Controul, should propose, as he lately has done, to raise money for the relief of the Company, and for the *public to guarantee the loan?* In fact, do we not *know* what this will come to? And is it not necessary to caution the public against expectations, which, if entertained, *must* be disappointed.——The sum of what I have to say, upon this subject, is this, and, until Lord Lauderdale's return, it will be useless to say more. That, with a reform in our financial system, we are able to carry on the war, until we can obtain a peace of honour and security; but, without such a reform, no ministers will be able to obtain a safe or honourable peace; that those who wish to see such a reform, and are ready to support, with all their means, the men who will undertake it, will have a right to censure whatever minister shall make a disgraceful peace; that those, who cling to the pension and sinecure lists, who abet all sorts of peculators, and who clamour against every measure for lessening the interest upon the national debt, would have no right to complain, if, in order to obtain peace, the minis-

ters were to cede the Isle of Wight, together with all the Barns and Hovels and Mud-Huts and Barrack-Masters and Contractors and Peculators of every description, thereon standing and being; that no peace, whatever may be the terms, made while our present financial system remains, will last above a year or eighteen months; and that, while that system lasts, we never shall enjoy one hour of *real* peace again.

The "DELICATE INVESTIGATION" seems now to have been merely a *nine days wonder*; but, unless the MORNING POST comes forward with some *report*, or some satisfactory statement, upon the subject in a very few days, I shall convince my readers, that *this paper*, at any rate, is not to be *silenced*. "MUM," is now become the word; but, any *one man* has the power, if he has the will, to prevent the matter from being so *hushed up*. ——The WHIG, and the ANGRY FUNDHOLDER, whose letters will be found in subsequent pages of this sheet, shall be answered in my next. In the mean while, let the Whig reflect, whether, at any time, previous to the Revolution, there were so many *foreign troops*, brought into England, as there are now *stationed* in England. This is *one* point. But I shall, I trust, be able to make him weary of defending the cause of Whiggism. He has undertaken a most terrible corvée, as he will very soon find.

BARRACK-ABUSES.

The Letter of which the following is a copy, accompanied the Affidavits, transmitted to the Secretary at War, by Mr. ATKINS, which affidavits will be found in the foregoing Number, at page 206.——The Letter, like the affidavits, was laid before parliament, and afterwards printed, upon the motion of MR. ROBSON.

Copy of a Letter from Barrack Master Atkins, late of Sandown Barracks, to the Secretary at War; dated 29th June, 1805. ——*Dated, No. 2, Margaret-street, Cavendish Square, June 29, 1805.*

SIR,——Having obtained the printed papers called for by the House of Commons, I hasten to vindicate myself from the charges laid against me, and, by one connected chain of circumstances, to prove the malignity of Major Davis. It was always the liberal practice of the Barrack-Master-General, to forward to the person against whom an accusation was made, the charges themselves, in order to enable him to make his defence, and I believe that my case is the only one in which this practice has been departed from. I shrink not from candour; from two farmers I have borrowed money, 10*l.* from Mr. White, and 20*l.* from Mr. Smith, who issued a warrant against me on my note, when Major Davis came to the Island; if this declaration, and these acts, be sufficient to break me, I shall be patient under my dismissal, as I wish not to hold my place at the expense of honour and truth. I owed my appointment to Sandown to the right hon. the then Secretary at War, Mr. Bragge, who, on my own application, granted me the appointment in a manner which did the highest honour to his liberality, observing, that he felt himself happy to be at liberty to appoint me to the situation, from the favourable testimonies he had received of my conduct from the officers under whom I had served. To the right hon. Mr. Windham, his predecessor in office, I owed my former appointment of Assistant Barrack-Master of Out-Posts, who with equal liberality and feeling, in the midst of his important duties, listened attentively like Mr. Bragge, to the application of a private individual, and granted his request. To these two gentlemen, rendered as respectable by their private worth as by the situations they have filled, to the public at large, and to my own family and friends, I feel that I owe the justification of my character; and, under this conviction, Sir, I humbly beg that this letter, with the enclosed affidavits, may be favoured with the same publicity as has attended the charge laid against me, in order that those who have heard the accusation may likewise hear my defence, and, with unbiassed judgment, draw their inference. You will permit me, Sir, here to comment on the conduct of Major Davis, as testified in the enclosed affidavits. It will be seen that the report made by him to the Barrack-Master-General of my frequent habits of drinking, and consequent inattention to the troops, was contradicted by the certificates of the commanding officers of the troops, who had occupied the barracks and posts for some months. This charge was wholly unprovoked by me, farther than by a discontinuance of every other attention to him from the period of his conversation at my table, except that obedience and deference due to a superior in office on all official communication; yet even then, unjustly as I had been accused, I held the sacred rights of hospitality too much in respect to violate them by a disclosure of his conversation, and at this moment, I should shrink from the thought of injuring him, were not the promulgation of his conduct necessary to my own justification. What an enemy then was Major Davis likely to become, when I stated to the right hon. the Secretary at War, the barns

taken at enormous rents. Major Davis was the person who had taken those barns; Major Davis was the person sent down to act on the proposal of Mr. Day; was it the interest of Major Davis to make that proposal appear advantageous to government, after the agreements which he himself had made? I forbore to implicate him; in my letter appears no individual resentment, but a proposal for the public good; I might then, if actuated by rancour, have stated, that a mud hut, built by the owner for *eighteen pounds*, as I understand from a man employed in the erection, was rented annually at *one hundred and thirty pounds*, and the interior fitted up at the expense of government, and taken and agreed for by Major Davis. There was also transmitted by me to the Barrack-Master-General, and by the Barrack-Master-General transmitted to Major Davis, a plan and proposal of a house at Brading, to the construction of twelve officers, at sixty pounds per annum. On referring to the rents paid for officers lodgings and accommodations in 1804-5, it will be found, that seven pounds fifteen shillings was paid weekly for accommodations for ten officers; the house therefore offered by Mr. Kemp, in the above proposal to which I allude, and which he agreed to have ready in three months at 11. 3s. 1d. per week, at the rate of 60 l. yearly, makes a saving of 61. 11s. 11d. per week, and two officers more accommodated.——Against the Affidavit of Ward, I enclose my own, together with those of my sisters. As to my catering for a Major, by supplicating Ward for a lamb, it is too low and egregiously contemptible for me to stoop to answer. I have received presents from him of poultry, and two pigs, and in return for those, and other civilities sworn to in my affidavit as having been received from him, made him a present of a horse, which I have no doubt he has still in his possession; and from other farmers I have also received presents of the same nature, and know that other Barrack-Masters have done the same. The tampering of one of my own department with Farmer Ward, is proved by my sister's affidavit and my own; early in November last, my sister and I accused Mr. Page of it to his face, telling him of Farmer Ward's declaration, which he no otherwise denied, than merely by saying, we were too hasty. To the receipts and accounts laying in the Barrack Office, I refer whether there ever appeared on the books of Sandown, any account of carting done either by Farmer Kent or Harvey, who, Ward says in his oath, I told him had given me their carting money. Farmer Ward farther adds, justly too, that I paid him his rent first, and his bill for carting after. The reason of this will be found in the inclosed official letter dated the first of January, from the Barrack Office; this was the delay which my adversaries had hoped was a strong presumption of my guilt, as it obliged me to separate the payments of the rent and cartage. I appeal to every unbiassed mind, whether a person intent on illegally demanding money from a man against his fixed determination not to part with it, would have chosen the very house of that man in which to make the demand; particularly, when he had the power of summoning him to his own. On the 3d of Jan. Farmer Ward, says, I forced him to give this money. Now, my letter to the Secretary at War was dated the 29th of December, only six days previous to this, and it will be seen that in the inclosure accompanying that letter, the barn at Bigbury, belonging to Ward, was one of those I pointed out to be given up, in consequence of Mr. Day's proposal; could I therefore consider myself safe in forcing money from a man, who must shortly have come to the knowledge of my being the instrument of his losing 218 l. per annum, and be weak enough to suppose, that, smarting under this loss, he would not promulgate this act of extortion? Farmer Ward artfully urges, that I pleaded my distresses from imprisonment. I am not ashamed to avow my involvements, which were consequences arising from having a family to support for four years, on five shillings a day, my pay as Assistant Barrack-Master of Out-Posts. In my letter to the Secretary I intimated, that I could point out other matters for consideration. I alluded to savings that could not fall within the calculation of a superior in office, but of one acting within the immediate sphere of Barrack-Master. The practicability of it I can prove to a demonstration, and it would be productive of some thousands a year, without taking from the comforts of any individual. There are two other matters which I could likewise suggest, the advantages of which I am persuaded would be acknowledged by office when pointed out. There are two Barrack-Masters now in the department against whom I could bring the most serious charges; yet, notwithstanding their enmity, which was partly combined with my dismissal, I feel reluctant to do so, feeling too acutely, as the head of a family, for the poverty into which my children are now plunged, even to wish to return it on the offspring of my enemies.——With every respect I submit the whole of my case to

your consideration, and have the honour, &c.——(Signed) BECHER WESTROPP ATKINS, *late Barrack-Master, Sandown, Isle of Wight.*

WHIGS, AND THE FUNDS.

SIR,——The high estimation in which I have hitherto held your Political Journal, and the benefits that I have hoped the country would derive from the exertion of your talents, have so prepossessed me in your favour, that I have been led to expect more from you, than perhaps ought to be looked for, from any individual whatever, however great his abilities, or firm his principles. Under these expectations I must confess, that your reasoning in the Summary of Politics in your last Number, has caused in my mind very different sensations, from what I have heretofore experienced, and I cannot refrain from expressing the regret that I feel at the severe and unjust censure, that you have so unnecessarily cast on that truly respectable body of patriots, *the Whigs of England.* From having discovered nothing in your writings, but those constitutional doctrines so fondly cherished by the Whigs, it has not a little astonished me, that you now plainly and unequivocally state, "that you "dislike the Whig *principle*, having ob"served that all, nay all, those measures, "which have proved greatly and perma"nently injurious and disgraceful to Eng"land, originated with the pretenders to "exclusive patriotism, who called them"selves Whigs." Now, Sir, if you mean to say, that the greatest evils have befallen this country from the councils of men, who, to curry favour with the people, have falsely professed Whig principles, and basely betrayed the true interests of their country, I do most readily agree with you in sentiment; but if you contend that the actions of those men were approved by the real Patriot Whigs of England, I must beg leave entirely to differ from you, and to state as a fact recorded in the impartial page of history, that to the strenuous exertions of the Whigs, are we at this moment indebted for all the blessings we enjoy, and which have been derived to us from the glorious revolution of 1668, an event which has, I trust, secured the liberties of Englishmen on a basis, too firm, ever to be shaken by those *Tory Statesmen*, who have the constitution constantly in their mouths, that they may thereby gull the people, and smooth the way to the introduction of those arbitrary measures, which, had they been suffered to act upon from time to time, would long ere this have reduced us from our proud pre-eminence as Britons, to the same degraded state as all the other nations of Europe. Are these, Sir, the principles which your great mind should be directed to combat? Principles revered and cherished by every lover of our constitution, as established by that great and glorious revolution, which has placed upon the throne of these realms our present illustrious and beloved Monarch, as the guardian of the people's rights and liberties; surely it cannot be? I have often, Sir, been highly gratified by the firm and manly manner, in which you have at all times supported the cause of virtue, and in the clear and nervous style, peculiar to yourself, by which you have exposed corruption and profligacy; equally mortified am I now to find that you *cannot refrain* from expressing your satisfaction at the triumph as you term it, of such a man as Lord Melville, whom you say you believe from the bottom of your heart to be a better and an honester man than any *one* of the Whigs. The conduct of our ministers in some few instances does, certainly, meet my disapprobation, but my surprise is great indeed, after reading your Analysis of Lord Melville's Trial in your Journal of the 28th of June last, that you should now express yourself so well satisfied with *such a triumph*; and that you should compare even the very *worst* of them to *such a man*. I know of no part of the conduct of the present ministers more seriously objectionable than the severe regulations in the new Income Act; its oppressive tendency towards persons of small incomes is so shockingly severe, that its provisions I am fully satisfied must be altered, before the year expires, or the utmost wretchedness must ensue throughout the country; I am therefore, not at all surprised at the clamour that has been raised at the Bank, nor am I sorry for it, as from its vicinity to the government, I hope it will have its due effect. I cannot, however, help differing with you in opinion, when, in speaking of the prorogation speech, you say, there is a glaring inconsistency in those, who reprobate your proposition for annihilating the debt, while they highly approve the deductions from the dividends, which you contend, is, in fact, an *annihilation* of *one-tenth* part of it; and you seem to think that there is a great difference between the tax being *raised* from other incomes, and *deducted* from that of the funds, and that the *right* to deduct *one-tenth* necessarily implies a right to cut off the whole. Surely, Sir, it is a strange doctrine, that because the income of the fundholder, is taxed in common with every other income, that the whole of the funds may be annihilated, merely becaus[illegible]

the tax is *deducted*, instead of the *dividend being first paid*, and the tax afterwards *raised* by a collection. Perhaps you are not aware that the proprietor of land let to a tenant is exactly in a similar situation with the fund-holder, inasmuch as "that into the hands of the *land-owner* the tax never comes at all," but is *deducted* by the tenant on the payment of it. I do not however think that, on this account there is one proprietor of land in England, who believes, that the right to deduct one-tenth of the *income* necessarily implies a right to cut off (or in this case to take) the whole; and, I trust the fund-holders will be equally satisfied of their security.—From your usual liberality and candour in introducing the opinions of others into your Journal, though not consonant to your own, I am induced to beg the favour of you to honour this with a place in it, should you not receive a similar communication from a much more able correspondent; in which case, I have only to apologise for the trouble the reading this will occasion you, and to assure you, though not a member of the Whig Club, that I am with much respect, Sir, your most obedient servant,—A WHIG.——*August 7*, 1806.

ANGRY FUND-HOLDER.

SIR,——However inadequate I may feel myself to contend with you on almost all points, I cannot resist the impulse, to state my objection to the opinion you entertain with respect to what ought to be the fate of the Public Debt. It is astonishing to me, that a man whose arguments on almost all occasions, appear to be given with a precision nearly equal to mathematical demonstration, should have wandered into such a labyrinth of error as you have done on this subject: there is nothing in my mind, that I can assimilate it to, but that of a man, who has from his infancy, till he has arrived at an age sufficient to stamp him as an unerring character, all at once burst out, and gone upon the highway, and robbed and murdered the first man he has met with; and left to his former admiring friends, the only consolation of saying, "alas poor human nature, how frail art thou!"—The sophistry, and absurdity (not to say inconsistency, for you have on this subject been uniformly absurd) that you have thought necessary to have recourse to, in this untenable argument, is a master-piece of its kind. A man who stands so high in the estimation of the thinking part of mankind, and to see him descend as you have done, on this subject, to the meanest artifices, must be matter of great regret, to all those who hold nothing on earth in comparison with truth and justice. In your Register of this day, you say, you wish to see the National Debt annihilated; and, from what you have said before on this subject, it appears you wish the present proprietors of this fund to receive no compensation.—It is not my intention to go into any argument at present, to refute the sophistry you have made use of on this occasion: but, at the same time I cannot resist stating to you one circumstance, in which, I think, you will coincide with me, or acknowledge that all your former professions of regret for the honest and industrious part of the community, have been nothing but the mask of hypocrisy. You do not appear to think you shall be able to persuade the government of the country, to adopt the diabolical plan of wiping off this debt at one blow, but are in hopes by the repeated clamours you are raising against the stability and security of this fund, to induce the present holders to take any thing they can get; and which will bring such an influx of sellers into the market, that in a very short time will reduce the value of stock to five per cent., or even nothing, at which time, I suppose, you will recommend to the government, to purchase upon these easy terms and liquidate the debt. But, who do you think, in such a case, would be the sufferer, and who would most iniquitously benefit by such a measure? The sufferers will be those whom you have always professed so much regard for, the honest and industrious part of the community, and those that are benefited will be those that you have always professed to despise. Those harpies who are always flying about in all the regions of the Bank and Stock Exchange, and who are ready at all times to embrace every misfortune that befalls their country; these are the beings who will be enriched at the expense of hundreds of thousands, independent of the miseries that such a measure will entail upon their helpless and unoffending offspring.—While you speak of the inconsistency of others, you seem to forget your own absurdity; for you say the present deduction from the dividends, "is in fact," an annihilation of one-tenth part of them. Now, what are we to understand by the word "annihilation?" As it is meant to be understood by you, it has an import never, I believe, given to it before. If the legislature had said, the proprietors of these funds should not in future ever receive but eighteen shillings in the pound upon their dividends, you might, then, with propriety have said that one-tenth of this property had been annihilated. But you, perhaps, who can see

farther into a mill-stone than most men, may have seen that the government mean to repeal the law as far as regards all other property, and leave this mill-stone hanging in perpetuity on the neck of this unfortunate property. In the present argument, we are, I presume, to look only on the face of the statute, and that declares it to be a tax, and only a tax upon this as all other property; and from this we have a right to conclude, that, when the bill ceases to operate on one, it most undoubtedly will on the other. With respect to its being a raised or deducted tax, that is a circumstance quite immaterial to an honest man; for, I presume you will not deny, but every man ought to pay 10 per cent. upon all his income, let it be derived from what source it will; and, though I lament, that *you*, or any other man that meant to be *a rogue*, and whose property is not in the funds, has that facility of evading the tax, that by the present bill is denied to those whose property is in the public funds; but, I am nevertheless, bound to suppose that every man pays his 10 per cent. as well as I who am a stock-holder, and therefore, as such I have no right to complain.—You "insist that a right to deduct one-tenth necessarily implies a right to cut off the whole." Who, upon reading this, would not suppose, that the legislature in imposing this tax, had made a distinction between property in the funds, and all other property in the nation. However, the government may have a much greater facility in collecting this tax from the fund-holders, than it has from persons deriving their income from other sources, it makes no such distinction as you wish to infer; neither has the legislature recognised any such principle, but is considered by the legislature as standing upon the same basis as all other property, and will ever, I trust, remain while reason and justice can maintain a seat in the hearts of Britons. And, though I, as much as any man, regret that the national debt has been carried to the extent it has, and think it one of those things that engenders many evils, it is a thing that has been established by the government of the country, and virtually recognized by the people themselves; and as such it must be submitted to, till better times relieve them from its pernicious effects. If, indeed, you could point out any plan by which the property that has been illegally and fraudulently obtained, could be made to be restored to its owners, the insulted and oppressed people of this country, you would then be doing good, agreeably to your own professions; but the adoption of the plan you recommend with respect to this measure, would be only adding to the oppression of a part of the community, already too much burdened, with the evils arising from the crimes and iniquities of others.——I am, Sir, yours, &c.—A STOCKHOLDER.——*August* 2, 1806.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

SIR,——I was a good deal struck by reading in the papers a few days ago, what purported to be an account of proceedings in the House of Commons. According to this representation, while the Marquis of Wellesley's friends were urging Mr. Paull to bring on the discussion of the Oude charge before the close of this session, his honour the Master of the Rolls warmly spoke in support of these gentry; emphatically pronouncing that *delay was contrary to the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence.* This one was very glad to hear, and certainly it proceeded with peculiar propriety and grace from a magistrate, presiding in a court, the expedition of which has long been proverbial. And if any thing could heighten its effect, it was to read in the very same paper, that on the very same day, the very same magistrate did, in the very same place, in support of a bill for augmenting the emoluments of the officers of his court, state, that so dilatory were its proceedings, as to have impounded and accumulated within its clutches not less than *twenty-one millions of money*, the property of its suitors. One can scarcely imagine, that the suits, by which half of this enormous fund came into the hands of the Court of Chancery, can be decided within the life time of the original parties. And if so, then there are always owners of above ten millions of pounds, deluded either to seek for their own which is wrongfully withheld from them, or to protect their own which is wrongfully sought to be taken from them, by the notion that they can have justice in the Court of Chancery, whereas, the fact is so far otherwise, that it would be much better for them as individuals, if the whole of the property in question, were, before they entered the inauspicious door of this Temple of Astrea, annihilated; if it were flung into the sea, or appropriated to pay the debts of the dead, or the pensions of the living traitors to their country. For in either of these cases they would merely lose that property, and they would at once know that it was lost: but, as matters now stand, not only they lose the whole of that same property, but they are also plundered of all the sums required for the fees of counsel,

attornies, agents, the stamp duties, and officers and judges of the court, and they lead a life of incessant expense, disquietude, irritation, and disappointment, which it is not too much to say, frequently drives them in beggary to a premature grave. In what I have said, I mean not to advance the smallest charge against the judges of the court. I have a very high respect, and a very full conviction of the abilities and the knowledge, the judicial integrity and diligence of Lord Erskine, Lord Eldon, and Sir William Grant. But that these magistrates have done the duty of judges in the Court of Chancery, as well as it can be done, only shews that the evil lies deeper than the character of the judge. And as Hector inferred that Troy could not be saved, from his own inability to defend it, so these learned persons may safely conclude, that the Court of Chancery cannot under its present constitution be other than a nuisance, from the mere fact that their administration of its authority has not prevented the keeping from the pockets of the suitors *one and twenty millions of their property*. On this head, the dilatoriness of the Court of Chancery, I shall not enlarge farther, than to express my hopes that one or all of the three whom I have named, will endeavour to devise some plan for rescuing the property of individuals from such detention under pretence of justice.—But, if delay be, as Sir William Grant tells us, *repugnant to the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence*, I presume that juridical secrecy is not less so. Now to apply this to the Court of Chancery. The whole of the one and twenty millions on which that court has laid its hand, is placed in the public funds, behind the impenetrable skreen of the accountant general's name: so that no one can discover what are the names of the parties to any of the suits out of which this treasure has arisen. Without doubt many of the descendants of those unhappy persons whom the Circean charm of a *court of equity* decoyed into that voracious abyss the Court of Chancery, are ignorant of the rights or claims upon these accumulations which they may derive from their ancestors. Publicity is of the very essence of British jurisprudence, and most undoubtedly some means should be afforded to the country at large, to know not only the names of the parties out of whose suits these funds have arisen, but the amount from time to time accrued upon each. I observe that this matter was mentioned the other day in the House of Commons by a very able, active, and upright member of parliament (Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones). It will, doubtless, be most satisfactory to the country, that the establishment of this system of publicity should originate from magistrates conversant with all the details of the proceedings in this court, and this would be more honourable to themselves. But if they neglect to bring it forward (and that not under the precarious mode of an order from the Chancellor or Master of the Rolls of the day, but under a permanent legislative enactment), I trust the gentleman to whom I have alluded, will himself introduce some parliamentary motion upon the subject. I observe, that in mentioning this matter, he noticed the case of the unclaimed dividends at the Bank of England. You cannot but remember, Mr. Cobbett, how loudly when these were called for sixteen years ago, the whole herd of monied swine grunted at the very thought that the intrusive hand of justice should approach a bristle sticking to their greasy hides, though evidently not belonging to themselves. But, I cannot think we need fear that the Supreme Court of Equity in Great Britain, will take example from the mercenary crew of Balaams in Threadneedle Street.—Sir William Grant's bill I have not seen, and, therefore, will not discuss its merits. But, if the Masters in Chancery are by it to have their salaries augmented from the money of the suitors locked up in the Bank, I should decidedly disapprove of it. I hope and believe all things good of the Masters in Chancery. But the slightest shadow of semblance of temptation to misconduct should be removed from all persons connected with the administration of justice. Now, if the Masters in Chancery are to depend for any part of their emoluments on the detention of money from the pockets of the suitors, they evidently will have an interest in retarding, instead of accelerating, as their duty requires, the proceedings of the court. And, if it should be said that this interest is extremely remote, seeing that from the vicious constitution of our Chancery, the utmost diligence which the Masters could use would not diminish the fund so far, as to endanger their receipts, still they will have an interest in continuing the general dilatoriness of the tribunal, and they will, moreover, be liable to a suspicion of acting upon interested motives, which must lower them (and through them the administration of justice in the kingdom) in the estimation of the people. I need not say that much of what I have thus laid before you, is applicable *mutatis mutandis*, to the equity side of the Court of Exchequer.—X. X.

MERCHANT SEAMEN.

SIR,——As every subject respecting the improvement of the state of our Merchant seamen, should be regarded by our political governors; if you deem the following Observations, on the necessity of determining the Sea-worthiness of every Merchant-vessel, before she is permitted to proceed to sea, worthy a place in your publication; the attention of many thousands, amongst whom your work is circulated, may be drawn to a subject of the highest national importance.—As the progress of all improvement is often guided and determined by the variety of human intellect; it will necessarily follow, that many prejudices in the minds of men must be overcome, ere the general adoption of any plan; however self-evidently useful, can be effected: of these prejudices, there are none more powerful than those which are swayed by interest.—Since the Shipping Interests have, in a great degree, changed hands from the Merchant Owners, and now are divided through a variety of shares amongst men, whose occupations are connected with the means of the equipment of ships; each having his own individual profit to make out of the articles he deals in; and to share the produce of the seaman's life of toil and danger: their safety and comforts are liable to be neglected, in a manner highly prejudicial to the general interests of the country.——To evince this, I shall relate an instance which came to my own knowledge, in my attendance in one of our courts of justice; which I have been in the habit of frequenting, in order to learn our system of maritime jurisprudence, as exhibited in our civil courts; and it has greatly excited my surprise that causes in sea affairs should be determined by juries of landsmen, when the Court of Admiralty, where the brethren of the Trinity House may be summoned, is a more competent court in the opinion of many well versed in the jurisprudence of the country.—A cause was trying before Lord Ellenborough in Guildhall in 1805, which related to the sea-worthiness of a ship called the Flora, and which meeting with a gale of wind, in her passage from Honduras with a cargo of mahogany, was obliged to put into Charlestown; where she was found so rotten and defective, as to sell for only 150 dollars, and was sunk in a marsh for a dock. In the course of the trial it was proved that her timbers were so bad, that in the opinion of the ship-builders who were examined, it was surprising how she lived in a sea: and that this could not have arisen from any violence of the storm, but from having been sent to sea in a condition not seaworthy: and, thus the insurance, I believe, was lost. Had the gale continued, the ship in all probability would have foundered, and the crew never more been heard of. Who would have avenged the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, at the shrine of avaricious commercial speculations? I was sorry to observe in the course of the trial, that when both the plaintiff's and defendant's counsel admitted, that the master of the ship was in court; that although "they" refused to examine him, the judge or foreman of the jury had not insisted on his being called on in evidence, as I had reason to imagine many important facts would have been elucidated. Are seamen's lives like the public money of so little value? The suggestion immediately occurred to my mind of the necessity there is of having an establishment, at every principal seaport in the empire, of naval officers; to judge and determine on the sea-worthiness, stores, sails, rigging, and provisions of every ship and vessel leaving port; so that no ship's company might again suffer, as many have done, unheard of misery from such causes. How many ships have foundered at sea, and crews of hardy seamen been buried in the deep from similar causes! —The East India Company deem it necessary to have surveyors to judge of the state of their ships, ere they are sent to sea; nor are they suffered to perform more than a certain number of voyages; surely, every department of merchant shipping ought to be under similar regulations. If the list of ships wrecked, and totally lost, with their crews, during the last ten years were examined, and inquiry made into the causes, I apprehend very many instances would be adduced of avarice and depravity; which would shew how great the necessity is, of curbing them by the establishment I now recommend to the attention of the legislature. I shall recite another circumstance to enforce this argument.—In a convoy, which left the West Indies some time past, was a ship which for the sake of the owner's feelings I forbear to name, which had buried her commander and lost several of her crew by the fatal yellow fever; she was so badly found in provisions, that in the course of the passage home, the crew were reduced to very great distress: some of the humane and worthy commanders in the trade, who knew her wants, kindly proffered the chief mate who had become commander a supply of provisions. He refused the kind offer, *probably* under the idea of ingratiating himself with his owners, and securing the command next voyage, by saving "such an unneces-

sary" expense.—These are solitary instances of depravity, which for the honour of my country, I wish it was not in my power to produce more of: but, I am sorry my experience has brought to my knowledge many worse traits of that shocking principle, which has driven many of our best seamen to seek employment in the American service; in the hope of finding more liberal treatment. It is the want of attention to this subject, and not the seaman's inclination, which causes him to expatriate himself. The late representatives of the American Congress, on a subject which has involved our government in a serious discussion, and which may ultimately lead to a suspension of those amicable relations, which have existed between us, grow out of circumstances such as these. It is just, that we should reclaim our seamen from the service of foreign powers, wherever we may find them; but we should candidly examine, whether it has not been our own fault, which has driven them from us.——I remain, Sir, your humble servant,——PHILO NAUTÆ.—*July* 30, 1806.

CAVALRY OFFICERS.

MR. COBBETT,——I have the honor, or rather the misfortune to be a field officer of cavalry, at which rank, I have arrived after 20 years service, (3 of which have been on foreign stations,) and an expense of 4000*l.* in the purchase of my commissions; being the *whole of my patrimony* as a younger brother. I say, the *misfortune*, because, in all probability, had my father possessed the foresight to check my inclination for the army, and put me apprentice to a *tinker* or a *taylor*, I might with the help of 4000*l.* as a capital, have been now in the receipt of a pretty income, and have worn my *own* clothes, instead of starving, in *splendid misery*, at the expense of my taylor.—It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that on commencing my military career, half-a-guinea a week paid all the expenses of an abundant mess, and we drank our port wine for 2 shillings a bottle. There was then no income tax, no powder tax, nor half the taxes on consumption that there are now; and *farthings* had not ceased to be a part of the circulating medium. This was indeed the golden age, when guineas were more plentiful than paper, and a cavalry officer could purchase his appointments for 50 guineas.—Alas! tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur, Mr. Windham, Colonel Craufurd, General Fitzpatrick and *all of us*. Wine is now 5 shillings a bottle, and an officer's mess, exclusive of *that* luxury, attainable only by a few, (except on the birth days of the Royal family), now costs him 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* per week. There is now an impost of 10 per cent. on the price of our *day labour*, a powder tax, armorial bearings, *(the pride of a soldier)*, are taxed, and farthings are no longer known, but as we have the tradition of their having *once* been valuable. *Paper* now circulates where guineas did before, and a cavalry officer's appointments are not to be purchased for one hundred pieces of paper, of one pound each. As a set off, though, it must be allowed, that *horses* are to be had for a *mere nothing*.——Now, will future ages believe, Mr. Cobbett, that it was reserved for a period like *this*, and for a person of Mr. Windham's character, to add insult to injury, and mock the distress he pledged himself to relieve? To assert in the face of parliament, and of the same parliament, which had heard his faith pledged to the army, to consider their case, and give it relief; pledged generally, and without invidious exceptions; to assert that the officers of the cavalry were *not starving*, and therefore were unworthy of consideration.—Will it be believed, that when every clerk, in every office, had received an encrease of salary in consequence of the depreciation of money; that when an addition of *one-half* was made to the younger branches of the Royal family, and that for the *same* reason, though they paid *no taxes*; will it be believed that 10 per cent. was deducted from the pay of officers of the army, *from the price of their blood*, which has been the same, *since the time of Queen Anne*, and that at the same time they were told, "*ye "are not starving.*"—And are these the measures that are to give additional consideration, and respectability to the officer? Is it by contrasting the soldier in plenty, with the officer in penury, that *he* is to be raised in *their* estimation, or *they tempted* to perform actions by which *they* may become officers?—It may be perhaps said, that I am at liberty to *retire*: yes, to retire in the middle of a war, with 4000*l.*, depreciated *one-half*, and after 20 *years service*; to retire, from a profession which habit has rendered necessary to existence, independantly of that *amor patriæ* which glows in every Briton's breast; retire, not with the *otium cum dignitate*, but on a pittance sufficient to hold me out, as a *beacon* to warn unwary parents, how they expend a younger son's fortune, in purchasing commissions in the army.—No: had not Mr. Windham's cruel observation, provoked me to break silence; I should have submitted without a

murmur to my fate, as I hitherto have done: trusting that the day might arrive, when a British house of commons, combining liberality and justice, with a proper anxiety for the public purse, would make such an increase to the pay of all descriptions of officers in his Majesty's service, as would enable them to support that situation in society, which is the surest guarantee of their preserving their honor unsullied. in which I believe, *that* of the *nation*, will be found, not a little implicated. C'est n'est que le premier pas qui conte; and when once an officer believes himself despicable in the eyes of others, he is in great danger of becoming so to himself, and of *meriting that*, which he at first only imagined.——Yours, &c.—QUINTUS CURTIUS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CAPITULATION OF GAETA.——*Articles of Capitulation demanded by the Garrison of Gaeta, after a Siege of five months, and after two breaches were made.*

—Article 1. The service of the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall be respected and preserved. Answer. Granted.—Art. 2. All the garrison shall be permitted to embark with their arms, baggage, provisions, and the whole train of field-pieces in the place.—Ans. In consideration of the brave defence made by the garrison, they are permitted to embark with their arms and provisions; it being understood, that the troops which compose it shall not carry arms, nor serve against France and her allies, nor against those of his Majesty Joseph Napoleon, during one year and a day, either upon the continent, or in the islands. Eight pieces of field cannon are granted to the garrison; the rest of the field artillery, that of the fortress, and all the magazines, as well the ammunition as victuals, and other military effects, shall be faithfully delivered up to the French army, without dilapidation. At the same time, provisions for ten days shall be granted to the garrison.——Art. 3. All the wounded who remain in the place, as well as the sick, shall enjoy all the rights of hospitality, and shall be treated every one according to his rank. Every thing necessary shall be furnished by the French army. Ans. Granted.—Art. 4. All persons employed under the crown, such as the civil governors, the auditor of the army, and all the members of the little tribunal, shall be respected in their persons, their properties, and their families. No individual who may wish to leave the place, and to change his country, shall be prevented, neither he nor his family. Individuals, in this case, for their own security, will provide themselves with the necessary passports. Ans. Granted.—Art. 5. Twenty-four hours after the ratification of the present capitulation, the interval during which the Neapolitan troops will embark, the French troops may enter the place. During this interval, an officer of artillery of the fortress, conjointly with an officer of the French artillery, shall proceed to the surrender of the place, as far as relates to the artillery, the ammunition, and the other effects. Ans. On the 19th of July, at eight in the evening, all the troops composing the garrison of Gaeta must be embarked. Nevertheless, the same day, at precisely five in the morning, the principal gate of the city, and the postern of the bastion of Breccia in front of the fortification, shall be surrendered to the French troops. No French soldier shall be permitted to enter the town, or the citadel, except the officers and commissaries charged with receiving the artillery and magazines of the place.——At eight in the evening, the town, the whole front towards the sea coast, shall be occupied by the imperial and royal troops.—— Made, agreed upon, and subscribed, on the part of the garrison, by M. Louis Bardet, Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, and Gaetano Barone, Captain Commandant of the First Free Corps, provided with full powers by Colonel Francesco Hotz, Commandant, and, *ad interim*, governor of the place; and on the part of his Excellency the Marshal of the Empire, Massena, commanding the besieging army before Gaeta, by the General of Brigade Franceschi, Commandant of the Legion of Honour, &c. provided with full powers by the Marshal. (Signed) LOUIS BARDET.—GAETANO BARONE. (Approved) MASSENA.——*July* 16, 1806.

Declaration in Council of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to the Assembled Deputies of the Hanoverian Provinces.

GENTLEMEN,—— By your appointment, your Deputy, Count Von Hardenberg, has laid before me your representation of the 3d instant; and I have observed from it, with satisfaction, that you have acknowledged with gratitude my regulations in regard to the Hanoverian States. The additional sentiments therein contained are to me a security, that you will henceforth be devoted to me and to my house with the same loyalty which you discovered for your former Sovereigns. I therefore have made no delay in more closely learning from your delegates those concerns that were entrusted to them by you, and now communicate to you the following answer to the declaration

given in by them:—" 1. With regard to the secularization of the Abbey of Marienrode, and the representation relative thereto, that not only the constitution of the states thereby suffered an alteration, but that one of the securities thereby appropriated to the payment of the public revenue, and the discharge of the public debt, would be withdrawn, should the revenues of the said Abbey be inseparably united with the possession of the domains, contrary to the legal agreement between the impropriators and the states, whereby the revenues accruing from secularized spiritual foundations should be distinctly and separately applied to charitable purposes: it should be observed, that this Abbey legally belongs to Hildesheim, and thus my particular regulation respecting the same can in no way prejudice the said constitution. Besides, I have expressly established in the act of secularization, that in the mean time no change shall take place in respect to the contribution chargeable upon this Abbey, towards the national revenue and the redemption of the public debt. For the rest, as it is far from being my intention to alter the destination of the effects of the Abbey to charitable purposes, I feel satisfaction in assuring you, that the special administration of such parts as have been separated from the domains, and the application thereof to such beneficent and laudable purposes, shall be scrupulously continued, and the utmost care shall be taken both to augment these revenues by good management, and to ameliorate the mode of applying them, by the removal of existing abuses.—2. The ad-interim prohibition of home made salt is to be considered solely as an inevitable regulation of police for securing an equal supply of that article of primary necessity, and cannot have the apprehended pernicious consequences, since the supply of salt will not thereby be diminished, but will only receive another direction.—3. The continuance of the hitherto existing constitution of the country in general, and—4. The continuance of the provincial constitutions, in particular, pre-suppose that a new and more intimate acquaintance with them may be more necessary than the commission of organization has been able to procure, in so short a period, and under such difficult circumstances. But they will incessantly continue their labours in this respect, and I will not hereafter introduce any arbitrary changes, but such only as may be necessary to unite as intimately as possible the Hanoverian territory with my monarchy, of which it now constitutes a part, and to govern it by such laws as have been found, by long experience, the fundamental pillars of the power, the security and prosperity of the Prussian States; wherefrom the established constitution will be so little excluded, that it will much rather be built up and strengthened, as you may learn from the example of the neighbouring provinces, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt.—5. The petition, with regard to any new modifications, upon which the states, together with other privileged orders, who may, perhaps, have particular knowledge of the subject, should be consulted, before that introduction, on account of any injurious consequences apprehended therefrom, is wholly conformable to the spirit of the maxims of the Prussian government, and will be pursued by the commission of organization in all doubtful cases whatsoever, and without particular instructions.—Finally, the military regulations, as soon as it can be done with safety, shall be so modified, that the grievances of the country, connected with the present extraordinary measures, shall wholly cease.——From this answer you will infer, and I give you with pleasure the strongest assurances on this head, that my whole endeavours are exclusively directed to heal the wounds, which the hitherto unhappy wars have produced, and to render your country completely happy. Neither ambition, nor the lust of territory, but solely a conviction founded on experience, that the incorporation of the Hanoverian states with the Prussian monarchy, is obviously necessary for the welfare and security of both, have determined me to this union, and to the sacrifices connected with it. The past has taught you that England cannot protect you, and that you can be protected by Prussia alone. Prussia has now taken upon herself this protection, from which you have to expect greater security of persons and of property, as well as the abolition of all oppressive abuses which the distance of your rulers produced. But you must also closely unite with a government which has wrought you all these blessings, and support, with counsel and action, a constitution which has been decided upon for your benefit. On the other hand, I will always approve myself your gracious Sovereign. (Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.——*Charlottenburg, June 24*, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Note delivered by M. Bacher, Chargé d'Affaires of France, to the Diet. Dated Ratisbon, August 1, 1806.

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, at the general diet of the Ger-

manic Empire, has received orders from his Majesty to make the following declarations:—Their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Sovereign Princes of Ratisbon, of Baden, of Hesse Darmstadt, of Nassau, and the other principal Princes of the South and West of Germany, have taken the resolution to form among themselves a confederation, which places them in safety from all the uncertainties of the future, and they have ceased to be states of the empire.—The situation in which the treaty of Presburg placed directly the courts allied to France, and indirectly the princes whom they surround, and who are their neighbours, being incompatible with the condition of a state of the empire, it became necessary for those courts, and for the princes, to arrange on a new plan the system of their relations, and to cause to disappear an inconsistency which would have been a permanent source of agitation, of inquietude, and of danger.——On her side, France, so essentially interested in maintaining the peace of the South of Germany, and who could not doubt, that the moment when she should have caused her troops to repass the Rhine, discord, an inevitable consequence of relations contradictory or uncertain, ill defined and ill understood, would have exposed to new danger the repose of nations, and again, perhaps, lighted up a war upon the Continent: bound, besides, to promote the welfare of her allies, and to enable them to enjoy all the advantages which the treaty of Presburg secured to them, and which she had guaranteed, France could only see, in the confederation which they have formed, a natural consequence and necessary completion of that treaty.—For a long time, successive changes, which have gone on augmenting from age to age, had reduced the Germanic constitution to be only a shadow of itself. Time had changed all the relations of grandeur and of strength which originally existed among the members of the confederation, and between each of them, and the whole of which they made a part. The diet had ceased to have a will that belonged to itself. The sentences of the supreme tribunals could not be put in execution. Every thing attested an enfeeblement so great, that the federation tie no longer presented any guarantee, and among the powerful was only a cause of dissension and discord. The events of the three coalitions carried this enfeeblement to its utmost length. One electorate has been suppressed by the union of Hanover with Prussia; a northern power has incorporated with his other states one of the provinces of the empire; the treaty of Presburg has assigned to the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Baden, the plenitude of sovereignty; a prerogative which the other Electors would claim, and be entitled to claim, but which could accord neither with the spirit nor the letter of the constitution of the empire.—His Majesty the Emperor and King is therefore obliged to declare, that he acknowledges no longer the existence of the Germanic constitution; at the same time, nevertheless, recognizing the entire and absolute sovereignty of every one of the princes of whose states Germany at this day consists, and preserving with them the same relations as with the other independent powers of Europe.—His Majesty the Emperor and King has accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He has done so only from pacific views, and that his mediation, constantly interposed between the weak and the strong, may prevent every kind of dissention and disorder.——Having thus done enough for the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbours; having provided as much as lay in his power for the future tranquillity of Europe, and in particular for the tranquillity of Germany, which has been constantly the theatre of war; in putting a period to the contradiction which placed the nations and the princes under the apparent protection of a system really contrary to their political interests and their treaties, his Majesty the Emperor and King hopes that the nations of Europe will at length lend a deaf ear to the insinuations of those who wish to cherish eternal war upon the Continent; that the French armies which have passed the Rhine, shall have passed it for the last time; and that the people of Germany will see no longer, in the history of the past, any thing but the horrible picture of disorders of every kind, of devastations, and of massacres, which war always brings in its train.——His Majesty has declared, that he would never extend the boundaries of France beyond the Rhine: he has been faithful to his promise. At present his only desire is to be able to employ the means which Providence has entrusted to him, for the purpose of asserting the liberty of the seas, of restoring to commerce its liberty, and securing the repose and happiness of the world. (Signed) BACHER.—*Ratisbon, Aug.* 1, 1806.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"La puissance souveraine peut maltraiter un brave homme, mais non pas le déshonorer."—VOLTAIRE.
"An uncontroled Sovereign has the power to ill-treat a worthy man, but not to dishonour him."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.——This gentleman having in page 203 of this volume, published an Address to the public, upon the subject of the conduct of the Duke of York, subsequent to the transactions recorded in the present volume, page 1 to 20, a new stir has taken place in the regions of the Horse-Guards, and COLONEL GORDON, the Secretary of the Duke of York, has, with much pomposity, come forward with a denial of ever having *seen* Mr. M'ARTHUR in his whole life time!——The reader will perceive, by recurring to Mr. JOHNSTONE's address, in page 203, that this MR. M'ARTHUR was introduced as a person who had heard Colonel Gordon say something that corroborated the statement of LORD MOIRA, rélative to the Duke of York's promise to recommend to his Majesty to do Mr. JOHNSTONE justice; and, it would seem, from another address of Mr. JOHNSTONE to the public, which will be found in a subsequent page, that Mr. M'ARTHUR has mistaken *another* Colonel Gordon for the Duke of York's Colonel Gordon; for that Colonel, who has, ever since he has been called a colonel, been employed as a clerk, and who, as to the useful capacity of writing much and saying little, has, it is universally allowed, carried off the palm even from Mr. HUSKISSON himself.——This gentleman, who, for some reason or other, seems not to be over-anxious to be thought acquainted with Mr. M'ARTHUR, has, at the same time that he denies ever having *seen* that gentleman, denied that he ever made use of the words attributed to him by Mr. M'ARTHUR; and, indeed, it is of little consequence whether he ever did utter such words. For my part, I always was of opinion, that Mr, JOHNSTONE's introducing of Mr. M'ARTHUR and his dinner anecdote, which now appears to have been a blunder, was quite unnecessary. Mr. Johnstone appears to have thought it useful as a *corroboration* of the statement of LORD MOIRA; but, that statement, backed by circumstantial proof as it abundantly was, wanted no corroboration at all.——It would, however, appear, that LORD MOIRA himself wishes to retract some part of the statement attributed to him by Mr. JOHNSTONE; for, as the reader will perceive by his letter to me, which is inserted in a subsequent page of this sheet, his lordship complains of errors and mistakes in Mr. JOHNSTONE's address, which was published in the Register before-mentioned. His lordship does, indeed, call upon me to correct these errors; but, after reading his letter over and over again, I have not been able to determine *what* mistakes these are, which he wishes to have cleared up. I have, therefore, inserted his lordship's own description of them, subjoining thereunto my letter in answer to that of his lordship; and, these letters together with Mr. JOHNSTONE's remarks upon the letter of Colonel Gordon, will put the public in possession of the present state of the controversy, it being only necessary to add, that COLONEL JOHNSTONE's address reached me the day after I received the letter of LORD MOIRA, and that this letter of Lord Moira to me is the *communication*, to which Mr. JOHNSTONE evidently alludes at the out-set of his address, whence it would appear, that LORD MOIRA had intimated to him his intention of making such a communication to the public. ——In the next Number of the Register, the reader may, I trust, expect to see Mr. JOHNSTONE's answer to LORD MOIRA's public letter. Then we shall, probably, learn *what it is that his lordship means to deny*; but, at present, it is impossible for me, at least, to discover his meaning.——It will be observed, that the original ground of Mr. JOHNSTONE's complaint remains untouched; that *cause*, which LORD MOIRA espoused, remains just what it always was; the injury remains, and redress has not been afforded. The present ministers, and particularly Mr. FOX, LORD MOIRA, and General FITZPATRICK, stood pledged to Mr. JOHNSTONE to procure him redress, if possible, while they were *out* of power. Being in power, he had a right to demand it of them. He did demand it, and they, for the reasons which have appeared, and which will appear, gave up his cause.——The whole of the army expected to see justice done him

The whole nation expected it; and, therefore, when there no longer appeared any hopes of seeing this expectation realized, it became necessary for him to state to the world the circumstances attending the final rejection of his claims. In doing this he had to relate what was told him by LORD MOIRA respecting a promise of the Duke of York, and he had also to lay before the public a letter from the Duke of York's Secretary, *flatly contradicting the assertion of Lord Moira.* It was not only justifiable, but it was an act of duty, in Mr. JOHNSTONE, to communicate these things to the public. The manner, in which his cause had been defeated, was, indeed, a trifling subject compared to that of the cause itself; but, still it was of importance, because it shewed, in a very strong light, the sort of influence that had prevailed, and that still did prevail, in the state as well as in the army. It shewed, that these mighty ministers, who, only last year, were making motions for a *Council of War* to assist the Duke of York, were, the moment they came to taste the honey of office, as submissive to him as any of their predecessors had been. It shewed, that the fulsome, the disgusting, flattery of "the *illustrious* person at the head of the army," from the lips of General Fitzpatrick, and (oh, inexpressible mortification!) from those of *Mr Windham*, was no more than fairly indicative of the actions they were ready to perform at his nod. And, as to Mr. JOHNSTONE himself, it showed, that, the ministers as well as the public were convinced of the justice of his cause; but that, the same power that had prevailed before, still prevailed against him.——But, let not Lord Moira, or any other of the parties, suppose, that, by creating a controversy about trifling mistakes as to the inferior circumstances; let them not imagine, that, by means like these, they will put out of sight the fact, that they, after having, upon a full knowledge of all the circumstances, espoused the cause of Mr. JOHNSTONE, as being a just cause, and a public cause, gave up that cause, and that, too, without being able to assign, for so doing, any other reason than a desire to promote their own private interests and convenience. Let them not imagine, that they will put this fact out of sight. Let them not imagine, that Mr. JOHNSTONE will EVER desist from his pursuit, until he has obtained justice. Let them not imagine, let them not flatter themselves with the hope, that they have the power to dishonour him, or to reduce him to silence. Let them not rely, with too much confidence, upon the chapter of accidents; that chapter is as good for him as for them: he may live longer than they; and, I cannot for my part conceive a more laudable object of life, than that of obtaining justice for injuries and insults received. Were I in the place of Mr. JOHNSTONE, nothing upon earth should *now* induce me to accept, from the same hands, of what I had before asked for. I would make my arrangements for *a life* devoted to the securing of others from similar injuries. I would leave to such men as LORD MOIRA the gratification of hearing "*the Duke of York* call for the dance of "*Lady Flora Elizabeth Hastings*, a dance "composed in compliment to the *infant* "daughter of the Countess of Loudon and "Moira," to such men I would leave such gratifications, while I would steadily pursue the great object, which, whether I attained it or not, would be *something* wherewith to connect a man's name. The public papers have stated, that Mr. JOHNSTONE has offered himself for HONITON, in opposition to the sinecure-placeman, BRADSHAW (Lord COCHRANE being sure of his election); and, if this be the case, and he should be returned to parliament, he will have an opportunity of prosecuting his great object with many advantages. *Majorities* may be found against him; but, majorities cannot prevent *discussion*; and, let the Duke of York think what he will, *discussion* is all that is wanted. In short, the cause of MR. JOHNSTONE is the cause of every good man; every good man is on his side; in order to obtain a complete triumph, he has nothing to do but to persevere with discretion and with cheerfulness; every day will bring forth circumstances to aid him; he has time and truth for him, and with such friends, he may safely defy all the foes that can rise up against him.——When MR. JOHNSTONE has replied to the letter of LORD MOIRA, I shall, if I see no reason to alter my present opinion as to the propriety of doing it, republish my statement of MR. JOHNSTONE's case, as it will be found in page 1 to 20 of the present volume, adding thereunto the illustrations afforded in the case of Major Cameron and others, who have been *punished for having brought their superior officers to a court-martial without being able to establish the charges against them.* In fact, it being my decided opinion, that the source of the injuries received by Colonel Johnstone, is also the source of no small part of the evils under which the country is now labouring along like a half-foundered vessel, I am resolved to assist, with all the means in my power, in exposing the very

bottom of that source to the eyes of the public ——I cannot dismiss this article without begging the reader to reflect, that this is no *party*, no *personal* question; for, though it must be allowed, that MR. JOHNSTONE's cause derives some weight from his high reputation; though it must be allowed, that, if he had rendered himself famous for nothing but RUNNING AWAY and BRINGING INFAMY UPON THE ARMS OF ENGLAND, instead of having long and faithfully and gallantly served his country, in almost every part of the world; though it must be allowed, that, if he were at once half an ideot and yet master of the utmost degree of low cunning; if he were equally conspicuous for feminine weakness and for fiend-like cruelty, for pride and for meanness, for prodigality and for rapaciousness; if, while he had the command of soldiers, he had made a vile job of his trust, and had, through the means thereof, shamefully robbed the people, whom he was amply paid to defend; if, in short, he had (having previously bribed, or intimidated, every one, from whom he might apprehend exposure), given way to his numerous and conflicting vices, and had thereby rendered himself an object of universal, though *whispering*, execration; if MR. JOHNSTONE had been such a man, though it is preposterous to conceive that such an officer could ever have been placed and kept in command by our most gracious Sovereign; but merely for illustration's sake, suppose MR. JOHNSTONE had been such a man, in that case, it must be allowed, that his cause would have suffered from the hatred which would have been entertained, and justly entertained, against himself; but, prejudice, even in such a case, would have been unjustifiable; and, in the present case, there has been no room at all for the operation of personal prejudice.——In like manner, *party* considerations have, at no time, appeared in the discussion. The cause, as was before said, is *the cause of the public*, the cause of *the whole nation*; and, as such, I hope, and I confidently trust, that it will, though we wait a year or two for the event, be crowned with success.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."—Upon this subject, there have already appeared three articles in the Political Register; at page 973 of Vol. IX. and at pages 49 and 170 of the present Volume.——The reader will bear in mind, that I have all along stated, that I meant to express *no opinion* whatever upon the merits of the case, upon the great question, *whether the lady was guilty of the frailties said to have been laid to her charge*; and, that the only reason for my meddling with the subject at all, was to prevent, as far as I might be able, a public prejudice being imbibed against the persons, who were said to have given evidence in the case, and whom, merely for their having become witnesses, or, perhaps, *informers*, a writer in the Morning Post represented as deserving *to die*. It was for the purpose of combating this most shocking slave; it was for the purpose of preventing his vile notions, notions that would have disgraced a Russian, from gaining ground amongst the thoughtless crowds of the metropolis, and thence working their way into the country; this was the purpose for which my remarks upon the "Delicate Investigation" were made, and not for the purpose of giving, by way of insinuation, an opinion hostile to the party said to have been accused. But, I must confess, that, as I proceeded in my observations upon what was passing, an interest grew up in my mind, as to what was really the fact with regard to the conduct of the lady in question; and, I was not at all pleased to perceive, that, towards the time of closing the examination before the Secret Committee, the writer in the Morning Post became less and less confident in his assertions respecting the innocence of the lady, less and less severe towards her accusers, less and less inclined to plead her cause upon the ground of law and justice, and more and more inclined to rely upon the good-nature, the compassion, the forgiving disposition of JOHN BULL. Then, the *Report*, which was to have made its appearance on a certain day, was kept back. It was next to impossible to discover any very *satisfactory* reason for this. At last, however, the report is *made*; but, not *published*. The *reasons* for this we will inquire into presently, when we have heard the MORNING POST, for, probably, the last time. But, before the reader enters upon this article, I beseech him to recollect that this print has, over and over again, asserted, that the conduct of the lady had been such, that the very breath of calumny had never, until the hour of the wicked combination, been heard against her; that her conduct not only proved her virtue to be unsullied, but that it could not, without a crime on the part of the person suspecting, "be suspected *as* POSSIBLE *to be sullied*;" that she was "in *appearances* as well as in "reality, all virtue;" that she was "a "pattern to her sex;" that "the country "thought itself happy in the prospect of "having a queen as peerless in virtue as in "external accomplishments." Now, observe, I do not say, that any part of this was

false. I never said it was false. I only said that the writer in the MORNING POST did not prove it to be true; and, indeed, that he wrote just as I should have supposed he would have written, if he had known it not to be true. But, I never said, and I do not now say, that it is false. I still refrain from giving any opinion at all upon the merits of the case; though it must be evident, that, if we were permitted to judge from the altered tone of the MORNING POST, there would not need much hesitation in forming an opinion pretty decided.——" We are happy," says that print of the 16th instant, " We are " *happy*" (happy, observe) " to announce, " that the much wished-for report has been " at length delivered to the much injured " illustrious lady, whose situation has ex- " cited the interest, and engaged the sym- " pathy, of every generous and every ho- " nest bosom in the British Empire. We " understand the report bears date the 14th " July, though it was delivered to the illus- " trious lady only on the 11th of August. It " contains a general and absolute acquittal " from every thing *criminal*; but, it is said, " at the same time, to notice *some trifling* " *levities*. The whole of the proceedings " have been grounded upon the depositions " of a certain gentleman and his lady, and " of some menial servants *who formerly be-* " *longed to Carlton House*. The evidence, " or at least the material part of it, is sub- " joined to the report, and the whole is ex- " pected to be given to the public. The " nature and amount of the original " charges the public is already acquainted " with. The first was nothing less than " that the illustrious Lady had *given birth* " *to a spurious male child*. The second al- " leged a *general impropriety of conduct*. " The first has been proved absolutely and " totally false; and the second, upon the " strictest investigation of the most severe " moralists, dwindles into some *trifling and* " *harmless levities*, from which NO WO- " MAN IN THE LAND IS FREE. Who " that is even living in the house of her " husband, surrounded with her family, " cheered and engaged, and admonished by " objects, in which the attractions of love, " and the obligations of duty are combined " —who, even in that situation, *can pretend* " *to be wholly free from trifling levities*, which " wicked malice can exaggerate into matter " of scandal, but which ought to be passed " over in silence when that scandal has been " proved to be groundless? Without a " husband to support, without a child to " comfort, without a *mother* to advise, sur- " rounded with the worst of sycophants, " those who are prepared to seduce for the " purpose of betraying, what but *the most* " *unexampled purity* could have preserved " a conduct, the whole series of which, for " above ten years, on the strictest investi- " tion, affords our most rigid moralists no " ground whatsoever of censure, and no- " thing to notice in the way of admonition " but *a few trifling levities?* Which of the " commissioners, *which of their wives can* " *say so much for themselves*, though they, " and certainly their wives, are proofs of " the highest purity and honour? We " have said the charges exhibited against " the illustrious Princess were infamous ca- " lumnies. Our character of them has " been fully established by the report, the " substance of which we have stated. It " is not for us to designate, or to punish the " authors of a calumny so foul and so de- " testable. *The illustrious husband* of the " injured lady will, no doubt, *feel himself* " *bound to avenge the insulted purity*, which " he was so anxious to see established by " an investigation calculated to discover the " slightest stain. The commissioners, also, " must feel it their duty to punish the tra- " ducers of the unsullied fame of the second " lady in the land, otherwise their investi- " gation will have done nothing more than " to put innocence upon the ordeal, and " have suffered treason and calumny to es- " cape unpunished. The British people will " expect for the consort of the heir apparent " of the throne a redress which the wife of " the meanest tradesman would not fail to " attain by law, if equally innocent and " equally calumniated. Surely *that sove-* " *reign* who has ever proved himself an " equally benignant father to every branch " of his family, and to his people, *will not* " *suffer* the justice due to one of the most " interesting individuals of that family, and " to the whole of that people, to remain " unsatisfied in so material an instance " as the prosecution and the punishment " of the foul defamers of our illustrious " and interesting Princess! It is not " for us to point out particularly who " are the calumniators and defamers. They " must be known to the exalted per- " sons and personages we have alluded to in " the last sentences. They will probably " be known to every one on the publication " of the report. Rumour has already de- " signated some persons, a rumour origi- " nating in the highest, and therefore it is " to be presumed, in a matter of this na- " ture in particular, the best informed cir- " cles. In such cases, and such circum- " stances, rumour seldom errs. We, how-

"ever, say nothing more, than that such "enormous charges against so exalted a "personage being proved to be totally ground-"less, are infamous calumnies; that the au-"thors of such charges are infamous calum-"niators, and ought to be punished with "the most rigourous and exemplary justice. "We have further only to notice a circum-"stance in the manner of delivering the re-"port to the Princess, which, though but "a point of etiquette, will yet be regarded "as not unworthy of remark. The report, "we are informed, was conveyed to the "Princess by one of the Lord Chancellor's "*footmen*. It will probably turn out that "his lordship in person presented it to the "Prince at Brighton on the following day. "The public will, we are sure, think with "us, that this distinction was not respect-"ful, nay more, that it was not decent. "The Lord Chancellor himself ought in "propriety to have waited on the princess, "and in doing so, he certainly would not "have derogated from his dignity."—— Well, it might, or it might not, be proper to deliver to the Princess the report by the hands of a *footman*; but, at any rate, if we are to believe this writer, the Princess *has* the report. Now, therefore, we shall, I hope, hear no more complaints, on his part, that the report is *withheld from the public!* In his former articles upon the subject, he called for the report; he dared certain of the parties to publish it; he threw out insinuations that they withheld it, because it would discover who were *the instigators*, which instigators, and particularly the principal one, was pretty clearly designated. To withhold the report from the public was, in short, represented as a most detestable act of injustice towards the party accused; and it should never be forgotten, that, in order to impress this notion the more strongly upon the mind of the public, it was distinctly asserted in the MORNING POST, that the "lovely and "much-injured illustrious lady had written "to His Majesty, requesting, in the most "pressing terms, *that the report might be* "*published*." Now, then, if we are to believe the MORNING POST, she has the report in her own power; and, may we not be permitted to ask, *the reason* why she does not cause it to be published? For my part, I do not pretend to say, that she has the report. I know nothing about the matter. Every word that the MORNING POST has told us about the delivery of the report and about the other circumstances may, for aught I know, be false; but, if what this writer now tells us *be true*, and if what he told us before *was true*, does it not behove him to explain to us *why* the "much-injured "lady" does not cause to take place that publication, to procure which she before was so anxious?——I repeat, that I wish to be considered as commenting upon a mere paragraph in the MORNING POST; upon sentences that have proceeded from the imagination, perhaps, of the writer; and not upon a statement of real facts. All the facts that he has stated may be false: I hope that some of them are so; but *if they were true*, then should I say, that, if I were in his place, I would lose no time in following the example of Achitophel; for how, under such circumstances, a writer can ever again have the effrontery to present himself before the public, is, to me, utterly inconceivable.——We are told, that the depositions have, in part, proceeded from "menial "servants, *who formerly belonged to Carle-*"*ton House*," the insinuation conveyed in which observation no one will be at a loss to understand. But, *how* did these menial servants *formerly* belong to Carleton House? They belonged to it, doubtless, while it was the habitation of their mistress, with whom they left it, with whom it is more than probable, they entered it; and, I appeal to the reader, whether this be a description of witnesses, with regard to whom the above insinuation can be just. When, too, we ask a man what has been the result of an inquiry into his conduct, we do not like to hear him *begin* his answer by impeaching the character of the witnesses. These menial servants, if they formerly belonged to Carleton House, came, in all likelihood, from Germany with the Princess; or, at any rate, they must have come from Carleton House with their mistress and in consequence of her own free choice; for, as to her having, since that time, received servants from Carleton House, no one in the kingdom will believe it. The attempt, therefore, to invalidate the testimony of these servants, and that, too, by the means of an insinuation of their having acted under an influence from Carleton House, is extremely foolish as well as wicked; because, to every one who takes time to reflect, it must be evident, that a good cause scorns all such attempts.——But, the part of this statement which has given the greatest offence, is, that, wherein the writer characterizes the conduct of the Princess of Wales, and apologizes for it upon the ground of its being *common amongst other women*. It does, he tells us, appear, that the whole of the proof against the Princess amounts to nothing more than "some *trifling levities*;" and he adds, that, from such levities, "NO WO-

"MAN IN THE LAND IS FREE." It is a pity, that, as he was able to inform us of the exact time and the precise manner of the delivery of the report to the Princess, he was not also able to tell us, with equal exactness, *what sort* of levities those were, to which he was alluding. Did he mean to say, that the Secret Committee had called the levities "*trifling?*" Did he mean to say, that *they* had observed, that from such levities, "*no woman in the land was free?*" Or, was the former an epithet prefixed, and the latter an observation added, by himself? Why are we left in this state of uncertainty, when, from the same source that this writer drew his information (upon the supposition that it is authentic), he might have furnished us with the report itself? Why are the means of judging correctly kept from us? Or, at least, why are we to be daily told of "infamous calumnies," which some of our fellow subjects have been guilty of, while the *proof* of those calumnies is studiously kept from us? Why are we plied, before hand, with extenuating descriptions of the conduct of the party accused? Why not give us the evidence at once, and trust to us to form a judgement as to the acts, of which it contains an account? ——Without this evidence to assail us, however, we are called upon to make a remark or two upon the observation, that "*no woman* in the land is free from trifling "*levities*;" and, particularly, that the wives of the members of the Secret Committee, that is to say, Ladies SPENCER and GRENVILLE, *cannot say for themselves*, that they have never, since their marriage, been guilty of any thing more than "*a few trifling levities.*" This is very much like bronzening the thing out. The writer does not, indeed, tell us what acts he means to comprehend under the name of levities. We cannot, therefore, say, that he does not consider talking love to a parrot, kissing a lap dog, or hugging a monkey; we cannot say, that he does not consider these, and the like of them, as levities, in which case his appeal to the example of the women of this country in general would have no truth in it, though it would, nevertheless, contain nothing mischievous. But, if, by "levities," he means any thing approaching to acts of gross familiarity with *men*, and, if he means to say, that "*no woman in* "*the land is free*" *from such acts*; then are the husbands and the wives in this country, if they treat not the remark with indignation, well worthy of the contempt of the world. All along I am speaking of sentiments expressed and facts stated in the MORNING POST; I am far from inferring, that the Princess of Wales has been even charged with "levities;" but this I say, that, if the women of England were willing to have "levities" imputed to them, were willing to confess themselves to be *light* women, in order thereby to furnish a justification for any Princess or Queen in the world; if the women of England were willing thus to be blasted in reputation, and especially from such a motive, all that I can say, is, that they would make most excellent breeders of slaves. It is the common defence of offenders of every sort, that, they have done no more than has been done by others. "I am not *the first*, and I shall not be *the last*," is the self-consoling remark of every girl, whose "levities," in the long run, compel her to appear before a justice of the peace. Nay, I am far from saying or insinuating, that any such levities or any levities at all, have been imputed, or are imputable, to the Princess of Wales. I am merely commenting upon an article in the MORNING POST; but, is not this defence, or, perhaps, affected defence, set up by that print, calculated to do infinite mischief to her Royal Highness? Is it not, in fact, the last resort of all those, who are totally destitute of all grounds of defence for their conduct? Still, however, this writer goes further. He is not content with observing, that the frailty of which he is speaking is not confined to the particular person in question; but, he asserts, that *every other woman in the land* has, at some time, or other, fallen into similar frailty! This is, indeed, an "*infamous calumny*," and, if it be not severely punished by the effect of public indignation, there must be in the public of the metropolis even less virtue than I am disposed to attribute to them.——Apparently conscious, however, that mere recrimination would not go very far in the way of *justifying*, this writer reminds us of the *unprotected*, the *helpless*, situation of the Princess of Wales; and, he seems to infer, that that situation forms a tolerably good ground of excuse for "trifling levities." But, if the situation has been what he describes it, ought it not rather to have produced an effect precisely the contrary of that which he seems to think it calculated to produce? What *support*, what *comfort*, has the Princess of Wales wanted? *How long* is it since her child ceased to reside under the same roof with her? How few married women, comparatively speaking, have a mother to advise with? What need is there of *advice* with respect to *a matter like that of which we are speaking*? And, if advice

had been wanted, was there not her Majesty, the Queen, to give it? "No mother," it is true; but a mother-in-law and an aunt, in the same person, and a most loving father-in-law, having ample means to give effect to his affection. What ground of complaint is there, then, upon the score of being left destitute of friends and relations? In short, all these attempts to defend or excuse "trifling levities," are so many assaults upon the morals of the nation. The writer is a defender of vice; an open propagator of the principles of immorality; and, he would, in my opinion, be a much fitter object of the vengeance of the VICE SOCIETY, than are the poor creatures, who vend gingerbread and apples on a Sunday, only because necessity compels them to work all the rest of the week. But, here, I suppose, these conscientious gentlemen would find, for their forbearance, reasons similar to those that restrain them from meddling with the gaming-houses in St. James's Street, while they hunt out every nine-pin alley within the sound of Bow-bell. Nay, it is among the puritans (who are at bottom much more nearly related to the prostitutes than people in general imagine), that the doctrine of the MORNING POST is the most prevalent. It is truly diverting to observe how they conjure up excuses upon this occasion; how they evade every fact and every argument that you produce; how they fly from every point, to which you endeavour to hold them; and how, at last, when evasion will no longer serve them, they break out into abuse of you, for "taking "part," as they call it, "against a defence-"less woman." This is their constant course; but the way is to pin them down to this alternative: "either agree in repro-"bating the acts in question, or confess "yourselves ready, if you had the opportu-"nity, of committing similar acts."——The perseverance of the MORNING POST in calling for vengeance upon the heads of the "infamous calumniators," as the editor calls them, is no more than might have been expected. But to call upon *the Prince of Wales* to punish them; to call upon the Prince of Wales, and tell him that he is "*bound* to "avenge the injured purity" of a person whom the writer acknowledges to have fallen into "some *trifling levities*:" this is most outrageously insolent. It is treating his Royal Highness like the wittol in the play, who, having first put his horns in his pocket, is bullied into a battle against the accuser of his wife. For my part, I believe the whole to be a fiction of the writer's in the MORNING POST. I do not believe that any report has been made; I believe that he is the real calumniator, in attributing "*levi-*"*ties*" to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; I believe that his chief object has been to vilify the Prince, in which I am sorry to say, that but too many of those, who ought to know better, are ready to join him. For this reason, and for many others; but, particularly for this reason, it behoves his Royal Highness, as he loves his kingdom and his character, to cause the much talked of report to be *published*, whenever it shall be made. He may be assured, that he has already lost much from *silence*. His calumniators spare not *words*, though they may not make much use of the *press*. Scandal does most execution when it is least noisy; and, by silent, secret, dastardly scandal no man's reputation was ever so perseveringly assailed as that of his Royal Highness. The non-appearance of the report relative to the late investigation is, by nine-tenths of the people, attributed to him, though it is evident, that the publication can be made by authority without his consent. In short, public opinion has been exactly the contrary of what one ought to have expected; nor is there any possibility of setting that opinion right, except by steadily pursuing a system of *publicity*.

THE NEGOCIATION is probably at an end by this time, to the great mortification of the gamblers in the funds, it being a matter of perfect indifference to every body else.—— The "*liberty of the seas*," will, I take it, be the great obstacle. Prevent us from searching neutral ships, and then France can carry on her trade in time of war as safely as in time of peace, while all other maritime nations will be rising upon the ruins of the English marine. This *cannot* be submitted to. To submit, at once, as an appendage to the Empire of France, would be nearly the same thing. Yet, upon no other terms shall we, in my opinion, ever have peace, *unless we immediately adopt, and resolutely adhere to, a new system of political economy*. Let this be resolved on; let another ten per centum be deducted from the dividends next year; let a similar deduction be added the year after, and we may safely defy the French Emperor and all his confederations.

N. B. A letter from Mr. Mc'ARTHUR would have been inserted, had it not come to hand at the same moment that I saw copies of it in the daily papers. It shall, nevertheless, appear next week.

HONORABLE A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.

TO THE PUBLIC.—Since the publication of my address, in Mr. Cobbett's Political Register of the 9th instant (page 203), there

have arisen certain circumstances, which would have produced, on my part, another address to the Public, which address, would have been accompanied with the whole of the correspondence between Lord Moira and others on the one part, and myself on the other part, relating to the Duke of York's conduct with regard to the applications made to him for the restoring of me to that rank in the army, which is my unquestionable due; but, being at present, in doubt as to the purport of a communication, which I understand is, by Lord Moira, shortly to be made to the Public upon the subject of a supposed error in my address, above referred to, I think it proper to wait until that communication shall have been made, in order that I may know distinctly upon what it is that it will be necessary for me to observe.—In the mean time, however, it appears necessary for me to give an explanation of the error, which has been made the subject of a letter from Lieut. Col. Gordon, Secretary to the Duke of York, and which letter was published in the Morning Post of the 14th instant, in the following words:—"Sir;—"An address to the Public, signed A. Cochrane Johnstone, having appeared in a "weekly paper of last Saturday, containing "the following words, viz." " "*Mr.* " "*M'Arthur, late Judge Advocate-Gene-*" "*ral to the Navy, the day after I had* " "*seen Lord Moira, informed me (agree-*" "*ably to his letter, which I have now in* " "*my possession), that he had, the day* " "*before, been in company, at dinner,* " "*with Lord Hutchinson, Colonel Gordon* " "*(the Commander in Chief's Secretary),* " "*and others; that a conversation had* " "*taken place with regard to my case, and* " "*that Colonel Gordon stated that it was* " "*then before His Majesty; and he did* " "*not doubt but that my name would* " "*appear in the Gazette in a few days* " "*as Major-General—*" "I think it "right to state, that Lord Hutchinson, "Mr. M'Arthur, and myself, were never "together in the course of our lives; and "that I have not, in the most remote man-"ner, the pleasure of Mr. M'Arthur's "acquaintance, never to my recollection "having seen him; and that I never did, "at any time or place, make use of any "such words as those attributed to me, or "of any words that could be so interpreted. "—I am, Sir, your humble servant, J. W. "Gordon."—The first thing to be noticed here is, that the fact in question is by no means very material; for as the Public will perceive by [illegible] to my address before-mentioned in the Political Register, (page 203), the great point in my statement was, that the Duke of York had assured Lord Moira, that he would recommend to His Majesty to confer upon me the rank of Major General. This was the material fact, because, as will be seen from Colonel Gordon's letter, in the Political Register, (page 205), the Duke of York had not, even long after I had received the above information from Lord Moira, entertained any intention to give such a recommendation to His Majesty. —The information given to me by Lord Moira was amply explicit and circumstantial; and, though forming a striking contrast to the information given to me by Colonel Gordon, was, as I believed, and as I still do believe, strictly true. It was, therefore, for the purpose of corroborating the statement of Lord Moira, that I introduced into my address, before referred to, what had been said by Colonel Gordon, in the presence of Mr. M'Arthur; and not for the purpose of bringing forward any new circumstance, none at all being necessary to elucidate the merits of the case, or to characterise the conduct of a principal party concerned. Nevertheless, there having been an error as to the mere identity of Col. Gordon, it is proper here to state, that it was another Colonel Gordon of the 67th Regiment, with whom Mr. M'Arthur had dined, as is stated in my former address, and whom he took for Colonel Gordon, Secretary to the Duke of York. This I learnt from an explanatory letter, written to me by Mr. M'Arthur, on the 14th instant, and not received, (owing to my being at a great distance from town) until the 18th instant. From this letter, it would appear, that there was some misconception on my part with respect to the parties at dinner; it would appear, that there were in question, two dinners in place of one; and, that Mr. M'Arthur, though he actually had the honour of meeting Lord Hutchinson at dinner, somewhere or other, (agreeably to the information which he has taken care now to repeat), had not the honour to meet his lordship in company with Colonel Gordon.—But, though these mistakes arising, apparently, from a harmless desire in Mr. M'Arthur to be thought familiar with great men, are very unimportant in themselves, it is not unimportant to observe, what has been the conduct of the real Colonel Gordon upon this occasion, and what inference naturally flows from that conduct. —It being now evident, that this Colonel Gordon was not the person with whom Mr. M'Arthur conversed, it is also evident, that the assertion attributed to him ceases to form a corroboration made by Lord Moira to me;

but the statement of Lord Moira still remains, and the conclusion to be drawn from it, as contrasted with the statement contained in the letter of Colonel Gordon of the 3d of May, still hangs suspended over the heads of the parties.—With respect to which of the parties is affected by that conclusion, the Public may, perhaps, be somewhat less decided in their opinion than they were before; but, if Colonel Gordon has, by his letter, removed a slight corroboration of the statement of Lord Moira, he has, by his silence, afforded a strong corroboration of the truth of that statement. For, when a man undertakes to remove the errors, which he finds in a statement respecting matters wherein he himself has been an actor, he undertakes to remove not a part, but the whole, of such errors. What are we, then, to conclude from the silence of Colonel Gordon with respect to the meetings, which, agreeably to the statement of Lord Moira, ook place both with Colonel Gordon and he Duke of York, relative to the means t be used in order to obtain a restoration of my rank? In the part of my address, to wich Colonel Gordon has thought it necessar to publish an answer, he is spoken of merely as having said, at a dinner party, tha my case was before His Majesty, and thahe did not doubt that my name would shory appear in the Gazette; but, in another art of the same address, he is represente as having been one of those who assiste at consultations as to the mode in whichhe matter should be submitted to His Mesty with the fairest probability of success Now, if this part of Lord Moira's statemc to me be correct, it almost necessarily fows that the other material parts are corr also, it being altogether improbable th such consultations would have been hel had not the Duke of York expressed h readiness to recommend to His Majesty measure in contemplation; and, if th art of Lord Moira's statement had been i rrect, will it be believed, that Colonel Gon, having undertaken to correct errors my address, would have suffered this t important error to pass entirely unced? In short, there are few persons, o will not perceive of how much greate nsequence it was to remove the effect of d Moira's statement, than it was to re e the statement of Mr. M'Arthur; of course, it would be concluded, th Colonel Gordon left the statement of Moira untouched, only because he k it to be true.—Having explained the c of the mistake, corrected with so much solemnity by Colonel Gordon, the subject must be permitted to rest here, until the intended communication of Lord Moira, above noticed, shall have been made to the Public.

A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.

Harley Street, 67,
August 18, 1806.

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR;—I beg you to add this line or two, by way of Postscript, to the address which I sent you for publication on the 18th instant. —Since that address was written, I have seen in the Morning Chronicle, a letter from MR. M'ARTHUR, upon which I shall content myself with the following remark with respect to the two letters, which he informs the Public he wrote to me on the 11th and 13th instant, and which he complains of my not having noticed: The mistake made by MR. M'ARTHUR, will be found to be rectified in my address of the 18th and, as to an *answer* to the two letters, such was the style and tone of them, that it was impossible to answer them except in one mode, and from adopting that mode I was prevented only by circumstances of locality.

A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE

21*st August*, 1806.

St. James's Place,
Sir, August 14th, 1806.

In your paper of Saturday last there is an Address to the Public, in which the Honorable A. Cochrane Johnstone endeavours to arraign the Duke of York of inconsistency by contrasting a letter from the Military Secretary of his Royal Highness with a statement which he (Mr. Johnstone) supposes himself to have received from me. Mr. Johnstone will probably, in consequence of my having by letter indicated to him his misconception, request you to explain an error assuredly unintentional on his part. But in case he should omit it, your justice will lead you upon my testimony to clear up the mistake in such manner as you may think best. Conferences with other persons the substance of which I mentioned to Mr. Johnstone, have been misconstrued by him into repeated interviews with the Duke of York upon the subject in question: and on this ground the commander in chief is most erroneously taxed with first actively participating in measures suggested for the advantage of Mr. Johnstone and then subsequently disclaiming any knowledge of them. The imputation is completely unfounded, and could only have arisen

from the misapprehension to which I have alluded.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) MOIRA.

Mr. Cobbett.

Botley, Southampton,
18th August, 1809.

My lord,

I have but this day received the letter, which your lordship did me the honor to address to me on the 14th instant, and which, by being left at Mr. Budd's in Pall Mall, has been thus retarded on its way.—— While I feel conscious, that your lordship does not over-rate my love of justice, in supposing that I shall be ready to clear up any mistake, that Mr. Johnstone may, through the pages of the Register, have unintentionally led the public to adopt; while I am, in no common degree anxious to give effect to your lordship's wishes by publishing an explanation of what you consider as an error, I must confess, that I do not, from your lordship's letter, clearly comprehend the extent of those wishes.—— The main fact, in Mr. Johnstone's statement, is, "that, shortly after the change "of ministry, in February last, your lord"ship told him, that the Duke of York "had assured you, that he would undoubt"edly recommend to his majesty to confer "upon Mr. Johnstone the rank of Major "General." That fact, undenied, the statement remains unimpared, as to the conclusion therefrom to be drawn; and, I am totally unable to determine, whether, in your lordship's letter, that fact be intended to be denied, or to be admitted. It appears to me, therefore, that the mode, in which I shall be most likely to fulfil the desires of your lordship, will be to publish, in my next Number, your lordship's letter that I now have before me, which mode, unless I am apprized of your lordship's pleasure to the contrary, I shall conclude you approve of my adopting.——Begging leave to conclude with an expression of my deep regret, that a cause, which your lordship espoused from a high sense of its intrinsic justice, as well as of its importance to the army and to the preservation of public liberty, should have dwindled into a controversy as to *the manner of its being defeated.*

I remain, my lord,
your lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant.
WM. COBBETT.

To the Earl of Moira.

HANOVER.

Sir;—When we duly reflect on the number and weight of the calamities we have experienced since the year 1792, in consequence of war, we cannot be reconciled to its continuance on any other ground than that of absolute necessity. That, considering the enemy with whom we are now contending, such necessity may be felt, is no very improbable supposition. But can such a necessity arise, because the king of *England* merely happens to be elector of *Hanover?* I presume not. Whatever allegiance we may owe to our *English* sovereign, it does not in the smallest degree connect us in duty or in interest with *Hanover*. When the king of *England* engaged in the late, and again in the present war, the elector of *Hanover* took no part in the quarrel. We were left to support the contest by our own strength alone. *Hanover* was not even our ally. While so many other *German* states embarked with us in the war, *Hanover*, doubtless, from motives of self interest and prudence, shunned the alliance, and preserved a neutrality. It would, therefore, be in the highest degree unjust, that, because the common violator of continental territory seized upon *Hanover*, and bartered it away, the *English* nation should be called upon to make the elector reparation, or continue at war for the recovery of his *Hanoverian* dominions.—When we see *English* statesmen meddling with *Hanoverian* politics, and extending the sphere of war for *Hanovian* interests, we are taught to look back to the origin of that claim which placed on the throne of *England* an elector of *Hanover*. It is found in the statute of the 12th and 13th of William III. c. 2, where it is enacted "That in case the crown and im"perial dignity of this realm shall hereafter "come to any person, not being native of "this kingdom of *England*, this nation be "not obliged to engage in any war for the "defence of any dominions or territories "which *do not belong to the crown of Eng*"*land*, without the consent of parliament." —Here, then, the *rule* is, that hereditary foreign dominion of her king shall involve *England* in a war. Although a possible *exception* is admitted—that of the parliament's consent—it is evident that parliament could not be justified in yielding to the *exception*, unless a very strong case indeed, and a case wholly resting on *English* interests, could be made out. Has any such case been even debated in parliament? certainly not. What, then, is that has befallen parliament, which induces a minister of this country to enter with foreign courts into *Hanoverian* politics, to engage in *Hanoverian* wars, without having the formal sanction of parliament after debate

and deliberation, for such a proceeding? This, Sir, is a deep question, on which it becomes the people of *England* duly to reflect. *Blackstone*, according to my recollection, observes, that the caution against embarking in "war for the defence of any do-"minions or territories which *do not belong* "*to the crown of England*," introduced in so marked a manner into the statute by which the crown was settled on the *Hanoverian* family, proceeded from the painful remembrance of the vast treasures that were exhausted, and the rivers of blood that were shed by our ancestors in their absurd wars in *Normandy* and *France*, on account of the foreign dominions of their kings. He might, Sir, have farther remarked, that the caution he noticed was one of those *half measures* of which the Gulielmine æra of our history furnished but too many examples, and of which posterity has tasted the bitter fruits. —The settlement of the crown was an act of the nation, made through its organ, the parliament, and was accompanied with sundry conditions and limitations; and it is greatly to be lamented, that, in order to have rendered the caution now under our consideration effectual, the parliament had not enacted, that no acceptance of the crown of England should be valid, unless accompanied with a complete abdication of all foreign dominion, as well as with an acknowledged incapability of ever holding with that crown any foreign dominion whatever; for, besides guarding against future wars, the statute declared that it was "requisite "and necessary that some future provision "be made for securing our religion, *laws*, "and *liberties*;" and it would have been no more than consistent and suiting the dignity of the nation to have said to a *German* prince, at the time of tendering him a throne, so jealous are we of our liberties, and of always living under laws made with our own concurrence, that, unless you consent to part with dominions where political liberty is unknown, and the people are in a condition, as we esteem it, of political servitude, we cannot think you qualified to rule over us, the people of England. How could we contemplate him, as the guardian of our freedom, whom we should behold elsewhere swaying an arbitrary sceptre?—By referring, Sir, to the statute I have quoted, you will see the several conditions and limitations under which the crown of this realm is settled upon his Majesty's family. As "the laws of *England*," says the act, "are the birth-right of the people thereof, "and all the kings and queens who shall "ascend the throne of this realm, ought to "administer the government of the same "according to the said laws," so it is enacted, that the sovereign shall conform thereto; that he shall take the coronation oath; that if he become a papist, or marry a papist, he "shall be subject to such incapaci-"ties" as the law has created; or, in other words, he shall be expelled from the throne; that he shall join in communion with the church of England; that he shall not go out of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* without consent of parliament. It was also enacted, that all resolutions taken in the privy-council should *be signed by such of the members as should advise and consent to the same*; that no foreigner (although naturalized or made a denizen) should sit in the privy-council, or be capable of a seat in either house of parliament, or of any office of trust, civil or military*; or of accepting any grants from the crown of lands or hereditaments. It was also enacted, "*That no per-*"*son who has an office or place of profit* "*under the king, or receives a pension from* "*the crown, shall be capable of serving as* "*a member of the House of Commons*;" that judges shall only be removable by address of both houses of parliament; and that no pardon by the crown shall be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons.—And as, in respect to the king being of the Popish religion, or marrying a papist, the statute expressly says, that, "in all and "every such case and cases the people of "these realms shall be and are thereby ab-"solved from their allegiance," we have here (and in a case not of the highest political moment) a solemn parliamentary recognition of that fundamental principle of civil government, the principle of resistance, if ever the sovereign should break his contract with his people.—I notice this only to shew, how much it is the duty of those who understand the law and constitution of their country, to exercise, as becomes free and virtuous men, the liberty of the press for preventing such extremities.—The above-mentioned provisions, for attaching responsibility to privy counsellors, and for excluding placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons, were repealed in the 4th year of Queen Anne. Whether those repeals have proved beneficial towards "se-"curing our religion, laws, and liberties," or the contrary, let the present situation of our country declare! On the most important

* What would the *English* parliament have thought, in the year 1700, of receiving into the *English* service a *German Legion* of thirteen thousand men?

of those two points, your own opinion, Mr. Cobbett, was made known to us, when you so properly and so honestly declared to the electors of Honiton, that you would not accept of any office or situation of emolument under the government. If we want fewer taxes and better accounts, I certainly am, with all due deference to Lord Henry Petty's experience and wisdom, decidedly of opinion, that instead of taking into pay a body of commissioners and auditors, we ought to put out of pay all *members* of the House of Commons, who are placemen and pensioners, and who, contrary to the clearest principles of the constitution, are, while the nominal servants of the people, the real servants of a power in a different, and too often an opposite interest. That his lordship, or any other minister or officer of the crown, should have a free entry into the House of Commons on public business, and the freedom of speech there, it cannot be necessary that he should occupy the seat of a *member*, or be permitted to *vote*. To *inform* the house, is one thing, to *vote* in that house, is another, and a very different thing. We receive from our architects, plans and estimates, and we listen to their explanations and arguments; but the care of our estates we trust to our stewards; and we should not be accounted a very wise people, if to our architects it were left, to assign the wages of our stewards; much less if our architects and tradesmen were allowed to choose those stewards, and to impose them upon us for seven years without our having a power of removal.—ALURED.

ON THE MODERN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE.

—— Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluvit.

SIR;

How far the effects, arising from the high estimation in which Agriculture now stands in Britain, will be ultimately beneficial, appears to be a question of great importance and extremely problematical. The agricultural mania which has for some time past prevailed among our nobility and gentry, has undoubtedly, produced great improvements in the several modes of various cultivation; and experiments tending to the advancement of agriculture, have been made at the expense of wealthy individuals, to which the contracted means of the mere husbandman or farmer would never have been adequate. It has, certainly, presented to the mind of the cultivator, a more enlightened view of his art. He has been taught to consider agriculture not merely as an ART, but, to reflect and reason upon the principles of the SCIENCE, which are so intimately connected with, and upon which depend successful practical result; by which means, much unnecessary labour and expense, are saved to the spirited farmer.—— But, on the other hand, enormous evils have arisen from the system, which this fashionable mania has engendered and given birth to. Mr. Chalmers, in his valuable and concise "*Estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain, at various periods*," has (page 317 et seq. edit. 1804) taken notice of "these calamitous effects;" and not only has he presented them to our view, in the magnitude of their mischief, but, he has also inquired into, and traced, the progress of this depopulating and destructive system of agriculture. Since the period of the accession of our present King, this system has been uniformly patronised, its views promoted, and its partizans encouraged by our leading characters. We have, already, a narrow minded, selfish, aristocratic yeomanry; a mercenary spirit has, for the most part, induced our nobility to descend from their station, to mingle in pursuits unworthy of them. Their province is to watch over the interests, and to direct the energies of the people, who support them in the maintenance of their splendour and superiority; not to usurp the places of the husbandman, the mechanic, or the manufacturer, to which they are, and ever will be, wholly incompetent. With some exceptions, they, perhaps, have thus debased themselves from a supposition that they can hence effectually and safely raise the value, and consequently the rent of their land. It is not difficult to detect the fallacy of this kind of argument, and to prove that, their misguided and uncontroled zeal is mischievous in the extreme; observation and research proclaim it; facts indisputable, confirm it. Nay, it is *particularly* injurious to themselves, for in raising the rent of the land to the present extravagantly high price, they have conduced to a more than equal rise in the price of articles of home produce, and of general consumption; and thus, the numeral increase in their rent-rolls, is not even nominal gain, but absolute loss; without adverting to the more material injuries which our export trade sustains in consequence of the increased price of labour and of raw materials. The evil still continues and increases, because they persevere in the endeavour to retrieve themselves by the same means to which their present ignominious and reduced state is to be attributed. In the legislative branch of our government, their opinions are no longer considered or regarded in

the light they formerly were; disinterestedness is not now the characteristic of their arguments; and, however unwilling their submission may be, they *must* retire and give preeminence to the upstart, but more powerful trader. It obviously arises from the nature of the circumstances; when the House of Commons was composed of the two orders of our democracy, the country gentleman and the merchant, greater deference was necessarily paid by the executive government, to the advice of the former, than to the latter; but, in the present day, where are we to search for the INDEPENDENT? Not in the Commons House of Parliament; there, those who formerly prized this distinction above all other earthly honours, have consented, too readily, to become mere secondary traders; the effect of the system which we deplore. And, when the accelerated velocity of this momentous evil shall have attained to a certain degree, not only will its foremost partisans be annihilated by its power, but a general change and revolution will involve alike in one abyss of ruin, the nation and the individual.—The events which have happened in a neighbouring country fully justify this opinion, and, though the period of *our* dissolution may be protracted to a much greater length than that of France was, yet if we do not speedily make vigorous efforts to counteract this increasing evil, we may be assured the crisis will be equally disastrous and horrible.—If we look for the origin of this system, we must refer to the writings of such of the Encyclopœdists who discussed Agrarian matters. Their enlightened and liberal speculations, led to innovations in this branch of political economics which, if they had been directed and regulated by the principles on which they were instituted, would most probably have proved permanently useful, and eminently conducive to national prosperity. It is well known, that the government which first noticed these productions, was that to which the writers belonged. These men had about the middle of the last century, acquired considerable influence in the court of France, through the medium of one of their principals. Louis XV. had attached himself to Dr. Quesnay, physician to the Marchioness of Pompadour. His Majesty was much pleased with the simplicity of detail with which the philosopher explained the principles of political economy, and was incited to introduce and effect a change in the prevailing notions and habits of his subjects on this head. The Marquis de Mirabeau, in publishing his philosophical work, entitled "*L'Ami des Hommes*," also contributed to this event. Although abounding in abstruse terms and abstract propositions, yet this work contains much valuable matter; and it promoted ample discussion on a subject which had already attracted the public attention. An infinite number of commentators and copyists sprung up, and thus a knowledge of these new opinions became generally diffused. The clearing of lands, the labours of the field, and rural economy were at that time the only topics of conversation. The immediate result was the formation of various societies of agriculture; that of Brittany was established on the 20th of March, 1757, and, shortly after, that of Paris; both with the approbation and under the declared patronage of the King. Louis, ever variable and sanguine, entered warmly into the new pursuit. The court, always the apes of a monarch's actions, promoted with the utmost zeal the wishes of Majesty. Noblemen, to some of whom, imperious etiquette had hitherto presented an obstacle to their avaricious and mercenary views, no longer thought it derogatory to their honour to attend to the labours of the field. The farmer was apparently more than ordinarily encouraged, in order that a knowledge of the useful practices of his art might be imparted to these wealthy, but ignorant intruders; who, having thus contracted a very partial acquaintance of these subjects, no sooner supposed themselves capable and efficient cultivators, than the progress of those deplorable evils which Mr. Chalmers * so forcibly de-

* "A revolution which has gradually "taken place during the last fifty or sixty "years, has lessened the number of sup- "pliers, and added largely to the body of "consumers. The cottagers have been "driven into villages; the villagers have "been forced into towns; and the towns- "men have been enticed into cities. "These evils are to be ascribed to our mo- "dern system of agriculture, which has not "effected even the salutary consequences "for which it is celebrated. By consolida- "ting farms to an enormous extent; by "forcing cottagers from their hamlets; by "*pretending* to make much profit with lit- "tle labour; it has depopulated and is de- "populating the shires wherein it prevails. "While peers sink into peasants, and pea- "sants rise into peers, the great body of the "people is pining in want.—Where is that "illustrious regiment which overthrew the "invincible phalanx, to find recruits, if

scribes, commenced; in addition to whose remarks, I would notice as not the least prominent of these evils, that the notions and ideas of the *yeomanry* and farmers, in their intercourse with the great, were inflated and perverted. Hitherto, they had been esteemed not only for their laborious and persevering industry, but for the uniform simplicity of manners, and habits of life, which prevailed among them; in a word, respectability and weight were attached to them; but, in moving or in the attempt to move into a higher sphere, they lost their consequence, and were no longer respectable or useful: it is needless to advert to the share which the *ousted* peasantry had in producing the revolution, and in the horrible crimes connected with it.—Although we can perceive occasionally the emanations of enlightened policy amid this perversion of principles, yet we must not attribute their establishment as laws, either to liberal and patriotic views, or to the superior wisdom and discrimination of the proposers and procurers of those laws. A few individuals possessed of powerful influence, in consequence of the new system, had been initiated into the details of mercantile profits, thought they should be enabled to extend their wealth and power, by that additional means which these edicts would furnish; and thus to interested avarice, and contracted partial views, are we to ascribe the edict published in France on the 14th of June, 1764, announcing and declaring an exemption from taxes and other impositions, all marshy lands which should be effectually drained, so as to be fit for the purpose of agriculture; and also, that published in the following month. This latter was certainly indicative of the existence of a more liberal policy than had hitherto prevailed, and promised to be eminently conducive to public welfare and individual convenience. The purport of it was to declare the corn trade entirely free between the several provinces of the empire, until that time most absurdly and mischievously restrained by the imposition of duties amounting almost to a prohibition: corn was thereby allowed to be imported in any quantity, on the payment of a very trifling duty; permits for this purpose which had previously been a source of considerable profit, exacted from the applicants by the agents and creatures of a minister or a mistress, were done away with. It also prohibited the export of corn from the ports and places on the frontiers, whenever its value should have risen in three consecutive markets to a certain alarming price; these maxima were subsequently named for the several provinces, varying according to the relative fertility, facilities of conveyance, and other contingent circumstances incident to the respective province.—But, strange as it may appear, the very persons who arrogated to themselves the honourable credit derived from those edicts, and the applause so enthusiastically rendered by that credulous and oppressed people, were at the very same time, counteracting them by monopolies, for the worst and most despicable purposes. However monopolies may be considered generally, as in part justified by the hazard of speculation, yet such a plea will not avail these corn monopolists of France, at the head of whom stood Louis XV. himself. As the certainty of gain depended upon themselves only, it cannot be regarded in any other light than an absolute public robbery; the result of this and many other such occurrences, is too well known, to require the detail of repetition here.——It is a matter of great and national concern, that the events which have of late years, occurred in England, should afford so striking a parallel with some of those of France. And, we cannot but deplore the existence of an innate attachment to agrarian pursuits, in our beloved and gracious Monarch. He has set an example, undoubtedly laudable, with the best and most disinterested views; but, unfortunately, it has tended to produce a spirit of traffic among those whose minds should have been directed solely to government, legislative and other state affairs. At present, this aberration of talent and public duty, is attempted to be justified by his Majesty's high and dignified example; but, let it be observed, to all those who resort to it for a pretence and an excuse for their avowed conduct and concealed views, that laboured and spurious imitation is not to be compared to the genuine love of agriculture, and patriotic motives, which incite the Monarch, whose conduct in public and private life affords a rare example of affectionate solicitude for the welfare of the people, and virtuous disinterestedness for the advancement of science. How very few we shall find among this herd of interested soi-disant imi-

" sheep be driven into our northern glens, " as a more valuable animal than the human " race? Where shall our armies obtain the " hardiest levies, if the villagers be forced " into cities? Money cannot buy men; " men are of more value than money," &c. &c. Vide Mr. Chalmer's Estimate, &c. p. 312 et seq. ed. 1804.

tators, and pretended patriots worthy to be ranked with a Guelph, a Coke, or an Arthur Young! It is necessary that the worms which are so fast destroying the foundation of our prosperity, and of our commonwealth, should no longer be suffered to pursue with impunity their mischievious schemes; and, it is ardently to be hoped that some able pen will expose to public view their secret atramentous practices, that they may be subjected to the obloquy which they so well deserve.——A.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

SIR,——Want of leisure has till now prevented my troubling you with some observations, on the important discussions in the beginning of this year, in your valuable Register, on the Fate of the Funds, and the National Debt. It is not to be wondered at, that on a subject of such deep concern, there should be a considerable difference of opinion between you and your correspondents. The controversy has been so ably managed on one side by yourself, in your ninth volume, in pages 97, 225, 294, and 375; and on the other by your opponents D. N. page 47, Cornelius, page 188, and A. Z. or Mr. J. Scott Waring, pages 212 and 380, that I think it may be there safely rested and submitted to the judgment of the public. I have had no opportunity of examining whether the subject has been further discussed in your Register, but, I trust, that the arguments of your opponents will have convinced the few, who could entertain an idea so desperately mischievous, that your plan of ceasing to pay the interest on the national debt, or, in other words, declaring a national bankruptcy, is not more barbarous and cruel, unjust and dishonourable, unwise and impolitic, inexpedient and unnecessary, than it would be inevitably ruinous and destructive, to our individual and national prosperity. From the candour apparent even in the forcible manner in which you discuss political questions, I am not without expectation that you will express your conviction, that the plan suggested by your able correspondent D. N. p. 53. of redeeming the national debt by a sacrifice of part of the capital of every individual, to be applied to the liquidation of the debt is, if practicable, greatly to be preferred to your scheme, and is free from all the objections to it. The appeal your correspondent has made to the honourable feelings of his countrymen, to rouse them to the adoption of his proposal of paying their debts like honest men, instead of giving way to despondency and despair, might be greatly strengthened by shewing, in addition to the practicability of it, that their honour is not more deeply concerned in the measure than their interest.—To demonstrate this, it is necessary to consider the effect of the taxes on every man's income, in which, though there is much room for conjecture, several writers on political economy have endeavoured to arrive at a tolerable certainty. As long ago as during the war of 1739 to 1748, it was computed that the simple and complex operation of the taxes, consumed between 13 and 14s. out of every pound of the annual income of the nation. Subsequent writers computed this incumbrance to be 16s. 6d. out of every pound, about the beginning of the American war. When we consider the enormous addition to the national debt, and the taxes laid on to pay the interest of it in the subsequent wars, we are in no danger of being beyond the mark in agreeing to the latter computation. This being the case, the owner of every kind of property must admit, that it is demonstrated to be his interest to part with so small a proportion of his nominal property as a tenth or a twelfth, which would, I apprehend, be sufficient, as his contribution to get rid of the incumbrance of the national debt. When his income shall be relieved by a proportionate reduction of the taxes, the real net sum every man would have to spend out of his income, would probably, be three times as much as before; or, what amounts to the same thing, perhaps he might buy three times as much with the same money. The difficulty lies in the means of accomplishing a measure, as your correspondent well expresses it, of such gigantic magnitude. But when all parties agree in the incalculable evils of our national debt, and in the necessity of adopting the most vigorous means of obviating them, we must not be appalled by difficulties, nor suffer our minds to shrink from a task on which our existence as an independant nation depends.——The capital of the nation is fully equal to the requisite exertions, and your correspondent has, I apprehend, fallen considerably short of its real value, in estimating it at two thousand millions. The value of land in Great Britain, which he takes at *eight hundred millions*, was estimated by Mr. Pitt in 1798, including tythes, mines, timber, and houses, at *twelve hundred and fifty-two millions, one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds*. The advance on rents since that time is taken very low at one-fifth, which will increase the whole value of lands, &c. to about *fifteen hundred millions*.

Your correspondent estimates the personal property of this kingdom, including the value of the national debt at *twelve hundred millions*. As long ago as 1748, this property was estimated at *one thousand one hundred millions*. Consider the increase since that time of the national debt itself, which, though a burden on the public, is part of the property of individuals. Take further into the account the immense and prosperous trade which this country has since carried on, and the various ways in which that trade has conduced to the increase of our personal property; and, I apprehend that your intelligent correspondent will agree with me, that the personal property of the kingdom is not exaggerated at fifteen millions more. We shall thus find the amount of the capital of the kingdom, arising from both descriptions of property to be *three thousand millions*. This is the real fund for the payment of the national debt. With such ample means in our hands, can any thinking person doubt of our ability to do it? Your correspondent appears to have fallen into an error in talking of paying off the funds at par. The 3 per cent. and the 5 per cent. stocks were not funded or borrowed at this rate, and each should be valued as an annuity of £3 or £5, as indeed they actually are valued in the market for them, and it would be sufficiently liberal, to give to the holders a small bonus on the market price. This mode of paying off the funds, which it must be admitted is equitable between the holders and the public, will reduce the amount to be paid in money greatly below the calculation of your correspondent.—I concur with your correspondent, p. 51, in lamenting that the highly respectable Bishop of Llandaff, who is an advocate for this plan of redeeming the national debt, by a general tax on property, has not further illustrated his ideas, or shewn how they can be reduced to practice. This appeal to the Right Reverend Prelate, is a call on every one who has reflected on this momentous subject, to contribute his endeavours to draw the attention of the public, and of ministers to it. In offering myself to your correspondent as a fellow-labourer in this political vineyard, I trust he will find some assistance from my humble efforts, as I have not only thought long and deeply on the subject, but have already ventured to lay those thoughts before the public, in "Proposals for paying off the whole of the present national debt, and reducing taxes immediately," first published in 1799, and republished in 1803, (by Rivington, Stockdale, and Richardson,) at the time when the threat of destruction by the invasion of an enemy equally formidable and relentless, rendered it the imperious duty of every individual amongst us, to exert all his powers in the common cause.—Though I have hitherto failed of carrying into the minds of the public, that conviction of the practicability of my scheme, which long reflection had impressed on my own, I trust that the increased and increasing pressure of our burdens, the embarrassments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to draw out any thing new from the almost exhausted mine of taxes, and the necessity of which all seem convinced that something effectual must be done, to prevent our sinking under them, will now more forcibly draw the public attention to my proposals.——That they differ in some respects from the plan of your correspondent, though agreeing with him in principle, may be attributed to his unwillingness to exceed the small space you could allow in your Register, for the discussion and detail of a subject, which even in a pamphlet could only be imperfectly explained. It would require a volume to show all the various evils arising from the magnitude of the national debt, and the constant and alarming increase of taxes, which by their simple and complex operation in constantly advancing the price of every thing we consume, swallow up more than three-fourths of every man's income, to defray our public expenses and pay the interest of the national debt; whilst the situation of our poor is daily becoming more distressing; and the consequent high wages of our manufacturers add so much to the price of our manufactures, that in a few years all our boasted superiority will be lost, and other nations less burdened with taxes, will drive us out of every foreign market.—Shall we wait till our poor are starving, our manufactures ruined, and our whole incomes absorbed, before we apply any remedy to this consuming evil? If we do, no other measure will then be in our power, but the desperate one you propose of national bankruptcy. But if we now consent to a sacrifice of one twelfth of the property of every description, real and personal, of every individual amongst us paying taxes, we should at once get rid of all our difficulties, and our future resources rescued from the impending destruction, would be inexhaustible.——To talk of a sacrifice in such circumstances is a misapplication of terms. What is proposed is, that each person shall pay off his proportion of the complex burdens, consuming nearly the whole of his income by parting with a small part of his property. It would

be purchasing a perpetual annuity at a low rate. It would be paying off an usurious mortgage, and every man, and every man's family, would be infinitely richer after the apparent sacrifice of a twelfth of his capital, applied to pay off his simple proportion of the taxes at a rate of about 5 per cent. with a bonus of getting released from the complex operation which consumes above 75 per cent. of his income.—The principle of my plan is shewn by the redemption of the land tax, a definable incumbrance on a specific species of property paid off by each landholder chargeable therewith. The nature of the plan is to extend this principle, by charging every description of property with the purchase of an amount in the funds equal to its tax.—The practicability of the plan is proved by the income and property taxes, which have removed the greatest difficulty in the way of paying off the debt by a general tax on capital, by establishing the principle and devising the means of ascertaining the real and full amount of every one's principal or capital yielding income.—If these taxes are objectionable, an account of the annual recurrence of an inquisitorial scrutiny into every man's affairs, this evil will cease on my plan, after one rigid exertion; for, I agree with your correspondent, that no consideration of risk arising from disclosure of property; no subterfuge or evasion of any description must be permitted, to prevent a true and full disclosure of each person's property.—I should trespass too much on your limits, if I were here to enter further into the detail of the plan that I have proposed, for carrying this grand national measure into execution, for which I must necessarily refer you to my pamphlet. This measure or an efficacious approximation to it, matured by the united wisdom of the nation in parliament, appears to me the only effectual means of discharging the debt, and diminishing the taxes, without injustice to the holders of any description of property; all of whom ought to be equally protected, and equally liable to contribute to any sacrifice necessary to the general relief. Should I finally succeed in conjunction with your correspondent, in convincing the first Lord of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the necessity of bringing this grand measure before parliament, I shall be proud of the honour, of having attempted to lay the corner-stone, on which I flatter myself that more able architects may erect a column capable of supporting the over-burdened fabric of the British Empire; and of restoring it to a stability which may for ages defy the impotent attempts of its enemies to destroy it.—Such have been the changes in men, measures, and political events in the course of a few years, that in my pamphlet there are some things not applicable to the present day, which your candour will pass over. As you have invited a free discussion of this great national question, I shall make no apology for requesting the insertion of my ideas on it in your Register. We have the same great object of the public good in view, and if we differ in the means of attaining it, we will differ with the freedom of Englishmen.—H. M. Bird.—*London, Aug.* 12, 1806.

SINKING FUND.

To the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox.

Sir,——Having committed myself, to the length I have done, on the subject of the Sinking Fund, I feel stimulated, by every motive which led to the commitment, to shut up every avenue through which folly may view its merits, or, to open every channel through which my own ignorance of its effect cannot be misconceived. I deny it to be a fund, in any sense of the word to which mankind have hitherto attached the idea of a fund; first, because it is not a sum of money, or quantity of any thing else, laid up in store, or lodged in the hands of a second party, for the purpose of its being applied to any particular use; and secondly, because it is not the surplus of our property, or annual income, after all our wants are satisfied, which is annually applied to the liquidation of our debt: for it is but *too well known* and *severely felt*, that the *utmost* exertions of our labour and economy *cannot* realize, or save property sufficient to supply the wants of any other description of people than those of our naval and military establishments, and those of such as have monopolised a share of the general stock which necessarily leaves that of others insufficient to supply their wants. And denying the Sinking Fund to be either the one or the other of these descriptions of funds, I insist, that if it be a fund at all, it is of this nature.—The labour of the nation, or the number of labourers annually employed to raise its annual supply, is a *fund*. Out of this number of labourers the extortions of the loan-mongers, as I have already stated it, and shall again shew it, impressed a given number of labourers to create a collateral fund, called *Stocks*, or *Stocking Fund*; and to create the interest paid upon this fund, government *dragged out* from the national fund, another given

number of labourers; but less in the proportion, which the interest bears to the capital. The Stocking Fund, or produce of the labour, so impressed by the loan-mongers, amounts, nominally, to above, but say 600 millions; and the interest of it, or produce of the labour, so *dragged out* by government, at 4 per cent. to 24 millions. Finding at last, that the seizure thus made by government from the public fund, of labour, property, or money, as you may think proper to call it, left too few labourers, or too little property to find the community at large with the common necessaries of life, or that paupers were rapidly encreasing in number (as must naturally be expected; when we recollect the action and reaction of the funding system, or, to make use of more intelligible language, of the drafts made by the loan-mongers and government, from the national fund of supply) it was resolved upon, by the financial luminary of 1786, "the pilot who weathered the "storm in 1802," to lay violent hands on the remaining part of the general stock of labour or property, to the amount, *now*, of 600 millions, and give it to the stock-holders, in lieu of the 24 millions annually, which they receive in interest; or applying the principle to labours, to give to the stock-holders the labour of as many men as must be employed to create a capital of 600 millions to recover from them the labour of those who are annually employed to create interests to the amount of 24 millions, which they receive; and to the number of labourers thus transfered, *in the true spirit of vassalage*, to the stock-holders, *he thought it proper* to give the name of *Sinking Fund.* Do I, Sir, or do I not, understand the nature and principles of the Sinking Fund? Do I conceive, or misconceive its bearings on the national fund of labour? Taking it for granted, that I do not, I must observe, that a less consummate degree of political folly and vice could not, perhaps, recommend Mr. Pitt to the stock exchange gentlemen, and their dupes, as a man whose memory ought to be handed down to the latest posterity in brass or stone; for certainly, if he knew what he was about, the nation was nothing in his estimation, if he could but keep good faith and friendship with them, —them who had extorted from the labour of the nation, the 600 millions which he and his predecessors squandered away to gratify the avarice of another distinct part of the community, in their interests, and habits; I mean the merchants, or those who are only *mere dealers* in the articles which the national labour creates. But, Sir, will you, in defiance of ocular demonstation, tread in his steps, and finish the work of destruction which, in the *arrogance* of his state *pride*, and the *stupidity* of his financial *ignorance**, he had commenced and carried on for eighteen years? Are you, Sir, so eminently unqualified to realize the hopes reposed in your natural talents and political integrity, in an administration composed of all the virtue, talents, and property of the country, as not to perceive, in a moment, that the sinking fund multiplies the evils which it is intended to remove, in the proportion which 600 millions bear to 24 millions, or in that between the number of labourers that must be employed to raise such a capital and that which are employed to create the interest of it? And, Sir, can you misconceive the reason to be, that the action of the funding system *in converting labourers into independant stock-holders*, and its reaction *in pressing labourers to support the stock-holders*, have so far reduced the national fund of labour or property, as to have converted above one sixth of the population into paupers, and therefore so far as not to have left the Sinking Fund, a *single man*, or *a single shilling* wherewith to annihilate the funding system, without *multiplying the number of paupers, in the proportion of twenty-five to one*; which is that which the capital of the debt bears to its interest, at 4 per cent? This, Sir, appears to me so plainly evident, to be the cause and effect, that I do no more know how to misunderstand its being so, than I do how to forget that I hold, in my hand, the pen with which I write my sentiments. But, Sir, this *action* and *reaction* of the funding system, form, but two of the many fatal collateral modes in which it operates on the national fund of labour. The number of men, who are annually supported by the sum annually funded, and who are employed to fight the battles of merchants and stock-holders, as such, are unavoidably taken from the national fund of labour, either directly or indirectly; and, therefore, if this fund merits any attention at all, the question will be, (with those who

* I shall in any manner required, beg pardon of Mr. Rose, and the "*bed of* "*roses*" Lord Castlereagh, if by proving to the world the falsehood of my notions of the *nature* and *bearings* of the Sinking Fund, they will prove to the public, that these epithets are *falsely* or *maliciously* applied on my part.

must have a large army, rendered incapable of sympathising with the people, because it is to be "distinct from them in its manners, habits, and pursuits,)" *not how many men may be demanded* by the merchants and stock-holders to preserve *their independance of labour, but how many can be taken from the fund,* and not reduce us to a famine, or be the means of losing our national independance by France? The solution of this question, however, depends upon the solution of another two, namely, *how many men have we annually employed in useful labour?* and *how many*, more or less, *ought to be employed*, so as to make our annual supply *sufficiently abundant, and no more?* As to the number annually employed in useful labour, I shall by and by, give something in the shape of a statement. With respect to the Sinking Fund and funding systems, and as this may have been the first effort made to decide their merits, by shewing their bearings on the national fund of labour; and as, therefore, the principle may be observed in its application to those who have not hitherto thought of it; I will re-state a case, which appears to me analogous in all its circumstances. Suppose it to be the case of an individual, that the interest which he annually pays to his creditors have put every one of his family on short allowance, except himself, and those upper servants who have his stores under their care. Under this circumstance, could he promise to himself any thing from an attempt to pay off his debt, but the necessity of taking charge of his stores himself, if any were left, of reducing his upper servants to under ones, and of turning his under ones out of doors, to beg, or starve, if they could not find another employer? Is there a circumstance belonging to this case which does not strictly apply to the different orders of the state; except the difference between the relation in which the individual stands to his servants and creditors, and that in which governments stand to the public, and public creditors. He is *only* a debtor and a master, government is neither the one or the other—it is a parent, or ought to be so, and the public creditors and the public, are its lawfully begotten children. Government, therefore, cannot do with the public as he has done with his servants, with forfeiting every tittle to the honour, love, and obedience, which is naturally due from children to their parents. Seeing, then, on the clearest principles of reason and demonstration, that every attempt to do justice between debtor and creditor, in the *usual way*, diminishes the annual supply and multiplies the poor-rates in the proportion stated, Government must break the faith, foolishly pledged to the public creditors, and invest them again in the general fund of labour, out of which their extortions, as money dealers, and prior to that, as merchants, rose them into independance, otherwise, on the principles of cause and effect, the public must either beg, starve, emigrate, or rebel; and in either case the relation between parent and children is destroyed; and that, not of master and servants, *but of monster and his victims*, is established, with *all its consequences*. There may, however, be little or nothing in this argument, sufficiently strong and clear, to prevent ignorance and fraud from terrifying us out of our senses with the consequences of cruelty and bad faith towards the stock-holders,—the number of whom, I have the best authority for saying, amounts to six hundred thousand, exclusive of their wives, children, butlers, valets, footmen, cooks, confectioners, coachmen, grooms, huntsmen, and the incalculable number of able hands, that are *other ways* employed in, an incalculable number of ways to furnish the luxuries in which they generally wallow. One consequence, it must be admitted, would be, that a complete check would be given to the facility of borrowing loans, to support armies, *taken from the national fund of labourers*, for the purpose of fighting the battles *of merchants*, who in their turn have wives, children, butlers, valets, footmen, cooks, confectioners, &c. &c. to provide for; but against this consequence I place our national security against beggary, famine, emigration, rebellion, or slavery to a foreign yoke, as such security must naturally arise from the investment of such stock-holders and their numerous collaterals, in the national fund of useful labour as are capable of being useful. And taking it for granted, that I have in this respect chosen of two evils, *by far*, the least, I ask you, Sir, as the common parent of the public creditors and public, in your capacity of statesman, would you choose *by far* the greatest of two evils merely to keep, what *they call*, good faith with six hundred thousand, whom, though one of their number, I call extortioners, and dupes? I say extortioners and dupes.—Extortioners, because the money which they lent to the merchants, *not to the nation, is a surplus, over and above their taxes, and every other charge they could possibly have to pay*, which they extorted from the public, either in the interest of money, "*which*

"*only cost them the paper on which they* "*write,*" or in the price which they made no hesitation to charge, on the articles in which they dealt before they became dealers in paper money; and dupes, because they were simple enough to flatter themselves, that the national fund of labour, or wealth could for ever stand the annihilating action and re-action of the funding and unfunding systems. The stock-holders, and merchants, however, will perceive that I am not so much blaming their patriotism, morals, or intellects, as I am endeavouring, first to point out the vicious principles, of a vicious system, or more properly, the vicious length to which such system is carried; for principles are only vicious as they *stop us short of*, or *lead us beyond* our object. And secondly, to exhibit those principles which nature has formed to counteract its operations, and for which it cannot find a permanent substitute. I have stated that preparatory to the erection of a large mercenary army, or the application of the Sinking Fund, it becomes a necessary question to solve, how many men can *safely* be taken from the national fund of labourers, to form such army, &c.; and also that the solution of that question must be regulated by our knowledge of the number required in the national fund to keep our annual supply sufficiently abundant and no more; and by that of the proportion between the number of those who are annually employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed; for the abundance or scantiness of the annual supply must depend upon this proportion, including the skill, dexterity and judgment with which labour is applied. In their natural order, the last of these questions must be the first that is answered; I, therefore, beg your attention to the following statement. According to the census taken under Mr. Abbot's act of parliament, the population of England and Wales were then estimated at 9,343,578, of which there were given as employed in agriculture 1,737,675.; and in trade, and mechanism 1,896,485, making together, 3,634,160. Those who are employed in agriculture, trade, and mechanism, constitute the productive fund of national labour, and which substracted from the population, gives the unproductive fund at 5,709,418. It would, however, be extremely erroneous to suppose that the annual supply bears the same proportion to the annual consumption of the two funds which 3,034,160, the productive fund bears to 9,343,578, the population, or two funds. There are included in the productive fund, several descriptions of persons who cannot be considered otherwise than as mere nominal labourers; and therefore, the supply is less in the proportion between their number and that of the real labourers. These descriptions are, 1st. Those farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics who attend to their hounds, hunters, and tables, and not to their business; and who, therefore, waste and consume the annual supply in more than the proportion which their number bears to that of those, who do the labour of their callings. 2d. Their wives, children, livery and maid servants. 3d. The infantile. 4th. The aged, and 5th. The infirm parts of the agricultural, mechanical, and mercantile labourers. The proportion which these descriptions may bear to the whole fund of agriculturalists, mechanics, and tradesmen is a mere speculative question and therefore, every man who can produce a good reason for it, must be at liberty to call the truth of my statement in question; but judging of its amount, from the number of these descriptions, which we see attached to the families of the farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen; I take it at two fifths, or 1,453,664, which substracted from 3,634,160 the whole gives the efficient fund of labourers at only 2,180,496 or about one fifth of the population, so that about four fifths, or 7,163,082 out of 9,343,578; remains according to my hypothesis an actual unproductive fund. Consequently our annual supply is less, by about four fifths, than it would have been were the population actually employed in agriculture, mechanism and trade. To attempt, however, to carry the principle of *political economy* thus far, could be no less visionary and crude in theory than it would be immoral and impolitic in practice; but what security have we, Sir, that it will be less visionary in theory, or immoral; and impolitic in practice, to attempt to carry the principle of *political profligacy*, so far as to take a mercenary army, and hands sufficient to liquidate the national debt from the small productive fund of 2,180,496 of labourers still remaining. Remember, Sir, that every labourer, apparently, has to carry about four *drones*, each of them heavier than himself, and therefore, that should he slip off his balance, down they come, with a very different violence from that which they would receive were the gentle arms of the law to hand them down to the ground from which they ignorantly crawled up to his skin and bone shoulders.

I am, Sir, &c. C. S.

BOARD FOR AMERICAN CLAIMS.

Quod verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnes in hoc sum.

SIR,——It was not my intention to have addressed you in corroboration of the facts contained in my former letter; they are too deeply impressed upon the minds of all the unfortunate and much injured British merchants, who traded to America before the destructive war with that country, to require illustration, nor is any proof of their existence necessary, beyond their bare enumeration. It is, however, incumbent upon me, to notice the observations of A. B. in your last Register, who, whether his information is or is not to be relied on, is certainly as much entitled to attention, as the person who addressed you in the Register preceding the last, and who now, in defence of his former observations, again takes up the pen.——"Nothing extenuate, or set down aught in malice," if a writer be permitted to decide upon the purity of his own conduct, guided me, when I formerly addressed you; and, I beg you to be assured, such was my intention, and I trust, I shall not depart from that rule of conduct. A. B. differs from me, most materially so. He is pleased to assert, that your correspondent is mistaken, "as to the cause which put an "end to the proceedings of the Board at "Philadelphia;" and his information induces him to apprehend, that, "certain "leading principles" were established, which would "have gone far to determine "much of the business before them." I think, Sir, it is fair to conclude, from the two latter quotations I have selected, that the observation I made in my former communication, that *not a single case before the Board at Philadelphia was actually decided*, is correct: were it otherwise, A. B. would as he has done as to other parts of my observations, I think, have negatived that indisputable fact. With respect to the incorrectness of my observation, in the estimation of A. B., "as to the cause which put an end "to the proceedings of the Board at Phila-"delphia," I must observe, for his information, and in doing so, I merely repeat the fact advanced by me in my former communication, that my assertion, "as to the "cause which put an end to the proceed-"ings of the Board at Philadelphia," is literally correct: other causes may possibly have conjointly assisted in the termination of that Board; but, if there were any such, I am not aware of them, or, that the little differences sometimes occurring in the Board, could possibly lead to such disastrous consequences. Perhaps, Sir, it may be alleged against my veracity, that interested, and largely interested, as I am, I may have embellished my statement, and, that a more implicit reliance should be placed in the assertions of A. B., who is not, for it is fair to conclude he is not, interested, as he does not profess so to be. But, Sir, what could possibly be the motive with a ruined and almost broken hearted victim to the proceedings of our trans-atlantic ci-devant brethren, to depict in false colours, the distresses I, in common with hundreds of most respectable mercantile characters, have laboured and still do groan under. Such conduct would neither add to that character I have used my endeavours, through a long series of years, some of which, and I can scarcely refrain from falling into a womanish weakness at the mention of them, proclaimed me, not the meanest amongst my mercantile brethren, to maintain, with the strictest regard to truth, and a good conscience; nor, would it be attended with the least benefit to me, the generally supposed *primum mobile* with men of my calling. *De paupertate tacentes plus poscente ferent.*——I solemnly declare, Sir, it was not my intention to assert, nor have I advanced one fact, but what either my own conviction, or the assurance of persons who were well acquainted with certain facts, which I could not possibly know, and whose veracity I have no reason to doubt a reliance upon, enabled me to advance with the strictest propriety. For the information, Sir, of A. B., should he not be acquainted with the facts I now advance, and which corroborate my former assertion, as to the cause producing the unfortunate annihilation of the Board in America, I must observe, that on the 10th July, 1799, when it was deemed necessary, to vindicate that essential privilege of perfect and uncontrouled freedom of observation, by reference to the States of America having been in a state of rebellion, with respect to Great Britain, before the peace, it was observed, by a member of the Board in America, that he held it to be his duty, not to assist at deliberations, but to discontinue his attendance, at a board where such sentiments were declared; that he would not sit to hear the sovereignty of his country called in question, and he held it to be his duty to withdraw; the commissioner did withdraw, and did not afterwards give his attendance; but, Sir, it is unnecessary to dwell on circumstances, inducing such determination, which has involved us in additional years of delay; nor, should I have again referred to the unwelcome sub-

lect, if A. B. had not doubted my assertion in this respect; had he stated *his* conceptions of the cause inducing the Board to suspend their deliberations, it might then have been weighed against my assertions. The relief intended for us, and which the government of this country, at the time of the settlement of the convention with America, compounded for, when more ought to have been, and I am induced to believe, might have been exacted from the American government, I have in my former communication, stated to be inadequate to our demands. In this most material assertion, I stand uncontradicted; and, whenever even the small scanty pittance, which will be ultimately apportioned amongst us, or rather amongst our creditors, shall be dealt out, for the long suffering merchant will not be much benefited by the division, when he has settled with his creditors, who have patiently and fruitlessly waited for the result of the execution of that aith between nations, the fulfilment of the terms of existing treaties; I think it will be found, that I have not erred, when I declare my inability to determine upon the hour, when I might receive a single shilling of my claims, which were not compounded for by existing treaties, but were undertaken to be paid to me in full. It is immaterial, Sir, whether the remuneration of a board is considered under the head of salary, allowance, pension, sum of money for current expenses of office, or gratuity; nor, is it material to consider, whether it is easier to overrate services by the year, than it would be, were official persons to attempt to magnify services with a view to remuneration, when the duties of office are gone by; because, the gentlemen composing the present board, have, I am told, always conducted themselves with the strictest propriety, and have held the appendage of office but as a secondary object. But, A. B. will, I think, agree with me, that, however meritorious the inducements of the gentlemen who compose the board in accepting their arduous situations are, and however independent their several stations in life may be, totally precluding the most distant suspicion, that they would lengthen the duration of their proceedings for the sake of the lucre of office, it cannot be inferred, that they accepted and hold their offices gratuitously. Sir, in the settlement of a concern of such magnitude as that before the board, *plus aloes quam mellis habet.*—I would have them *liberally* remunerated, and if my information is correct, they have no reason to doubt a full remuneration for their laborious undertaking, though they may not hitherto have been *amply* rewarded for their current services.—But, Sir, though they may, and I sincerely hope will, receive ample compensation for their labours, yet, the creditors, can never expect to receive from the fruit of their exertions, ample retribution; the utmost that may be awarded to me, I collect from A.B's. concluding paragraph, may amount to 4s. 9d½. in the pound, upon the sum to be awarded, and this is to be the compensation to men, to whom the government of this country are not less indebted, than to a description of persons, who have been amply paid; nay, who have been most liberally remunerated, I mean the American Loyalists. Sir, I am of opinion, but, perhaps, the rank I once held amongst my mercantile brethren may be considered to have some influence in the formation of that opinion, that, the merchants' character is of infinitely more importance in the link of society, than any other, or, than it is generally held to be. When it is considered, the vast consequence the merchant is, as contributing his powerful assistance to the increase of seamen, without which, the country never would have reared its predominant head as happily it has done, continues to do, and will, I trust unto the end of time; largely adding to the revenue of the country, and the means of inducing individuals of all nations to invest their property in this emporium of the world, by the additional credit he collectively adds to the character it has attained to for good faith and responsibility, increased by the merchants endeavours and exertions. Surely, the man contributing to such increased and increasing benefits, should not be neglected. If the loyalists, many of them unknown perhaps, until the hour that parliament so liberally determined to relieve their necessities; and who, but for the circumstances of a few, who actually suffered in their property, would have continued for ever in the shade of night they had been accustomed to, and from whom this country never received a single benefit, have been so amply paid, so generously remunerated for the loss of property, which, in some cases was partly ideal, why is the merchants' that solid staple character of Britain, to be sent into the world to recommence his career, with extreme age, and all its concomitant infirmities, with less than one-eighth of his bonâ fide claims, which, by existing treaties and the pledge of those persons who composed the government when they were entered into, were to be paid in full? Sir, the merchant has a superior claim to the justice

of the nation, and I still hope, though the board cannot, for they have it not in their power to award payments of a shilling, beyond the extent of £600,000, that the justice of the country is yet awake to the calls of its injured and insulted subjects; from the justice of America I expect nothing; I never did expect any from the hour she became separated from the parent country, and I find I have not been deceived in the expectations I had formed. A. B. informs us, that, according to present appearances, a *second* 12 per cent. may possibly be given to the creditors; should this be the case, though many of us, I fear, will not live to partake of the long promised *first* 12 per cent. America should have been induced, if not to have adhered to the faith of treaties, still to have conceded terms more favourable to this country, and paid over to the government £1,200,000, (or to speak with correctness, as the ratio of 4s. $9\frac{1}{2}$ is to £1. which would be somewhat less) instead of £600,000; the amount of claims I have already considered to be 5 millions, which, as it remains uncontradicted by A. B. may be presumed to be correct; the two 12 per cents. which it appears from A. B's. statement may possibly be paid, produce short of a fourth part of 5 millions, but to avoid minute calculations and fractions, I take the ratio at a fourth, then, by this calculation, I may receive, and more it seems I cannot receive, 5s. in the pound upon my claims; surely, then, America should have been induced to have paid £1,200,000, instead of one half of that amount; but, as America has not been inclined as a nation, to adopt payment to that extent, for as to individual justice, I put that totally out of the question, and ever did since the peace of 1783. Britain, in my opinion should, nay, it should go further. I should hope, the principles of justice by which this country has been always governed, will not for the first time be cast aside, in withholding payment of the deficiency, which, perhaps, from political motives, she may have been induced not to exact from our former transatlantic brethren, from a meritorious body of men, and a most useful class of subjects. I cannot agree with A. B. in his view of the "publicity" of the proceedings of the Board, nor can I subscribe to his opinion, that the notice of the 7th of May, 1803, gives all possible publicity to their proceedings. The inspection authorised by that notice, is confined to the papers of the *creditor* only, such as accounts and lists of the creditors claim, a reference to which, would have no connexion whatever with the decisions or discussions of a claim, which the Board have considered or made any decision upon, and which reference in the terms of the notice was for the purpose of procuring information from creditors, to enable the Board to reject cases brought before them. I trust, however, that applications have not been made under such notice, a proceeding the beneficial tendency of which I cannot discover. If such notice or tendency, be the definition of publicity, a court of justice, sitting in judgment upon the case of a merchant, who seeks to recover a debt due upon a bill of exchange, might close its doors and tell persons who complained of the want of publicity, that all possible publicity is given, by reference to the lawyer who is employed by the merchant to bring his business into court, from whom he may obtain access to the papers, and by reference to the person employed by the court to take care of the law papers; such similar publicity is *that* in the present case; but, although such is adopted, it is far from me to condemn the Board, who act professedly under an act of parliament, vesting in them unlimited powers; but, I cannot agree with A. B., that the trust reposed in them is without precedent. It would be impossible for parliament, to inquire into a report upon the cases of a variety of individual claimants, and it would not be probable that any persons, collectively or individually, could so well and accurately decide upon reports, as those who had minutely examined into the basis of such reports.—— High as the responsibility of the Board is, and honourable as the result of their conduct and decisions will I trust be to the members of it, I feel quite at ease as to the rectitude of ultimate decisions. I have before advanced, and I repeat, it is not the gentlemen composing the Board I have the temerity to condemn, but, it is the inadequacy of their appointments, it is the impossibility of their granting relief, to the extent the government of the country should have enabled them to have extended to the unfortunate sufferers, I deplore. Still, however, I hope much from the penetration and humanity of the Board, and I trust, that should they hereafter deem the dissatisfied creditors, proper objects of relief from the equity of parliament, that their weighty and just recommendation will not be withheld. *Paupertatis pudor et fuga*; is much too much for a man to reflect upon without emotion, who has spent a considerable portion of his life, not unattended with benefit to his country, although, undoubtedly, a view to his

own interest may have been blended with it.—So far as concerns myself, I have shewn no reluctance to afford explanation; and, I must declare A. B's. observation to be harsh, which attributes to many claimants, a consciousness of the *defects* of their cases. But, were such the fact, are not the Board cloathed with a power to dismiss such cases from the records of their proceedings, and not to suffer other claimants, whose cases require not explanation, or have no defective parts, to linger in fruitless and unprofitable expectations, and irrecoverable time to be uselessly expended, in causeless efforts to repair irretrievable defects? Such cannot be. But, Sir, in the present claims, the term *defects* is solely matter of opinion, and although a conclusive opinion can only be formed by the Board collectively, and by them only, on the 'impost of defects, yet were defects strictly considered, generally insisted upon; I am of opinion, the whole '600,000 may remain, wrapped up in a napkin, as it is, for ever.' In answer to my observations upon the delays that have occurred, I am told much of those delays may be attributed to the claimants own conduct, 'and their knowledge of the defects of their cases.' But, Sir, I must observe, that when claimants are now called upon to produce in the year 1800, or, perhaps, were I to take 1802, I may be more correct, evidence of facts that existed, and then only existed in the knowledge of persons of advanced age, three and twenty years ago, and who are now consigned to their parent earth. And when persons are now called upon to produce an estimate of a security, which a creditor may have taken at the same time, and he is now required to produce the value at that time, for the purpose of ascertaining the intrinsic value of his claim, recoverable only to the amount of what would have been received three and twenty years ago, these are certainly *defects*, I agree with A. B., but they are defects which are not to be remedied in a century, nay, they never can be elucidated. —If, for the elucidation of defects such as these, the Board, in the exercise of their functions, do in the estimation of A. B. intend to wait, the doors of the Board will, I may venture to prophecy, continue open longer than the 140 years I had calculated they would remain unclosed. It may, Sir, have been a perfectly easy matter to have procured an explanation of those circumstances, now termed by A. B. "defects," three and twenty years ago, when the parties able to clear such were alive, and when the value of any property, from the sale of other property similarly situated, and of the like value, might have guided a judgment in forming an estimate; those defects *now* complained of, could not *then* have existed, and I can only consider the term, "defects," to have been brought into view by A. B. without due consideration; nay, I may venture to assert, that to have attempted to prove the then necessary, and in the estimation of A. B. the now requisite facts, would have been attended with superabundant and useless caution. It would have been then said of him, *utitur in re non dubia testibus non necessariis*, and it may be said of him, what I think, he ought not to furnish matter to assist the observation, that he is now endeavouring to obtain proofs, which all the world must know are impossible for him to procure. The penetration, however, of the Board will, I trust, not permit them to exact from us impossibilities; we have, many of us however have had, misery enough without the smallest addition to our sufferings, and whatever our small pittance may be, it is certainly time that we were in possession of it. Thirty years have passed away since the commencement of the American war, and three and twenty years since the peace; but, yet, our claims, certainly, as I have already observed, of greater importance in any point of view than those of the loyalists, are unsatisfied.—The non-payment of them, should not longer remain as it has done, and for ever will be considered, a reproach upon this country, when good faith amongst nations, should be assimilated with good faith towards its own subjects. I hope A. B. has prophecied, beneficially he certainly has, and I shall rejoice to find in the sequel, correctly, when he asserts, that the Board have made greater progress, than I was aware, or apprehend any person believed they had. We have been given to understand, that many of the claims were ripe for decision in 1799, and yet, alas! 7 years have since passed away, and I am now told, when almost all the leading principles of construction were established at Philadelphia 7 years since, that a million of claims in amount has been decided upon and that other cases to a great amount, are now nearly ripe for adjudication; but, yet, a very large majority of the claimants are totally ignorant of the fact. How can A. B. reconcile his ideas of "publicity," with existing facts? The "publicity," he alludes to, is somewhat similar to a promulgation of the misfortunes of a cornuted man, who is always the third, generally the last person in the house, made acquainted with his wife's

frailty. It would be some satisfaction, if, when a claim was decided, notice of it was published, as are the resolutions of the Board in the Gazette; and the adoption of that rule, would have these benefits, that, the creditors of persons who are claimants on the Board, would be satisfied of the small amount awarded, and that the decisions thus published are correct; and, it might be the means of allaying the prejudices of those persons who expect to receive from the unfortunate claimant a full indemnity for their demands, when he can only receive, as A. B. informs us, two 12 per cents. not on the amount of a creditor's actual claim, but on the sum which may be adjuged to be good, in the estimation of the Board, as well as reconcile A. B's. assertion, that "the Board "have been chiefly occupied in settling "leading points," with another, respecting decisions upon cases of some of the creditors only, viz. that "the Board have nevertheless decided claims to the amount of a "million." And here, I must observe, that although mercantile men, in general, are enabled to form a tolerably correct opinion, of the exact value of debts upon their books, yet, it is impossible to ascertain, what portion of the amount of a creditor's claim will be allowed in the present case; the items of debts, which at the peace were good, and which I might *then* have been able to have proved, had it been deemed necessary, good, and recoverable, but, which, from the intervening deaths of persons enabled to bear testimony at that time, I am now unable to do, may be thrown aside altogether; or, in the best and most favourable point of view, an estimate merely of the value may be made, and in forming such estimate, a general rule of conduct may be adopted, which is applicable perhaps to *particular* cases only, such as the rash facility, with which credit to a great amount was given to all sorts of persons, and the great proportion of bad debts, which in certain lines of trade, was, of course, anticipated. If these assumed matters are adopted *generally*, I trust, however, they are not, much injury must ensue, and there will be little difficulty in deciding upon the remaining claims, nor will much longer time be necessary in disposing of them. I am apprehensive, however, that much time will yet be expended, even according to A. B's. statement; for, if, as he observes, claims to the amount of nearly a million only are decided upon, and this in the space of 4 years, a further term of 10 years may be found requisite for the Board to examine into the remaining claims, before they can be enabled to decide upon them; the probable duration of which, should induce the equity of parliament to be held out for the full relief of creditors, and which the Board, with all their humane inclination, are not empowered to award; for, certain I am, it is a period much beyond the expected probationary existence of a ruined, old,——AMERICAN MERCHANT.——*St. George's Row, August 8, 1806.*

CHARACTER OF PITT.

SIR,—It seems to me a desirable object to refer as much as possible of our national proceedings for some years past, to the influence of the late minister's character on the public feelings, and to the blind confidence generally placed in his talents and integrity. The errors that we have been led into by a confidence of this sort, will be sooner retrieved than if they proceeded from a change in our own habits and dispositions. It is well if we can save the credit of our moral character a little, at the expense of our understandings; for, I cannot think that our confidence was well bestowed. I know, it is a general maxim, that we are not to war with the dead: we ought not indeed to trample on their bodies, but with their *minds* we may, and must war, unless we would be governed by them after they are dead. They who wish their sentiments to survive them in the memories of men, must also expect to live in their censures. The character of Mr. Pitt was perhaps one of the most singular that ever existed. With few talents and fewer virtues he acquired and preserved in one of the most trying situations, and in spite of all opposition the highest reputation for the possession of every moral excellence, and as having carried the attainments of eloquence and wisdom as far as human abilities could go. This he did (strange as it appears) by a negation, (together with the common virtues) of the common vices of human nature, and by the complete negation of every other talent that might interfere with the only one which he possessed in a supreme degree, and which, indeed, may be made to conceal the want of all others, an artful use of words, and a certain dexterity of logical arrangement. In these alone his power consisted, and the defect of all other qualities, which usually constitute greatness, contributed to the more complete success of these.——Having no strong feelings, no distinct perceptions, his mind having no link as it were to connect it with the world of external nature, every subject presented to him nothing more than a *tabula rasa* on which he was at liberty to

lay whatever colouring of language he pleased; having no general principles, no comprehensive views of things, no moral habits of thinking, no system of action; there was nothing to hinder him from pursuing any particular purpose by any means that offered; having never any plan, he could not be convicted of inconsistency, and his own pride and obstinacy were the only rules of his conduct. Having no insight into human nature, no sympathy with the passions of men, or apprehension of their real designs, he seemed perfectly insensible to the consequences of things, and would believe nothing, till it actually happened. The fog and haze in which he saw every thing, communicated itself to others; and the total indistinctness and uncertainty of his own ideas tended to confound the perceptions of his hearers, more effectually than the most ingenious misrepresentation could have done. Indeed, in defending his conduct he never seemed to consider himself as at all responsible for the success of his measures, or that future events were in our own power; but, that as the best laid schemes might fail, and there was no providing against all possible contingencies; this was a sufficient excuse for our plunging at once into any dangerous or absurd enterprize, without the least regard to consequences. His reserved logic confined itself solely to the *possible* and the *impossible*, and he appeared to regard the *probable* and *improbable*, the only foundation of moral prudence, or political wisdom, as beneath the notice of a profound statesman; as if the pride of the human intellect were concerned in never entrusting itself with subjects where it may be compelled to acknowledge its weakness. From his manner of reasoning, he seemed not to have believed that the truth of his statements depended on the reality of the facts, but that the things themselves depended on the order in which he arranged them in words; you would not suppose him to be agitating a serious question, which had real grounds to go upon, but to be declaiming upon an imaginary thesis proposed as an exercise in the schools. He never set himself to examine the force of the objections that were brought against his measures, or attempted to establish them upon clear, solid grounds of his own, but constantly contented himself with first gravely stating the logical form or dilemma, to which the question reduced itself, and then after having declared his opinion, proceeded to amuse his hearers by a series of rhetorical common places, connected together in grave, sonorous, and elaborately constructed periods, without ever shewing their real application to the subject in dispute. Thus, if any member of the opposition disapproved of any measure, and enforced his objections by pointing out the many evils with which it was fraught, or the difficulties attending its execution, his only answer was, that it was true, there might be inconveniencies attending the measure proposed; but we were to remember that every expedient that could be devised, might be said to be nothing more than a choice of difficulties, and that all human prudence could do, was to consider on which side the advantages lay; that for his part he conceived, that the present measure was attended with more advantages, and fewer disadvantages than any other that could be adopted, that if we were diverted from our object by every appearance of difficulty, the wheels of government would be clogged by endless delays, and imaginary grievances, that most of the objections made to the measure, appeared to him to be trivial, others of them unfounded and improbable; or, that if a scheme free from all these objections could be proposed, it might, after all, prove inefficient, while, in the mean time, a material object remained unprovided for, or the opportunity of action was lost. This mode of reasoning is admirably described by Hobbes in speaking of the writings of some of the schoolmen; of whom, he says, that "they "had learned the trick of imposing what "they list upon their readers, and declining "the force of true reason by verbal forks, "these are distinctions which signify no"thing, but serve only to astonish the mul"titude of ignorant men." That what I have here stated comprehends the whole force of his mind, which consisted solely in this evasive dexterity, and perplexing formality, assisted by a copiousness of words, and common-place topics; will, I think, be evident to any one who carefully looks over his speeches, undazzled by the reputation or personal influence of the speaker. It will be in vain to look in them for any of the common proofs of human genius or wisdom. He has not left behind him a single memorable saying, not one profound maxim, one solid observation, one forcible description, one beautiful thought, one lively allusion, one humourous picture, one affecting sentiment. He has made no addition whatever to the stock of human knowledge. He did not possess any one of those faculties which contribute to the instruction and delight of mankind, depth of understanding, imagination, sensibility, wit, vivacity, clear

and solid judgment. —— His reasoning is a technical arrangement of unmeaning common-places, his eloquence merely rhetorical, his style monotonous and artificial. If he could pretend to any one excellence in an eminent degree, it was to taste in composition. There is certainly nothing low, nothing puerile, nothing farfetched, or abrupt, in his speeches, there is a kind of faultless regularity pervading them throughout; but in the confined, mechanical, passive, mode of eloquence which he adopted, it seemed rather more difficult to commit errors than to avoid them. A man who is determined never to move out of the beaten road cannot lose his way. However habit joined to the peculiar mechanical memory which he possessed carried this correctness to a degree which in an extemporaneous speaker was almost miraculous: he, perhaps, hardly ever uttered a sentence that was not perfectly regular and connected. In this respect, he not only had the advantage over his own contemporaries, but perhaps no one that ever lived equalled him in this singular faculty. But for this, he would always have passed for a common man; and to this the constant sameness, and, if I may so say, vulgarity of his ideas, must have contributed not a little, as there was nothing to distract his mind from this one object of his unintermitted attention, and as, even in his choice of words, he never aimed at any thing more than a certain general propriety and stately uniformity of style.—His talents were exactly fitted for the situation in which he was placed, where it was his business not to overcome others, but to avoid being overcome. He was able to baffle opposition, not from strength or firmness, but from the evasive ambiguity and impalpable nature of his resistance, which gave no hold to the rude grasp of his opponents; no force *could bind the loose phantom, and his mind (though "not "matchless and his pride humbled by such "rebuke") soon rose from defeat unhurt,*

" and in its liquid texture mortal wound
" Receiv'd no more than can the fluid air."

By this lucky combination of strength and weakness, he succeeded in maintaining an undiminished influence over the opinions of his own country for a number of years, in wielding her energies as he pleased, and guiding the counsels of almost all Europe.—VERAX.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

FRANCE AND BAVARIA.—*Treaty concluded between the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and the King of Bavaria, relative to the Military Line to be drawn in a Part of the Tyrol contiguous to the Kingdom of Italy.—Signed at Munich, May 25, 1806.*

His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Bavaria, wishing to settle the military line which shall be established in Italian Tyrol, have resolved to proceed to the settling of this arrangment, and have therefore named the following plenipotentiaries, viz. Marshal Berthier, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and M. De Montzelas, on that of the King of Bavaria, who having exchanged their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Bavaria engages, as well for himself as his successors, never to construct any fortifications, nor to form any magazine of war, or any cordon of troops, in the whole division of Italian Tyrol, situated to the South, and comprised between the military line to be laid down in Art 2, and the frontier of the kingdom of Italy. His Majesty engages also not to occupy, in a military manner, the line and the countries of which the names are contained in the 2d Art.—Art. 2. The military line agreed upon in Art. 1. will commence from Roveredo, and will follow to the east the left bank of the Adige, ascending that river as far as Matarello. It will pass on to Valsorda, Vigolo, Bosentino, Calceranico, Caldonazzo, and by the road of Levico as far as that town; from hence it will follow to the east the valley of the Brenta, passing by St. Desiderio, Marter, Montebello, Borgo di Valsuguna, Castel Nuovo, Grigno, Belven, Tezze, to the frontier of the kingdom of Italy. To the west, the line leaving Roveredo, will stretch on to Sacchio, and cross the Adige; it will pass by Isera, Folas, Comolice, Mount Stiva, St. Giacomo, and Arco; from this last town it will descend the torrent Sarca, as far as Chiaran and St. Pietro, following the limits of the territory of Termo. Passing from thence to Balin, it will follow the limits of the valley of Ledro, and the heights of Dro, falling down the torrent as far as Bondo; descending the stream of the Arno, by Breju and Tion till the junction of the Arno with the Sarca; it will descend this last river, passing by Dare, Vigo, Bocenago, Giustin, Vadojna, Baldin, St. Vigilio; it will follow the path of Mavignola, the road and the stream which conduct to St. Maria di Campiglio, to Campo, and Mount Campei; then descending the stream Meledrio, it will stretch itself by St. Brigida and Dimaro, as far as the junction

of that stream with that of Noce; it will ascend this last, passing by Ravina, Martellina, Pillizano, and Curiano, as far as the junction of that stream with the Pei; and descending that stream, it will pass by Callentino, Calladizza, Cagolo, Pejo; from thence ascending the stream of the Noce or Nanno, it will extend to the mountain Del Corno, which forms the boundary between Italy, Switzerland, and the Tyrol, in such a way that the mountain Tonale shall be comprised among the points which cannot be fortified, entrenched, or occupied, as a military position.—Art. 3. No fortification or entrenchment shall be constructed on the military line marked out by the foregoing article, nor at the distance of 500 toises to the north of that line, that is, on the side of German Tyrol.—Art. 4. The reservation of a part of Italian Tyrol, in favor of the kingdom of Italy, mentioned in the first article of the *procès verbal* of the surrender of the Tyrol to his Majesty the King of Bavaria, being annulled by the present treaty, his said Majesty will immediately take possession of the above-mentioned portion of Italian Tyrol, to enjoy it, he, his heirs, and successors, in full and entire sovereignty, saving the exceptions made in the 1st, 2d, and 3d, articles.—Art 5. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged in the course of 12 days, or sooner, if it can be done.

CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.—*Act of Confederation of the Rhenish League, Done at Paris, July* 12, 1806.

Whereas his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtenberg; their Electoral Highnesses the Arch-Chancellor and the Elector of Baden; his imperial highness the Duke of Berg; and their royal highnesses the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau-Weilburg and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg Birstein, and Lichtenstein; the Duke of Ahremberg, and the Count of Leyin; being desirous to secure, through proper stipulations, the internal and external peace of Southern Germany, which, as experience for a long period and recently has shewn, can derive no kind of guarantee from the existing German constitution; have appointed to be their Plenipotentiaries to this effect, namely, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, Duke of Benevento, minister of his foreign affairs; his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his minister plenipotentiary, A. Von Cetto; his Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, his state minister the count of Winzingerode; the Elector Arch-Chancellor, his ambassador extraordinary, the count of Boust; the Elector of Baden, his cabinet minister the Baron of Reitzenstein; his imperial highness the Duke of Berg, Baron Von Schele; the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, his ambassador extraordinary, Baron Von Pappenheim; the Princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Usingen, Baron Von Gagern; the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, Major Von Fischer; the Prince of Isenburg, Birstein, his privy councillor, M. Von Grentzen; the Duke of Ahremberg, and the count of Leyen, Mr. Durand St. André; who have agreed upon the following articles.—Art. I. The states of the contracting Princes (enumerated as in the Preamble), shall be forever separated from the Germanic body, and united, by a particular confederation, under the denomination of the Confederated States of the Empire."—Art. II. All the laws of the empire, by which they have been hitherto bound, shall be in future null and without force, with the exception of the statutes relative to debts determined in the recess of the deputation of 1803, and in the paragraph upon the navigation, to be funded upon the shipping tolls, which statutes shall remain in full vigour and execution.—Art. III. Each of the contracting princes renounces such of his titles as refer to his connection with the German Empire, and they will on the first of Aug. declare their entire separation from it.—Art. IV. The Elector Arch Chancellor shall take the title of Prince Primate and most Eminent Higness (given in French, Altesse Eminentissime) which title shall convey no prerogative derogatoay to the entire sovereignty which every one of the contracting Princes shall enjoy.—Art. V. The Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt shall take the title of Grand Dukes, and enjoy the rights, honours, and prerogatives belonging to the kingly dignity. Their rank and precedence shall be in the same order as they are mentioned in Art. I. The chief of the Houses of Nassau shall take the title of Duke, and the Count of Leyen that of Prince.—Art. VI. The affairs of the confederation shall be discussed in a congress of the Union (Diète) whose place of sitting shall be in Frankfort, and the congress shall be divided into two colleges, the kings and the princes.—Art. VII. The members of the league must be independent of every foreign power. They cannot in any wise enter into any other service, but that of the states of the confede-

ration and its allies. Those who have been hitherto in the service of a foreign power, and chuse to adhere to it, shall abdicate their principality in favour of one of their children.—Art. VIII. Should any of the said princes be disposed to alienate the whole or any part of his sovereignty, he can only do it in favour of the confederates.—Art. IX. All disputes which may arise among the members of the league shall be settled in the assembly at Francfort. Art. X. In this the Prince Primate shall preside, and when it shall happen that the two colleges have to deliberate upon any subject, he shall then preside in the college of kings, and the Duke of Nassau in that of the princes.—Art. XI. The time when the congress of the league, or either of the colleges, shall have particularly to assemble, the manner of the convocation, the subjects upon which they may have to deliberate, the manner of forming their conclusions, and putting them in execution, shall be determined in a fundamental statute, which the Prince Primate shall give in proposition, within a month after the notification presented at Ratisbon. This statute shall be approved of by the confederated states; this statute shall also regulate the respective rank of the members of the college of princes.—Art. XII. The Emperor shall be proclaimed protector of the confederation. On the demise of the Primate he shall, in such quality, as often name the successor.—Art. XIII. His Majesty, the King of Bavaria, cedes to the King of Wirtemberg, the Lordship of Wiesensteig, and renounces the rights which he might have upon Weiblingen, on account of Burgau.—Art. XIV. His Majesty, the King of Wirtemberg, makes over to the Grand Duke of Berg, the county of Bonndorff, Breunlingen, and Villingen, the part of the territory of the latter city, which lies on the right bank of the Brigoetz, and the city of Tuttlingen, with the manor of the same name belonging to it on the right band of the Danube.—Art. XV. The Grand Duke of Baden cedes to the King of Wirtemberg the city and territory of Biebrach, with their dependancies.—Art. XVI. The Duke of Nassau cedes to the Grand Duke of Berg the city of Deutz and its territory.—Art. XVII. His Majesty the King of Bavaria shall unite to his states the city and territory of Nuremberg, and the Teutonic comitials of Rohr and Waldstetten.—Art. XVIII. His Majesty the King of Wirtemberg shall receive the lordship of Wiesensteig the city and territory of Bleberach, with their dependencies, the cities of Waldsee and Schettingen, the comitial lands of Kirpfenburg, Laucheim and Alschhausen, with the exception of the lordship of Hohenfeld and the abbey of Weiblingen.—Art. XIX. The Grand Duke of Baden shall receive the lordship of Bonndorff, the cities of Vreulingen, Villingen, and Tuttlingen, the parts of their territories which are given to him in Art. XIV. and along with these the comitials of Bolken and Freyburg.—Art. XX. The Grand Duke of Berg shall receive the city and territory of Deutz, the city and manor of Koeningswinter and the manor of Wistich as ceded by the Duke of Nassau.—Art. XXI. The Grand of Darmstadt shall unite to his states the burgraviat of Friedberg, taking to himself the sovereignty only during the lifetime of the present possessor, and the whole at his death.—Art. XXII. The Prince Primate shall take possession of the city of Frankfort on the Maine and its territory, as his sovereign property.—Art. XXIII. The Prince of Hollenzollern Siegmaringen shall receive as his sovereign property the lordships of Aschberg and Hohensels depending on the comitial of Aschhausen, the convents of Klosterwald and Haltzthal, and the sovereignty over the imperial equestrian estates that lie in his dominions, and in the territory to the north of the Danube, wherever his sovereignty extends, namely, the lordships of Gamerdingen and Hottingen.—Art. XXIV. The members of the confederation shall exercise all the rights of sovereignty henceforward as follow:—His Majesty the King of Bavaria, over the principality of Schwartzenberg, the county of Castell, the lordships of Speinfeld and Wiesenheid, the dependencies of the principality of Hohenlohe, which are included in the margraviate of Anspach, and the territory of Rothanburg, namely, the great manors of Schillingsfurst and Kirchberg, the county of Sternstein, the principality of Oettingen, the possessions of the Prince of La Tour to the north of the principality of Neuburg, the county of Edelstetten, the possessions of the Prince and of the Count of Fugger, the burgraviat of Wintertrieden; lastly, the lordships of Buxheim and Tannhausen, and over the entire of the higway from Memmingen to Lindau.—His Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, over the possessions of the Prince and Count of Trüchess Waldburg, the counties of Baindt, Egloff Guttenzell, Hechbach, Tsuy, Koenigseek Aulendorff, Ochsenhausen, Roth, Schussenried, and Weissenau the lordships of Mietingen and Sunningen, New Ravensburg Thannheim, Warthausen, and Weingarten, with exception of the lordship of Hagenau; the possessions of the Prince of Thurn, with the exception of those not mentioned above; the lordship of Stras-

berg and manor of Oztraitz, the lordship of Gundelsingen which his Majesty does not possess, all the unalineated possessions of the Princess of Hohenlohe, and over a part of the manor formerly belonging to Mentz, Krautheim on the left bank of the Jaxt.—The Grand Duke of Baden over the Principality of Feurstenberg (with the exception of the lordships of Gundelsingen and Neussen); also over Trochtelfingen, Jungenau, and the part of the Manor of Moeskirch, which lies on the left bank of the Danube, over the lordship of Hagenau, county of Thuengen, Landgraviat Klettgau, manors Neidenau and Billigheim, principality of Liningen, the possessions of Lowenstein Wertheim, upon the left bank of the Malne (with the exception of the County of Loewenstein), and the lordships of Aaibach, Brennberg, and Habitzheim; and lastly over the possessions of the Princes of Salm-Reiferscheid-Krautheim, to the North of the Jaxt.—The Grand Duke of Berg, over the Lordships of Limburg Styrum, Brügg, Hardenberg, Gimborn, and Neustadt, Wildenberg; the counties of Homburg, Bentheim, Steinfort, and Horstmarn, the possessions of the Duke of Looz, the counties of Siegen, Dillenburg (the Manors of Werheim and Burgoch excepted), over Stadamar, the Lordships Westerburg, Schadeck, and Beilstein, and, the properly so called, part of Runkelt on the right bank of the Lahn. In order to establish a communication between Cleves and the abovenamed possessions, the Grand Duke shall have a free passage through the States of the Prince of Salm.—His Highness the Grand Duke of Darmstadt, over the Lordships of Brenberg, Haibach, the manor of Habizheim, County of Erbach, Lordship of Illenstadt, apart of the County of Konigsheim, which is possessed by the Prince of Stolberh Gederu; over the possessions of the Baron of Redesel, that are included in, or lie contiguous to, his States, namely, the jurisdictions of Lauserhach, Stockhausen, Mort, and Trnenstern, the possessions of the Princes and Counts of Solms, in Wetterau, exclusive of the Manors of Hohen-Solms, Braunsels, and Greifensten; lastly, the Counties Wittgenstein and Berleburg, and the Manor of Hessen-Homburg, which is in possession of the line of that names—His most serene eminence (Durchlauchtige Eminez) the Prince Primate, over the possessions of the princes and counts of Lowenstein-Wertheim, on the right bank of the Maine, and over the county of Rheineck.—Nassau Usingen, and Nassau Weilburg, over the Manors of Diersdorf, Altenwied, Neursburgh, and the part of the county of Bassenburgh, which belongs to the prince of Wied Runkel, over the counties of Nouwied and Holzapfel, the lordship of Schomburg, the county of Diez and its dependencies, over that part of the village of Metzfelden, which appertains to the prince of Nassau Fulda, the Manors of Werhem and Balbach, that part of the lordship of Runkel, situate on the left bank of the Dalur, over the equestrian possessions of Kransberg, and, lastly, over the manors of Solms Braunfels, Hohen Solms, and Greifenstein.—The Prince of Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen over Trochteiffingen, Jungenau, Strasberg, manor Ostrach, and the part of the lordship of Moeskirch which lays on the left bank of the Danube.—Salm Kyrburg over the lordship of Genmen.—Isenburg-Burstein, over the possessions of the Count of Isenburgh Budingen, Wechtersbach, and Mehrholz, without any pretensions on the part of the branch in present possession being urged against him.—Ahremberg over the county of Dulmen.—Art. XXV. The members of the confederation shall take the sovereignty of the Imperial equestrian lands included within their boundaries. Such of these lands as lie between the States of two of the Confederates, shall be with respect to the sovereignty partitioned as exactly as possible between them, that no misunderstanding with respect to the sovereignty may arise.

To be Continued.

Letter from Champagny, French Minister of the Interior, to Marshall Kellerman. Dated July 21, 1806.

Sir;—In conformity to your desire, I have informed his Majesty of the monument which the Society, of which you are a member, designed to erect to him. The Emperor was touched with this proof of the attachment of a number of estimable Citizens, among whom he has with pleasure seen you, Sir, who are equally distinguished by your rank, and the services which you have rendered. But the principles of his Majesty do not permit him to accept an offer of this sort, though dictated by a sentiment, as free as pure, of love, admiration, and gratitude. This homage of his subjects, the Emperor wishes to merit by his whole life. He will never consent, therefore, that during his life-time, monuments shall be erected to him by individuals. It is from posterity, that he awaits this honourable recompense of so many labours. After his death, the French may acknowledge, by an homage, the design of which cannot be disputed, the good which he shall have done to the nation which he governs, and whose prosperity and glory, the constant objects of his meditations

and his watchings, are also the only objects of the ambition of his whole life.—In transmitting to you these wishes of his Majesty, which I entreat you to communicate to your fellow-subscribers, I join, Sir, my regret to your's, on a decision so contrary to our wishes, and I beg you to accept the assurance of my high consideration.—(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.—N. B. A similar determination has been adopted relative to the project of a pillar, formed by M. Poyet, the Architect, and for which a great number of considerable subscriptions had already been made. This has been notified to the subscribers by the Minister of the Interior.

Declaration delivered in to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the Elector Arch-Chancellor:—Dated Ratisbon, August 1, 1806.

Right worthy, noble, and high esteemed, Sirs,—The under written deputies and ambassadors to the general Diet of the German empire, have received orders to communicate the annexed declaration, in the names of their respective sovereigns, to your excellencies.—The occurrences of the three last wars, which have almost uninterruptedly disturbed the tranquillity of Germany, and the political changes resulting from them, have most fully demonstrated that the bonds which were hitherto intended to unite the different members of the Germanic body, were inadequate to the purpose, or rather, that they were already actually dissolved. The cause of this truth has long existed in the heart of every German, and however painful the experience of late years has been, it has, in fact, only proved the decay of a constitution, venerable in its origin, but which had become faulty in consequence of the imperfections inseparable from all human institutions. To this circumstance alone, must, undoubtedly, be ascribed, the division which took place in the empire in 1795, and produced a separation of the interests of Northern and Southern Germany. From this moment, all ideas of one common country and interest must have vanished: the expressions, war of the empire, and peace of the empire, became words without signification; and in the midst of the German imperial body, Germany was sought in vain. The princes contiguous to France, destitute of all protection, exposed to all the terrors of a war which they had no constitutional means of terminating, were in fact, obliged to secede by separate treaties from the general union. The peace of Luneville, and still more the decrees of the empire of 1803, certainly seemed sufficient to give new vigour to the Germanic constitution, as they removed the weak parts of the system, and strengthened the principal pillars by which it was supported.—But the events that took place in the last ten months in the face of the whole empire, have blasted this last hope, and placed anew, out of all doubt, the inadequacy of the constitution hitherto subsisting. By these important considerations, the sovereigns and princes of the south and west of Germany have been induced to form a new confederacy adapted to the circumstances of the times. While they renounce by this declaration their connection with the Germanic body, they merely follow the system set up by former precedents, and by the declarations of the more powerful states of the empire. They might, indeed, have retained the empty shadow of an extinguished constitution; but they have, on the contrary, thought it more consonant to their dignity, and the purity of their intentions, to make a voluntary and public declaration of their resolution, and the motives by which they have been instigated.—In vain would they have flattered themselves with the hope of attaining the desired object, had they not been assured of a powerful protection, in the person of that monarch, whose views have always manifested their coincidence with the real interests of Germany. Such a powerful guarantee is doubly satisfactory. It affords the assurance, that his Majesty, the Emperor of France, not only for the sake of his own glory, but likewise for the particular interest of the French empire, will feel a solicitude in the maintenance of the new order of things in Germany, and the promotion of internal and external tranquillity. That this precious tranquillity is the principal object of the Rhenish confederacy must be obvious to the former imperial co-estates of those sovereigns in whose name the declaration is made, from the circumstance, that every one of them, whose situation might render him desirous to participate in it, is at liberty to accede to it.—At the same time that we hereby discharge this high and important duty, we have the honour to subjoin the assurance of the most respectful devotion with which we are Your Excellency's most obedient, &c.—(Signed) Baron Von RECHBERG, Privy Counsellor, and heretofore Ambassador to the Diet of his Majesty the King of Bavaria.—Baron Von SECKENDORF, Minister of State, and heretofore Ambassador to the Diet of his Majesty the King of Wirtemberg.—Baron Von ALBINI, Minister of State and Directorial Ambassador of the Electoral Arch-chan-

cellor.—Albert Baron Von Secklendorf, Ambassador of the Elector of Baden.—Baron Von Turkheim, Ambassador of the Landgrave of Hesse.—Edmund Baron Von Schmitz-Grollenburg, Ambassador of his Serene Highness the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and of the whole princely House of Hohenzollern.—Von Wolf, Vicar-General and Dean, as Ambassador of the Prince of Salm-Kyrburg.—Von Mollenbec, on the part of his Serene Highness the Prince of Isenburg.

Buonaparté and the Jews.——*Proceedings of the Assembly of French Deputies professing the Religion of the Jews. Second Sitting. From the Moniteur, Paris, August* 4, 1806.

The commissioners of his Majesty having entered the hall, M. Mole, who was at their head, addressed the assembly as follows:

Gentlemen,——His Majesty the Emperor and King having appointed us commissioners to treat with you, respecting your own affairs, has sent us here this day for the purpose of communicating his intentions. Called from the farthest part of this vast empire, none of you can be ignorant of the purposes for which you are assembled here. You are aware that the conduct of many of those who profess your religion, has given rise to complaints which have reached the foot of the throne. These complaints were not without foundation. The Emperor, notwithstanding, contented himself with arresting the progress of the evil, and wished to have your opinion on the means of radically curing it. You will, no doubt, prove yourselves deserving of this paternal consideration, and you will feel the value of the important mission which is confided to you. Far from regarding the government under which you live, as a power of which you should be suspicious, your study will be to enlighten it, to co-operate with it in the good which it is preparing; and by thus manifesting that you have profited by the experience of all the French, you will prove, that you have no wish to separate yourselves from other classes of society.——The laws which have been imposed upon persons of your religion have been different all over the world; they have been too often dictated by the exigency of the moment. But, as there is no example in the Christian Annals of any assembly like this, so, in like manner, you, for the first time, are to be impartially judged, and your fate decided by a Christian Prince. It is his Majesty's wish that you should become French; it is your duty to accept this title, and to consider that you, in fact, renounce it, whenever you shew yourselves unworthy of it.—You shall hear the questions read, which are to be proposed to you. It will be your duty to declare the whole truth upon each of them. We now declare to you, and we shall never cease to repeat it to you, that when a Sovereign, as firm as he is just, who knows every thing, who can punish as well as reward, interrogates his subjects, they would render themselves as culpable as they would shew themselves blind to their real interests, if they should hesitate about answering freely and frankly.——It is his Majesty's wish, gentlemen, that you should enjoy perfect freedom of deliberation. Your president will communicate your answers to us as soon as they are prepared. As to ourselves, we have no more ardent wishes than to be able to inform the Emperor, that among his subjects of the Jewish religion, there are none whose loyalty is not unquestionable, and who are not disposed to conform to those laws and morals which it is the duty of all Frenchmen to practise and follow."

The following questions proposed by his Majesty, were then read by the secretary of the meeting:—1. Is the Jew permitted to marry more than one wife?—2. Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion?—3. Can a Jewess intermarry with a Christian, or a Christian female with a Jew? or does the law prescribe that Jews alone should intermarry?—4. Are the French in the eyes of the Jews brothers or aliens?—5. What, in all cases, are the connections which their law permits them to maintain with the French who are not of their religion?—6. Do the Jews who were born in France, and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, consider France as their native country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they under an obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code?—7. Who are they who are called Rabbins?—8. What civil jurisdiction do the Rabbins exercise among the Jews? What power of punishment do they possess?—9. Are the mode of chusing the Rabbins, and the system of punishment, regulated by the Jewish laws, or are they only rendered sacred by custom?—10. Were the Jews forbidden by their laws to take usury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this of strangers?—11. Are those things proclaimed, which are forbidden to the Jews by their law?"

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" I cannot conceive why the *lives*, *fortunes*, and *characters*, of His Majesty's *military officers* should not be " entitled to as solemn a consideration as those of every other subject in the country. That a practice, " upon contrary principles, does prevail, and has been attended with great hardship to individuals, I shall " be enabled to shew in a case that has lately occurred, and has *spread the greatest alarm throughout the army*. " I allude to the case of COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, who, after a trial by a court-martial, and an " honorable acquittal, has been exposed to the penalties attendant upon guilt. This case calls for redress " against the effects of *undue influence*."——GENERAL FITZPATRICK's Speech, in the House of Commons, on the 28th June, 1805.

THE CASE
OF THE
HON. A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.

In the preceding Number of the Register, the reader has seen, that the Address of MR. JOHNSTONE, published on the 9th instant, has given rise to a letter, intended for the public, on the part of LORD MOIRA. The contents of that letter, and of another letter, which, it now appears, his lordship addressed to MR. JOHNSTONE himself, on the eleventh instant, have induced MR. JOHNSTONE to publish, in the present Number, a full and clear statement of all the transactions, which, since his publication last year, have taken place with regard to his case. This statement will speak for itself; but, with a view of rendering a knowledge of the whole of the case, from first to last, as general as may be; with a view of communicating it, if possible, to the mind of every man in the kingdom, I shall insert, before MR. JOHNSTONE's statement, my own analysis of his case, which analysis was published by me on the 5th of July last; and I shall, after it, re-insert all the other papers and documents thereunto relating. Thus, the present number, though consisting of two sheets, will, in great part, be occupied with this one subject; but, I am fully persuaded, that this subject is of greater importance to the nation, than almost any other; it being evident to me, as I think it must be to every man that takes time to reflect, that, unless redress be obtained by MR. JOHNSTONE, and unless there be an effectual prevention of future acts, similar to those of which he complains, it is quite impossible, that any thing worthy of the name of public liberty can long exist in this country; with which introductory remark I commit the subject to the attentive consideration of the reader.

ANALYSIS OF MR. JOHNSTONE'S CASE.

" Ye Army-Rats, from Murray learn to vote:
" First get the cloathing, and then turn the coat."——
FITZPATRICK.

The statement of this gentleman's case has too long been kept from the public; and, especially when we consider, that, during the present session of parliament, measures have been taken, laws have been passed, for increasing the number of officers of the regular army, and for adding to the income attached, to those situations, of which it is, at any moment, in the absolute power of the Crown to deprive the possessors, with or without cause assigned. Upon the danger to be apprehended from a power like this, unchecked by any responsibility any where, and exercised over the officers of an army of, at least, 250,000 men, formed into more than 300 separate regiments, or corps, each of which has a Colonel, or other Commander, deriving from cloathing, &c. about 1,200l. a year *profit*, exclusive of his *pay*, and the whole number of Commissioned Officers of which army cannot be less than *ten thousand*, whereunto must be added the double Commissions arising from Staff and other situations inseparable from military rank; an army, in short, that is to cost *twenty millions* of money annually; upon the extreme danger to be apprehended from a power like this, unchecked by any responsibility, exercised over a department which swallows up nearly *one half* of the taxes that are annually raised, I have frequently had occasion to remark, and I have as frequently besought Mr. Windham not to forget, in his new arrangements, to make provision for some degree of *security* for the officers of the army, pointing out to him, that, if they were left as they now are, liable to be at any moment, cashiered, with or without cause assigned, every shilling added to their income, every mark of honour upon them bestowed, was so much added to this absolute power of the Crown. It has been, upon such occasions, answered, that to dismiss officers at his pleasure was *always* the prerogative of the King; but, an argument like this, to be good for any thing, must be made to apply to all cases; and, may we not say, that it was always the prerogative of the King to dismiss the *Judges* at

pleasure? It was so, until *a law was*, in the reign of William III. *passed to take the prerogative away*. The same argument might have been urged against this great improvement in the constitution; and, indeed, against every measure involving any change whatever in cases where the power of the Crown is concerned. But, how would this doctrine of immutable right sound, if brought forward on the side of the people? They, the whole of them, *always* previous to the reign of Henry VI., voted for members of parliament, unless they were mere servants, mere bondsmen. They *always* had annual elections, until a certain time. They *always*, at a later epoch, had triennial elections, until the reign of George II. Of all these privileges they were deprived by *law*; and, shall we be told, that *no law can be passed* to circumscribe the prerogative of the Crown with regard to the officers of the army? Shall we be told that this prerogative must always exist *merely because it has hitherto existed?* No one but a desperate shoe-licker will seriously urge such an argument; but, there may be, and, doubtless there are, very honest and independent men, who entertain doubts as to the *expediency* of making any alteration; who ask, *why* any alteration is proposed? why the prerogative may not as safely remain undiminished *now* as it did formerly? The answer is this: the prerogative has *increased* in power beyond what was formerly thought possible; formerly, the army was voted annually in *substance* and not in mere form; formerly, it was not only annually declared that it was unlawful to keep up a standing army in time of peace without consent of parliament, but, in reality, nothing worthy of the name of army was kept up in time of peace; formerly, the militia, which was then the only body to which the defence of the kingdom was committed, was officered exclusively by the counties, and not, in great part of the Crown, formerly, the army was so small as to require, no longer than *twenty years ago*, not more than 3,000 Commissioned Officers, instead of 10,000 Commissioned Officers; formerly, the annual military expenditure, over which this prerogative extended, was, even in the most expensive years of the American War, about 7 millions a year, instead of 20 millions a year, as it now is; formerly, after the peace with America, the establishment of the regular army was about 56,000 men, instead of about 150,000 as it now must be, and as it actually was during the last peace: formerly, the army was so little numerous as to make it probable that it would, in great part, be officered by men of fortunes comparatively independent, and, of course, not likely to be so much influenced by the prospect of losing their commissions; formerly, no one ever dreamt, that England would become "a *military nation*," and therefore no one formally and openly objected to the King's having the absolute power over the fortunes of all military men; but (and having asked this question we may leave the reader to give what further answer is necessary) if one half of the taxes of the nation be expended upon its army, if the nation be "a military nation," and if the King have the absolute and sole power over the fortunes of all military men, *what* must in reality, be the *government* of that nation?——From the impression produced in my mind by this view of the subject it was that I was led, always when I spoke of the forming of a large regular army, to propose such *conditions of service* as should connect both officers and men with *the people* by ties so strong that nothing should be able to break; as should, in the words of PALEY, "maintain, upon "all occasions, as much alliance of interest, "and as much intercourse of sentiment, "between the military part of the nation "and the other people, as should be "consistent with the union and the discipline of an army." The soldiers I would have sent back, in quick succession, and after short service, into civil life, *there* to receive and enjoy their reward, upon which reward I would have fixed their prospective attention all the while they had arms in their hands. For the officers, who all must, in some degree, have *fortune* and *reputation* at stake, I would have provided not only rewards in civil life after service, but a *security* for their fortune and reputation *during good behaviour* in the service, and, for the deciding with respect to that good behaviour I would have provided a competent tribunal, or, at least, an adequate *responsibility* somewhere or other, insomuch that their fate should have depended upon *law*, and not upon mere *will*, which, though exercised by the wisest and the best of men, can never be regarded as leaving to the object whereon it is to be exercised any security at all.——Leaving these general remarks to the reflection of the reader, I shall now proceed to state the case of MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, who, I think it will be believed, would still have been, what he long was, a most valuable officer in the army, had a system such as I would have proposed, been adopted previous to the date of his quitting the army.——This gentleman, was, in the year 1801, a Colonel in the army, Colonel

of the 8th West-India regiment (Blacks), and Governor of the Island of Dominica, where he then was and where his regiment also was. From his early youth Mr. Johnstone has been active in the service of his country; he has served in America, in the East-Indies, in the West-Indies; has always been distinguished for his ability as well as his zeal, and, when a person worthy of great confidence was wanted to carry to His Royal Highness the Duke of York *the dispatches* from Mr. Dundas, in consequence of which His Royal Highness *came home from Flanders*, Mr. Johnstone *was the person selected to be the bearer of them*, a service which he performed with a degree of *celerity* and of *resolution* that entitled him to the admiration of the army and the thanks of the public.——It will be recollected, that, in the year 1801, there was a mutiny in the Black regiment at Dominica. In consequence of this and of other occurrences in that Island, Mr. Johnstone was called home, and soon after his arrival in England, he preferred charges against John Gordon, the Major of his regiment, and who was in the immediate command of it at the time of the mutiny. Major Gordon was, after more than a year of attendance, on the part of Mr. Johnstone, brought to a court-martial and tried in the month of January, 1804; but, he was not tried upon the charges as originally given in to the department of the Duke of York, but, as they were *there modified*, and, let it be well observed, that one of the charges, namely, that the accused had "*absconded* from Dominica, in order to "escape from justice, and had behaved "with insolence and disrespect to his Colo-"nel," was *entirely omitted* in this new-modelling of the charges for the court-martial! The court, however, pronounced Major Gordon's conduct to be irregular, culpably negligent, and highly censurable. No bad consequence followed to *this* man. Nothing was done to him. He remained, and still remains, in full possession of his rank and pay!——During the time between the preferring of charges against Major Gordon and the assembling of the court-martial for his trial, to wit, on the month of October, 1803, there was a brevet promotion of Major Generals, and, upon examining the list of this promotion, Mr. Johnstone was surprized to find those of officers *junior* to himself in it, and *his own name omitted*; whereupon he complained to the Duke of York, stated that he could not believe that he was thus punished without some offence being supposed to be imputable to him, and earnestly requested that an investigation into his conduct might speedily take place. This earnest request, proceeding from the anxious and wounded mind of an officer of high rank earned by long and most arduous services, was before the Duke of York unanswered for *nine weeks*, at the end of which time he wrote to Mr. Johnstone thus: "it is an invariable "rule of the service, not to include in any "general brevet promotion, an officer "(whatever may be his rank) against whom "there *exist charges*, the merit of which "has not been decided. Whenever an in-"vestigation shall have taken place; and, "should the result prove *favourable to you*, "there will *not be any difficulty in your re-"covering the rank* to which your seniority, "as Colonel, entitles you." This letter, which was dated on the 10th of December, 1803, was not very satisfactory to Mr. Johnstone, who naturally was not a little anxious that the investigation should take place as soon as possible; but who was informed, that it could not take place, until the conclusion of Major Gordon's trial, which trial, observe, Mr. Johnstone *had in vain been endeavouring to bring on for above a twelvemonth!* But, what surprized Mr. Johnstone most, was, the information, now for the *first time* given him, of there being *charges existing* against him; and, it will, I imagine, appear most surprizing indeed to the reader, that an officer should be *punished* (for to be left out of his place in the brevet promotion is most severe and disgraceful punishment) upon the ground of mere *charges*, and of charges, too, of the existence of which he has not been informed, and, moreover, of the *existence* of which the person who has thus punished him does not inform him until nine weeks after he complains of his punishment!——After the receipt of this letter from the Duke of York on the 10th of December, 1803, many and most earnest were the inquiries on the part of Mr. Johnstone to know the nature and purport of the charges to which the Duke of York had alluded, and upon which he, Mr. Johnstone, had been, by anticipation, punished; but, no satisfaction, nay, *no answer* whatever, could he obtain, until the *28th of the ensuing month of May*, having been kept in a state of suspense and of disgrace for nearly *six months*. He now received a letter from Colonel Clinton (one of the select gentlemen about the Duke of York) informing him, by "the *command*" (for that is the phrase) of His Royal Highness, that Major Gordon was the accuser; that he had, from time to time, transmitted letters and verbally made general accusations

against Mr. Johnstone; and that His Royal Highness had felt it incumbent upon him, to call upon Major Gordon, as soon as the proceedings against him had been concluded, to state, whether he *meant* to bring forward any specific charges against Mr. Johnstone. Thus, at last, this gentleman, who had for six months been requesting to be informed what those charges were, which, as the Duke of York told him, *existed* against him on the 10th of December, 1803, was informed . . . . . of what? Not of the nature of the charges; no, but that the Duke of York had not yet ascertained whether Major Gordon *meant* to bring forward any charges at all; or, in other words, whether there were in existence *the grounds* whereon to form any charges; though, observe, as you must have observed from the Duke of York's letter above quoted, that the Duke of York had actually disgraced Mr. Johnstone, upon the ground, as stated by himself, that charges *existed* against Mr. Johnstone in the month of *the preceding October!*——Upon this no comment is necessary.——Mr. Johnstone, conscious that no criminal charge against him could be substantiated, eagerly waited for the day of trial, which day of trial he was, however, obliged to wait for until *the month of March*, 1805, though, according to the Duke of York's account, in his letter to Mr. Johnstone of the 10th of December, 1803, the *charges existed*, actually *existed*, in the month of October, 1803, a year and a half before it was thought proper to proceed upon them, though an officer of Mr. Johnstone's rank was kept all the while idly waiting for the day of inquiry, though both he and the public were suffering from the delay, and, which is of still more importance in the eyes of just men, though two brevet promotions had now passed him over and stigmatized him previous to his going before his judges!—— Previous to the assembling of the court-martial, however, there was a circumstance arose that merits particular notice.——Mr. Johnstone having thought it right to object to Mr. Oldham, the Deputy Judge Advocate General, as the person to officiate at his trial, an objection founded, as it has since appeared, partly upon the hostility manifested by that gentleman towards Mr. Johnstone at, and after, the trial of Major Gordon; this objection having been made by Mr. Johnstone to Sir Charles Morgan, the Judge Advocate General, this latter informed him, that he had had an intention of appointing some other person to officiate at the court-martial; but, that he had recently received *an application from the Duke of York*, requesting that Mr. Oldham *might officiate*, and that *this* had *determined* him (Sir Charles Morgan) to employ Mr. Oldham upon the occasion! Mr. Johnstone succeeded, at last, in setting this determination aside; but, will not the reader think it wonderful, that the Duke of York, the Commander in Chief, the person to whose sole care was committed all the army and all the means of defence of this nation; will not the reader think it almost incredible, that this person should find leisure to attend to matters so very minute as that of the selecting of a man to take down the proceedings of a court-martial!——The court-martial was, at first, ordered, by the Duke of York, to be holden at *Canterbury*, whither towards the end of February, Mr. Johnstone, together with his witnesses repaired. Several members of the court had also arrived, and they as well as Mr. Johnstone and his witnesses, had taken lodgings. Some of the witnesses, summoned from a distance, had actually driven through London to Canterbury, and were now obliged, by counter order of the Duke of York, issued on the 20th of February, to post back again to Chelsea, at the expence of themselves or of Mr. Johnstone. As no *reason* was given for this sudden change of place, the *motive* must be left to the reader to discover; but, it is right to observe, that Mr. Johnstone, in his letter to Sir Charles Morgan, dated on the 21st of February 1805, states that "great inconvenience and expense will be "occasioned by this change, as well as "*the impossibility of transmitting timely* "*notice of it to the witnesses, particularly* "*those resident in distant parts of the king-*"*dom.*"——At Chelsea Hospital, however, the court-martial assembled, with LORD HARRINGTON at its head, on the 1st of March, 1805. The charges were then and there exhibited, and were as follow:—— "First Charge.——Having contrary to "his duty, and to the great injury of the "service, in or about the month of Octo-"ber, 1801, when he knew that the ac-"counts of the regiment were in confusion, "clandestinely obtained for his own use, "from Richard Seward, paymaster of the "8th West India regiment, by bill drawn "upon the agent of the corps, and by him "charged to the paymaster's regimental "account, the sum of five hundred pounds "sterling, being money due by government "to the corps, under the false pretence that "he would write to the agent immediately "to place the same to his own private ac-"count, and that it should not in any man-"ner affect the accounts or credit of the

" paymaster with the agent or public; and " having afterwards falsely promised to the " commanding officer to transfer his pay as " Colonel to the paymaster to liquidate the " above sum of five hundred pounds, none " of which engagements he performed, " whereby the confusion of the accounts " was increased, and the paymaster was de- " prived of the means of regularly paying " the regiment. The accounts of the men " were unsettled, and, as would appear, dis- " content was excited in the corps.——And " having, in or about the months of March " or April 1802, when he knew that the " paymaster was in arrear to the regiment, " directed above one hundred and forty " pounds to be stopped from the paymas- " ter, out of the subsistence due to the re- " giment, under the false pretence that the " same was justly due to him, whereby the " difficulty of paying the regiment was in- " creased, contrary to his duty, and to the " injury of the regiment and service.—— " SECOND CHARGE.——Having contrary " to his duty, and to the prejudice of the " service, at times between the month of " July, 1801, and the end of April, 1802, " suffered the resident paymasters, who " were his secretaries, unwarrantably to re- " tain, or neglect to issue regularly and " agreeable to general orders, a part of the " subsistence of the troops, under pretence " that the same was not received from the " deputy paymaster general; and in parti- " cular, having suffered resident paymaster " Charles Kerr, who was his secretary, to " retain, or unwarrantably to neglect to " issue, under the above false pretence, in " the months of March and April, 1802, " immediately preceding the mutiny of the " 8th West India regiment, sums of money " due on account of subsistence, to that " corps, to the amount of about one thou- " sand pounds sterling, being nearly equal " to two months pay of the regiment, " whereby the men's balances were unpaid; " and, as would appear, discontent and mu- " tiny were excited among them. It fur- " ther appears, that Colonel Andrew Coch- " rane Johnstone asserted, both in word " and writing, a falsehood unbecoming his " rank and the character of an officer, to " vindicate Mr. Kerr's conduct, in not is- " suing the money due to the regiment.—— " THIRD CHARGE.——Having employed, " or directed to employ, soldiers of the 8th " West India regiment in manual labour, " on his own lands, and on other works, and " neither paid nor directed them to be paid " for their labour; contrary to his duty, and " to the injury of the service. In particu- " lar, having repeatedly so employed, and " not paid for their labour, a considerable " part of a detachment of recruits, belong- " ing to the 8th West India regiment, con- " sisting of about seventy or eighty men, " while quartered at Roseau, the residence of " Colonel Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, for " some months immediately preceding the " month of September, 1801, and having, " although under his immediate inspection, " totally neglected to have them instructed " and trained to discipline, as his duty and " the good of the service required.——And " having in the months of March and April, " 1802, immediately preceding the mutiny " of the 8th West India regiment, directed " the regiment to be employed in cutting " wood, and clearing some swampy ground " in the neighbourhood of Prince Rupert's, " in the island of Dominica, with the view " (as would appear) to convert the same to " his own use; and having neither paid the " men, nor directed them to be paid, for " their labour, to the great injury of the ser- " vice; as thereby, it appears, discontent and " mutiny were excited in the regiment.—— " FOURTH CHARGE.——Having, in di- " rect opposition to his duty, as command- " ing officer of the troops in Dominica, " availed himself of his military power to " violate the laws, and to infringe the rights " and liberty of the subject, between the " month of August, 1801, and the end of " July, 1802. In particular, having in " violation of law, and of the rights of " the subject, on or about the 14th day of " December, 1801, caused James Ryrie, " a civil inhabitant of the island of Domi- " nique, to be illegally arrested by an " armed military detachment, and to be " confined in a military fort and guard- " house; and having suffered the said " James Ryrie to be insulted, beaten, and " maltreated, by persons under his imme- " diate influence and command, without " taking steps to prevent the same, or to " discover and bring to justice the authors " of such outrages, or the person or persons " who employed them.——And having " further, in opposition to his duty as com- " manding officer, as aforesaid, and in " violation of the laws, and the liberty of " the subject, in or about the month of " July, 1802, authorised and permitted " his own menial servant in his presence, " to insult and threaten with a pistol, Mr. " Etienne La Caze, residing in the island " of Dominica, and formerly a lieutenant " in the Loyal Dominica regiment, and " authorising or permitting his servant " forcibly to drag the said Etienne La Caze

" to Fort Younge, and to deliver him " illegally a prisoner to the guard, and to " have him there confined, and a centinel, " with a drawn bayonet, placed over him. " Those instances affording proof of abuse " of military authority, and of conduct un- " becoming an officer and a gentleman."—— Such were the charges, at last exhibited, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that, according to the acknowledgement of the Duke of York and his Secretary, these charges had been preparing from, or before, the month of October, 1803, and were not actually exhibited until the 1st of March, 1805! The decision of the court at the end of a twenty-five days' trial was as follows.—— " The Court Martial having " weighed the whole of the evidence ad- " duced by the prosecutor Major Gordon, " and that brought forward by the Honoura- " ble Colonel Andrew Cochrane Johnstone " in his defence, is of opinion, that the " 500l. bill, mentioned in the First Charge, " was not clandestinely obtained by Colonel " Johnstone, and that it doth not appear, " that his Majesty's service or the good of " the regiment was, in any degree, injured " by that transaction; and therefore the " Court doth honourably acquit him of the " former part of the First Charge.——With " regard to the second part of the First " Charge; viz. directing 140l. to be stop- " ped from the paymaster, out of the sub- " sistence due to the regiment, the Court is " of opinion, that no blame whatever at- " taches to Colonel Johnstone in this trans- " action, and they therefore also honour- " ably acquit him of the same.——With " regard to the first part of the Second " Charge, the Court is of opinion, that it " hath not been proved, and therefore ac- " quits Colonel Johnstone of the same.—— " And with regard to the second part of the " Second Charge; viz. the having asserted " a falsehood unbecoming his rank, and the " character of an officer, the Court doth " most honourably acquit him——With " respect to the first part of the Third " Charge, it appearing that the offence set " forth therein, took place (if at all) above " three years prior to the date of His Ma- " jesty's warrant, for holding this Court " Martial, the Court is of opinion, it hath " no power to take cognizance of the same. " ——With regard to the second part of " the Third Charge, the Court sees no rea- " son whatever to believe, that Colonel " Johnstone had any intention to derive in- " dividual benefit by the labour of the men " from working in the swamp and they therefore acquit him of the charge; al- " though they cannot approve his having " ordered the work on the swamp, under " all the circumstances of the case.—— " With respect to the Fourth Charge, the " Court is of opinion, that it is not sub- " stantiated, and therefore acquit him ac- " cordingly."——Now, I wish to be understood as not resting at all upon this acquittal, upon this decision of LORD HARRINGTON and his fellow judges. Mr. JOHNSTONE's cause and character scorn such a defence. I rest upon the *evidence*, as taken down before the Court and as since published at large; and, having read that evidence with great care, I assert, that not only were the charges, *all* the charges, unfounded, and totally unfounded, but that there was not produced before the court any fact to show, or to cause it to be believed, that, in any one instance, the prosecutor, MAJOR GORDON, *could possibly believe the charges to be true.* I assert, that, instead of demerit; instead of neglect of duty, iustead of selfishness, instead of tyrannnical conduct; it was *proved* that Mr. JOHNSTONE had been, through the whole of his command, a most vigilant and zealous officer, just, liberal, kind, and generous to his regiment and to every description of persons under him, whether as a military or civil officer. These assertions I make after a most attentive examination of the whole of the proceedings of the court martial, and for the truth of these assertions I appeal to the printed account of those proceedings. ——Let us now recall to mind, then, the letter of the Duke of York to Mr. JOHNSTONE, dated 10th December, 1803, in which the former, in order to pacify the latter, assured him, that, if the result of the investigation should be favourable to him, there would " *not be any difficulty* in his " recovering the rank to which his seniority, " as Colonel, entitled him." The result being now known; that result being decidedly favourable to Mr. JOHNSTONE, his rank, one would have expected to see instantly restored to him. That this was not the case the public already know; and, we are now about to see upon what grounds it was refused.——On the 18th of April, that is to say, in about three weeks after the trial was over, Mr. JOHNSTONE, went to the Horse Guards to wait upon the Duke of York; but being informed that he " *could* " *not have access to the presence*" of that Royal Personage, he applied, on the 19th, by letters to the Adjutant General, for the restoration of his rank. After a good deal of procrastination, he obtained the infinite honour of coming into the presence of the

Duke of York, whom he begged to tender his commission (as Colonel) to His Majesty, as he could not think of remaining in the army with a stigma fixed upon him. His Royal Highness was most graciously pleased to tender the Colonel's commission to His Majesty, of which His Royal Majesty was most graciously disposed and pleased to accept.—But, now for the *grounds* upon which the Duke of York refused to restore Mr. JOHNSTONE to his rank.—And here the reader will please to observe, that the sentences, or decisions, of all General courts-martial are communicaied to the King by *the Judge Advocate General*, who, when he has received the commands of the King, communicates them to the Commander in Chief, together with *the King's remarks* thereon. Sir Charles Morgan, having first laid the decision of this court-martial before the King, next communicated it to the Duke of York, subjoining thereunto the following remarks on the part of the King: —— "And I am "to acquaint Your Royal Highness, "that His Majesty has APPROVED the de- "cision of the Court Martial upon the "several points brought under their conside- "ration.——With respect to the circum- "stance of the Court having been inhibited "from taking cognizance of one of the "most material articles of charge, by reason "that it appeared, upon explanation, that "the supposed fact, which the prosecutor "had in contemplation, and which he ex- "pected to have been able to establish by "evidence, certainly did not take place "within three years antecedent to the date "of the warrant for this trial; *His Majes- "ty considers* this lapse of time to have been "owing to an *improper conduct of the prose- "cutor*, who, instead of making *general "accusations*, highly reflecting upon the "character of Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, "might and ought to have set forth in sub- "stance the particular instances of crimina- "tion which he had in view.——In regard "to another article of charge imputing to "Colonel Cochrane Johnstone his hav- "ing, in the months of March and April "1802 (a period within the cognizance of "the Court Martial), employed soldiers of "the 8th West India regiment in work to- "wards clearing the swamp *without paying "them or directing them to be paid for their "labour*, His Majesty perceived with satis- "faction, that the evidence has not fur- "nished any reason to suppose, that he de- "rived, or had in prospect, any individual "advantage, as the prosecutor had by his "charge suggested: His Majesty however "*expressed much disapprobation* of the sol- "diers having been so employed and un- "paid, more especially as Colonel Coch- "rane Johnstone acted therein upon his "own sole authority, and without the as- "sent or privity of General Sir Thomas "Trigge who commanded in chief, and "whose sanction, it was his duty to have ob- "tained before any such measure was taken."

—— The remarks, given in the name of, and *as coming from*, His Majesty, observe, the Duke of York, in a letter which Mr. JOHNSTONE, at last, got from him, on the 16th of May, 1805, asserts to be the grounds upon which he refused Mr. JOHNSTONE his rank. His words are these: "I must however, ob- "serve, that in consequence of the public "letter of the Judge Advocate General, "transmitting to me the decision of the "General Court Martial *(on which letter "alone I must form my opinion on the whole "matter of your case)*, and which the Judge "Advocate General conveys to me His "Majesty's approbation of such decision, "together with the *remark* which his Ma- "jesty was pleased to express upon your "conduct, I cannot conceive, that so long "as the *strong displeasure* of His Majesty "remains upon the public records of the "army, that I should be warranted to take "upon myself to recommend to His Majes- "ty, that an officer, *labouring under such "high censure*, should be promoted in His "Majesty's service. I have, therefore, in "conformity to your request, laid the re- "signation of your commission as Colonel "at His Majesty's feet, and am command- "ed to acquaint you, that His Majesty "has been graciously pleased to accept "the same." ——— Thus we see that where a court-martial has *acquitted*, the king may make a *remark* upon the decision, and that remark may be the ground of *punishment!* But, supposing, for a moment, these remarks to have come from the king, and taking the latter remark first, how does it agree with the opinion of the court-martial? The court say, that they wholly acquit Mr. JOHNSTONE of all criminality upon the charge; but, that, under all the circumstances of the case they *cannot approve* of his having ordered the work upon the swamp; but, they do not even hint that the men ought to have been *paid* for it, as is suggested in the remark; and, indeed, they ought not to have been paid for it, it being a mere duty of *Fatigue*, for which soldiers are never paid. It was a duty similar to that of cleaning a Barrack-yard, or levelling a parade; and does not every one perceive, that if soldiers were to be paid for work like this, that there would never be any end of yay-

ment? If, indeed, Mr. JOHNSTONE had employed the men in making exhibitions, in preparing diversions for himself or his friends; if he had employed them in dancing attendance upon, in working for, in removing the goods, of a strumpet, for instance, or of any other person not belonging to their corps; then, indeed, he would, have deserved censure. It was *proved* upon the trial, that the men were ordered to perform work conducive to their own health; that the land they worked upon belonged to the public; that if the work had been paid for the public must have paid; that the work was one which the ministers at home anxiously wished to have performed; and the only question was, whether it was *advisable* for Mr. JOHNSTONE, under all the circumstances of the case, to employ *his men* upon this work or not. I think it is clearly *proved*, that it *was* advisable! but, as the court thought otherwise, let us *suppose* that it was *not advisable*; and, then, it will, I think, be agreed, that when the court said that they could *not approve* of the men having been so employed, they went quite as far as the case would warrant. But when this *not approving* comes to His Majesty, it rises into "MUCH *disapprobation*;" and, when it comes to the Duke of York, it towers up to "*strong displeasure*," and "*high censure*;" and becomes the ground of *punishment* and *disgrace!*——But, it is the *former* of the two remarks, made in the name of, and as coming from, the King, that we have chiefly to notice. The Judge Advocate General, Sir Charles Morgan, tells the Duke of York, and through him the whole army (upon the public records of which the letter was put), that *His Majesty* remarks that it appeared that the "supposed fact which the prosecutor "*expected* to have *established by evidence* "did not take place within three years of "the date of the warrant for the trial," and that "*His Majesty considers* this lapse "of time to have been owing to the improper "conduct of the prosecutor, who, instead "of making general accusations, might and "ought to have set forth particular instances "of criminality."——First, observe, that the *supposed fact*, here alluded to, and which, as it is expressed in the remark, belonged to "one of the most material "articles of charge," was, that Mr. JOHNSTONE had *employed his men to work upon his own lands and for his own private emolument and advantage*, as it is stated above in CHARGE III. Who, upon reading the decision of the court and the remark made in the name of the King; who, upon reading these (which, observe, have been *put "upon the records of the army"*) would not imagine, that this "lapse of time" was *fortunate* for Mr. JOHNSTONE; and that, if his prosecutor could have got him sooner to trial, he *might*, upon this charge, at least, have been convicted? Is not this the impression which these documents are calculated to give? But, let the following facts be, then, known, and let them be remembered: 1st, that the act charged was alleged to have taken place *previous to September*, 1801; 2d, that an investigation into the conduct of Mr. JOHNSTONE was contemplated by the Duke of York in October, 1803, and upon that contemplation he withheld Mr. JOHNSTONE's name from the brevet promotion; 3d, that, between September, 1801, and October, 1803, only *two years* and one month had elapsed; 4th, that, between October, 1803, and August, 1804, when the warrant for the trial was, at last, issued, Mr. JOHNSTONE had made repeated and urgent requests to the Duke of York that his trial might take place *without delay*; and 5th, that Mr. JOHNSTONE expressly requested, in a letter to the Adjutant General, dated 22d June, 1804, that "*no part* "*of the grounds*, on which Major Gordon "had proposed to found his charges against "him, *should be kept back* from examination." Whose fault was it, then, that the court-martial were, as the remark, in the name of the King expresses it, "*inhibited* "*from taking cognizance* of one of the "most material articles of charge?" But, the most important circumstance relative to this remark remains to be noticed. Who would not imagine, from reading it, that the court-martial had *not examined* into the *truth* or *falsehood* of this charge? The fact is, however, that they did fully *examine into it*; and, that the charge was *proved* to be *utterly false and destitute of the semblance of foundation!* The court, upon discovering the date of the alleged act, found that they were by law inhibited from taking cognizance of it; but, they had previously examined all the *evidence* as to the *fact*; and, if it was necessary to make the remark; if it was necessary to put "upon the records of the army" the remark above quoted, as to the *lapse of time*, and as to the *expectation* which MAJOR GORDON had of *establishing the charge by evidence*, should it not also have been remarked, that ALL THE EVIDENCE WAS PRODUCED, and that the charged was *proved to be false*? Should not this also have been "put on the "records of the army?"——Such, reader, such, Englishmen, were the grounds, upon

which the Duke of York refused Mr. Johnstone the restoration of his rank; such were the grounds, upon which this gentleman, after a life of arduous military service, in divers parts of the world and against divers enemies, without ever having once *ran away* or brought *disgrace upon the arms of England*, was refused his rank, was punished in a manner the most severe by the Duke of York ——The *remarks* communicated to the Duke of York in the King's name, and as coming directly *from the King*, were, the reader will have perceived, regarded by the Duke of York as so imperiously binding, that it was out of his power not to act in rigid conformity to their spirit. He tells Mr. Johnstone, in the letter above quoted, that the letter, transmitted to him by the Judge Advocate General, is that on which he must form his opinion on the whole matter of *Mr. Johnstone's case*. That his Royal Highness was not entirely and in all cases, submissive to the opinions of the Judge Advocate is pretty clear from the fact, as stated by the latter himself, that his Royal Highness did not so far possess weight with him as to *determine* him to appoint Mr. Oldham to officiate at the trial, contrary to the first intention of the Judge Advocate. Who, then, would not suppose, that the *remarks*, the famous remarks, above quoted, *did actually proceed from the King?* Whether they did or not the reader may judge, when he has read the following letter from Sir Charles Morgan to Mr. Johnstone, dated 26th of April, 1805:—— "Sir, Aware of your "anxious and natural wish to receive early "information of the result of the proceed- "ings of the Court Martial upon your trial, "I did not hesitate, on the same day on "which the original was penned, to send to "your house in town the substance (I be- "lieve, a copy) of the letter, which noti- "fied to the Commander in Chief the sen- "tence, and his Majesty's pleasure respect- "ing the same I think it proper now to "intimate to you, that *I have since seen "occasion to recal that letter, and to sub- "stitute another in lie uthereof*: in which "last-mentioned letter (the only diffe- "rence which I know between the two) "the whole paragraph which contains the "remark upon the article of the charge, "whereof the Court did not think itself "authorized to take cognizance, is "omitted, *I have taken upon myself* to "explain to his Majesty, and I have "*confidence* in being able to explain *satis- "factorily*, the occasion of this remark "being now omitted."——So, here is a person, who has the power to communicate to the Commander in Chief the decision of every general court-martial, accompanied with *His Majesty's* remarks thereon, from which remarks *alone* the Commander in Chief "must from his opinion upon the "*whole matter of each case*," and must, of course, act towards the parties accordingly; and this same person has the further power of *altering those remarks* whenever he pleases, not only without the orders, but even *without the knowledge* of His Majesty! And, yet observe, this same powerful person; this person who can *take upon him- "self"* to alter public remarks of His Majesty intended to be put "upon the "records of the army;" this same person is, we find, so much under the influence of the Duke of York, as to change, at the Duke's bare request, his intention as to the person whom he shall employ to officiate in his stead at a court-martial!——Any further comment would be superfluous. The reader is now in possession of the case of Mr. Johnstone, and it only remains for me to remind him of the steps therein taken by the Spartan General, Fitzpatrick. In the month of June, 1805, Mr. Johnstone having failed in all his endeavours to obtain redress from the Duke of York, made known his intention of bringing the subject before parliament. General Fitzpatrick undertook; I say he undertook to bring it before parliament. I assure the public, that both General Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox *promised* Mr. Johnstone, that whether in power or out of power, they would use their utmost endeavours to obtain him redress. It was, in consequence hereof, settled, that General Fitzpatrick should open the subject in the House of Commons, as soon as an opportunity offered, and that he should propose a specific proceeding thereon at the commencement of the then next session of parliament. The former he did on the 28th of June, in the following speech;——"I rise, Sir, "to mention a subject, on which it is "my intention hereafter to submit a mo- "tion to the House; and I wish to take the "present opportunity of doing so, because "it relates to that military administration "which is to form part of the business of "this day's discussion. The present advanc- "ed state of the Session will prevent my "being able to bring forward any motion, "though *I wish it much*. It is, however, a "subject of such *extreme importance*, that "it is necessary for me to take some notice "of it. The House may be assured I shall "state it in form on a future occasion, and

" *as early as possible.* The subject consists " of a very *gross and alarming evil*;—one " which I apprehend, has but lately crept " into the administration of the Military " Law of this country. I trust the practice " to which I allude is an innovation of not " many years standing. I am informed it " is. It respects the execution of the du- " ties of the office of Judge advocate Gene- " ral of the army. I find that under the " present practice, there is in the office of " Judge Advocate, the assumption of a pow- " er, which I conceive is not consistent with " that office, and *not warranted by the laws " and constitution of this country.*—Every " gentleman who hears me, knows how " great the extent of the Royal Prerogative " is with respect to the Military Govern- " ment. Every one knows the power of " His Majesty to dismiss, without a Court " Martial, any person who bears a commis- " sion in the army.—I should be the last " man to call in question the Royal Prero- " gative; but I am sure no man will con- " tradict me when I say, that a Prerogative " of such extent ought to be exercised *under " the advice of responsible Ministers.* The " law of this country enables His Majesty to " appoint Courts Martial for Military of- " fences. The law places in his Majesty " the right of confirming or remitting their " sentences, but I do not believe that the " law or the constitution of this country " could ever intend that the officer of the " Crown, in the exercise of such a Preroga- " tive, should be the Judge Advocate of the " army. I believe he is at present the sole " adviser of the Crown. I believe that this " practice has prevailed only during a part " of the time the Right Hon. Baronet has " been in possession of it.—Formerly the " transmission of sentences of Courts Mar- " tial was through the office of the Secre- " tary at War. The Secretary at War of " course became responsible for the advice " he gave. With respect to his decision, I " am not sure that I think that was suffici- " ently solemn for a decision of so impor- " tant a point. *I cannot conceive why the " lives, fortunes, and characters of His " Majesty's Military officers, should not be " entitled to as solemn a consideration as those " of every other subject in the country.*— " Every one knows that those important " concerns, as they affect other classes of " His Majesty's subjects, are decided by His " Majesty in Council. I think the same " solemnity ought to be observed with re- " gard to the Sentences of Courts Martial; " but that will be a question for future con- " sideration. That this practice does pre- " vail, and has been attended with great hard- " ship to individuals, I shall be enabled to shew " in a case that has lately occurred, *and has " spread the greatest alarm throughout the " whole army.* I allude to the case of " COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, a " gentlemen, who, *after a Trial by a Court " Martial, and an honourable acquittal, " has, at the instance of the Judge Advo- " cate, been exposed to the penalties and " punishment attendant upon guilt.*—— " This is what I shall submit to Parliament. " I am aware that an appeal from the Sen- " tence of any Court Martial to this House " is a delicate question; but in the present " case the appeal is in favour of the Court " Martial, and seeks redress against the " effects of *undue influence.* I beg pardon " for dwelling so long on the subject. I " have risen to give this notice, and *I shall " bring forward the motion early next Ses- " sion.* It will consist of two branches; " one will be a complaint against the " exercise of the office; the other will " refer to the means of defining the " power of the officer, and will suggest " some provisions as to the manner of " his conducting himself in future."—— ——Now, I ask the reader, if any pledge could possibly be more solemn than this? The sequel is told in a few words: the General, the Spartan Chief, was then out of place; soon after parliament met again he was in place; soon after that he gave notice, from the Treasury Bench, that he should *not bring forward* the motion of which he had given notice from the Opposition Bench; and soon after that he, who had *sold his company in the Guards twenty years before*, and who had never served a single day since, *had a regiment given him by the Duke of York!* And, let it be observed, that, as *Secretary at War*, it is with himself alone to sign and pass his accounts and vouchers, as *Colonel of a regiment!*——Many are the applications which MR. JOHNSTONE has made, to him and to Mr. FOX, to know whether they mean to fulfil their promise; never has he been able to obtain any direct answer; but, their intentions have been fully explained by their conduct, and of that conduct I now leave the world to judge. W. COBBETT *July 5.*

TO THE PUBLIC.

It is not without a considerable degree of pain, that I find it necessary, a third time, to obtrude myself upon that attention, which has now so many important objects whereon to fix itself. Nevertheless, when it is considered of how great consequence the transactions belonging to my case are in a public point of view, I cannot help feeling

confident that the obtrusion will be excused.—My case, as laid before the public, in the printed account of my court martial, and in the correspondence between the Duke of York and Sir Charles Morgan on the one part, and myself on the other part, had excited general attention, and had produced much inquiry and discussion; the result of which was, a settled opinion in the public, that I had received very great injuries, and that, to use the words of General Fitzpatrick in his speech in the House of Commons on the 28th of June, 1805, the manner in which those injuries had been inflicted, "*had spread the greatest alarm* "*throughout the whole army.*"—While his Majesty's ministry continued to be what it was at the time of my publishing the above mentioned account and correspondence, it appeared useless to make any farther exertions for the purpose of obtaining redress; but, having received from several persons composing the present ministry, not only encouragement, expressed in the strongest terms, to hope that they would, the moment the parliament should meet in 1806, use their utmost exertions to obtain justice for me, and to provide something like security for my brother officers; but also assurances the most positive, to that amount, I could entertain no doubt, when I saw them come into power themselves, that they would, amongst their first acts, do that which, with so much apparent zeal and resolution, they had expressed their desire and their intention of compelling others to do.—The persons from whom I in particular received such encouragement and assurances, were Lord Moira, Mr. Fox, and General Fitzpatrick. The former was, immediately after I had tendered my resignation, made acquainted therewith; and, it is not going too far to say, that the whole of my conduct, particularly that of resigning my commission, met with the entire approbation of his lordship, who did not fail to express, agreeably to those sentiments of friendship as well as of justice which I had always observed in him, his assurances that, whenever he should possess the power, he would always possess the will to afford me ample redress.—With General Fitzpatrick I had several conferences upon the subject, at one of which conferences Mr. Fox was present, and therein took a part: both these gentlemen expressed their decided approbation of all the steps I had taken; they commended me in the strongest terms for having resented, by the resignation of my commission, the injurious treatment I had received; they expressed their abhorrence of the sort of influence which was evident in the producing of that treatment; they declared my cause to be the cause of the nation at large and particularly of the officers of the army, whose fortunes and characters were put at hazard by proceedings such as had taken place with respect to me; they described in vivid colours the danger to public liberty to be apprehended from abject subjection to the caprices of one absolute will, and, as a means of mitigating which danger, they stated it to be their object, to cause to be established a Military Council, a measure which they together with others of the present ministry brought forward in the House of Commons; and, finally, for all these, together with other reasons which they stated, they most explicitly pledged themselves to leave undone nothing that they should be able to do, in order to obtain justice for me, and for the army.—Not imagining that these were declarations without meaning; not imagining that that which was styled by these gentlemen the cause of the whole army, and of the nation in general, was, in fact, considered by them merely as the means of annoying their political opponents; not conceiving it possible that they would venture to consider me merely as an instrument in their hands, merely as a round in their ladder of ambition, I, as a matter of course, expected, that having got possession of those powers, which they had expressed so anxious a desire to see exerted in behalf of the cause in question, they would lose not a moment in so exerting those powers themselves. Thus thinking, I took occasion to have, soon after the change of ministry, several conferences with Lord Moira and General Fitzpatrick, the former of whom continued firm in the sentiments and assurances before expressed to me; but the latter, I soon found wavering in his sentiments, and abandoning his promises, which abandonment I was, therefore, less surprised than most other persons to hear him soon afterwards openly proclaim in the House of Commons, by formally withdrawing the notice which he had given, agreeably to his pledge to the country, to bring forward the subject of my grievance, as soon as the parliament should meet. After this, there was little room to expect any good from the exertions of this gentleman, especially when I found, that his time, already greatly occupied by his important office of Secretary at War, was become further engrossed by the cares and responsibility necessarily arising from the colonelcy of the 11th regiment of foot (not forgetting the large pecuniary profits), which was bestow-

ed upon him by the Duke of York, much about the time when he, in the place and manner above mentioned, publicly gave up my cause. And here, in order to exhibit in its true light, the magnitude of this favour on the part of the Duke of York, it will not, I hope, be thought very foreign to my subject, if I observe, that the bestowing of a regiment upon a person, under such circumstances, was absolutely without an example; for, though in some other instances as well as this, the colonelcy of a regiment, the usual and proper reward of long, faithful, diligent, and arduous services, has been, from some motive or other, bestowed upon persons, who, like General Fitzpatrick, had sold their commissions at an early stage of life; and, who, like him had spent the remainder of their days, in scenes and pursuits, far different indeed from those, in which military officers usually acquire their claim to preferment; though in some few other instances, from motives that I will not attempt to describe, this has been the case, I take upon me to assert, that in no other instance has a commission of colonel been, under such circumstances, if under any circumstances at all, conferred upon a Secretary at War, who, by becoming colonel of a regiment becomes a public accountant, whose own accounts, as Secretary at War, it is his duty to examine, to check, and to pass. With this observation I will leave the conduct and the probable motives of General Fitzpatrick to the consideration of the public.—Returning to Lord Moira, I cannot better describe his lordship's conduct than by observing, that it was both in manner and substance, exactly the reverse of that of the colonel of the 11th regiment of foot; and I experienced no small degree of consolation in perceiving, that an exaltation to power, had not diminished, in his lordship, that zeal for public justice, and that immoveable fidelity to personal engagements, which, during a friendly connection between us of twenty five years, I had always observed to be leading features in his character. Agreeably, therefore, to the expectations which I naturally entertained from this most respectable and honourable quarter, I was met by his lordship with the same face which he had worn previous to the change of the ministry; his sentiments I found exactly the same that they were before; and I found him ready to act upon those sentiments. Accordingly, many weeks had not elapsed before his lordship gave me the information, contained in my first Address to the Public, as published in Mr. Cobbett's Register of the 9th instant, (see page 260 of this sheet). His lordship had repeatedly promised me, that he would see justice done to me and to thearmy; and at the times referred to, namely, at several interviews which took place betwixt us in the months of February and March last, his lordship informed me, 1st. That the Duke of York had assured him, that he would undoubtedly recommend to his Majesty to confer upon me the rank of major general;—2d. That several meetings, upon the subject of my case, had taken place with the Duke of York and with his Secretary Colonel Gordon;—3d. That, at one of these meetings, it was arranged, that Mr. Bond, the present Judge Advocate General, should wait upon his Majesty, and report, that, upon inspecting the papers of his office, he had fallen upon the proceedings of my court martial, and that he had discovered, that Sir Charles Morgan his predecessor, had not made a correct report thereon, the well known consequences of which had excited a degree of uneasiness throughout the army, which could be allayed only by conferring upon me the rank of major general;—and, 4th. That a letter from the Duke of York to the same effect as Mr. Bond's intended statement, was at the same time to be presented by Mr. Bond to the King.—Being, from this statement of his lordship, fully persuaded that the immediate object in view would be accomplished, and trusting that a series of other measures consonant therewith, would lead to the effectual prevention of similar grievances in future, I was willing to overlook the means for the sake of the end; but, I must confess that this scheme for throwing the whole of the blame upon the aged and retired Sir Charles Morgan, never appeared to me to accord, either with the principles of justice, or with that dignity of character which I had been disposed to attribute to most of the parties concerned.—As to the fact, however, of such a scheme having been on foot, there can be no doubt; for, if any one were disposed to discredit the word either of myself or of the noble person upon whose authority I make the statement, the following letter from Mr. Bond to myself, dated on the 8th of April last, and written in answer to a request on my part, (grounded upon the information of Lord Moira) to lose no time in waiting upon the King, and in bringing the matter to a speedy conclusion, could not fail to remove any doubt that might be entertained on the subject.——"*Temple, April 8th.*—Sir, I "received your note this afternoon between "4 and 5 o'clock. About ten days since I "had a short conversation with Lord Moira

" on the subject, who informed me that it " was intended to recommend you to his " Majesty for promotion, and that I should " receive some communication as to the " mode of doing it. Since that time I have " received no communication whatever on " the subject, and without such communi- " cation, it is impossible for me to take any " steps.——I am, Sir, with respect, &c.— " (Signed) N. Bond."——With respect to the other parts of Lord Moira's information to me, I am truly concerned to find, that there exists a difference of opinion as to the correctness of my statement with respect to that information; yet, the fact is so, as the public have already learnt from a letter written by his lordship and published by Mr. Cobbett, in his Register of the 23d instant. (See p. 366 of the present sheet) His lordship had, indeed, as will be perceived from the following letter from him to me, dated on the 11th instant, intimated his intention of requesting Mr. Cobbett to contradict that part of my address, published on the 9th of August, which his lordship conceived calculated to produce an injurious impression with respect to the Duke of York:——" *St. " James's Place, August* 11, 1806.—Sir, " It is with great astonishment that I have " perused a statement of yours, which has " been pointed out to me in Mr. Cobbett's " Paper of last Saturday. Of any inten- " tional inaccuracy on your part, I have not " the remotest suspicion. I can easily com- " prehend the nature of your misconcep- " tion. But, if you could imagine yourself " justifiable in publishing the confidential " communications which you had received " from me, whilst I was labouring to ren- " der you service, at least you ought to " have perfectly assured yourself that what " you were about to detail was correct.— " Nothing said by me to you could ever " have implied, that there had been with " the Duke of York such interviews as you " have specified. In fact, the plan to which " I referred, was only discussed by me " among my colleagues; and it was impart- " ed to Lieut. Colonel Gordon as a measure " likely to be recommended; when you " interrupted its course by a premature ad- " dress to the Secretary of the Commander- " in-Chief. The conferences with my col- " leagues you have confounded, as having " been held with the Duke of York. This " mistake involves a conclusion so grossly " unjust towards his Royal Highness, that " I must be under the painful necessity of " requesting Mr. Cobbett to contradict in " his next publication, that part of your " narrative which is calculated to produce " the injurious impression.——I have the " honour, &c. (Signed) Moira."—— In the first sentence of my last address, published in the Political Register of the 23d instant, (which will be found in page 362, of the present sheet) I, alluding to this letter of his lordship, stated that it was my intention to forbear from troubling the public with proofs of the correctness of my statement of the 9th instant, until a communication, which I understood his lordship was about to make to the public, had actually been made; and for the reasons of such forbearance, it will be proper that I enable the public to refer to my answer to the above letter of his lordship, and which answer was given in the following words:—— " *Sidmouth, August* 13, 1806.—My Lord; " Until I shall have an opportunity of " seeing the statement, which, as your " lordship has done me the honour to ap- " prize me, in your letter of the 11th in- " stant, you mean to communicate to Mr. " Cobbett for publication; I shall refrain " from troubling you with a detailed an- " swer to that letter; because, after having " perused and re-perused it with that de- " gree of attention, to which every thing " coming from your lordship's pen is enti- " tled, I confess myself totally incompetent " to discover, what part of my published " narrative your lordship considers as being " incorrect. But, though I am, from this " cause, restrained, for the present, from " going into proof upon the subject, I can- " not let a moment pass without observing, " that, as to *my facts*, they have been stated " with a scrupulous adherence to truth, " though it is possible, that I may unfortu- " nately, have erred in my *conclusion*.—— " I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) " A. Cochrane Johnstone."——The state of uncertainty, in which I was at the time of writing the above letter, with respect to his lordship's meaning, still continues, notwithstanding I have now had the advantage of reading his lordship's letter to Mr. Cobbett (which will be found at page 366 of this sheet). Seeing that neither in his lordship's letter to me of the 11th of August, nor in his letter to Mr. Cobbett aforementioned, is there a positive denial of the whole, or of any specific part, I should be intitled to rest upon the re-assertion which I have made of the correctness of my statement, published on the 9th of August, and wait until something like a positive or explicit denial had been made. But, conscious of having strictly adhered to truth in the whole of my statement, and extremely anxious to remove any doubts, which may, though by

publications extremely vague, have been excited upon the subject, I think it right to make some observations here upon the above quoted letters of Lord Moira, which observations will, I hope, tend to convince the public that my statement of the 9th of August was, in every point at all material, exactly what it ought to have been.—— Taking both his lordship's letters together, the subject of his complaint divides itself into two parts, or two distinct *Charges* preferred against me: FIRST, *that I did on the 9th of August unjustifiably publish confidential communications which I had received from him*; and, SECOND, *that what I then stated was, in part at least, incorrect, or, in other words, not true.*—With respect to the first of these charges, I have now to state, (and if my statement be not by his lordship acknowledged to be true, I ask from his justice, an immediate, an explicit, and a public contradiction of it), that on the 5th of May last, the day after I had received Colonel Gordon's letter of the 3d of May, declaring that the Duke of York had never entertained an intention of recommending me to his Majesty for the rank of major general, I wrote to Lord Moira, transmitting him a copy of the correspondence with Colonel Gordon, and expressing an opinion that he would be as much astonished at it as I had been, seeing that it contained a flat contradiction of the information which I had received from him respecting the intention of the Duke of York; and I informed his lordship in the same letter, that it was my resolution no longer to refrain from laying before the public an account of the whole of these transactions, under the form, as I then proposed, of an address to the officers of the British army. To this letter his lordship answered on the 11th of May, "that he was "grieved at my correspondence with Gor- "don, which was premature; and that he "had been endeavouring to get over diffi- "culties, rendered more considerable by "the answer which I had obtained from "Colonel Gordon." But, not a word did his lordship say here, not an expression did he let fall, that could lead me to suppose that he disapproved of my intended publication; and that he did not disapprove of it, the public will, I think, readily conclude from the words of his letter, the whole of which, as far as relates to the subject, I have here quoted. Still, however, (owing chiefly to a hope held out in his lordship's letter above quoted, that the negociation was not yet finally closed) no publication took place, until I had given his lordship quite sufficient time and opportunity, to express, if he had been so disposed, his disapprobation of my laying the matter before the public. On or about the 30th of June last, I unequivocally informed his lordship of my intention of communicating to the world, through the means of the press, and in a manner the most unreserved, an account of all that had passed relating to the subject, since the change in his Majesty's ministry. Upon this intimation of my intention, his lordship made no remark that I did not construe into an acquiescence, on his part, in the propriety of the intended publication; and I positively assert that he discovered not one sign, of any sort, in the way of objection; and that when we parted it was clearly understood, that my publication would speedily take place. I also at this meeting declared to his lordship that, after such an accumulation of unjust and insulting treatment, I should not refrain from publishing an account of the language and conduct of a Great Person, previous to my court martial, which language and conduct had hitherto escaped, in public, that animadversion which had been so decidedly and so justly bestowed upon it in conversation, particularly by many of those who are now numbered amongst the confidential servants of the King. The consideration, however, of this topic, which has still remained untouched, I shall reserve for an opportunity when a seat in parliament shall enable me to bring it forward in a manner worthy of its importance.—This statement I have now made with the most scrupulous attention to circumstances, and, if his lordship does not acknowledge it to be true in all its parts, I hereby ask from his justice, an immediate, an explicit, and a public contradiction.—Farther, however, in corroboration of this statement, I think it necessary to refer to some letters, which, after the last mentioned epoch, passed between his lordship and myself. Being engaged in preparing my address which was published on the 9th of August, and having mislaid Colonel Gordon's letter of the 3d of May, to insert which was necessary to my purpose, I wrote to Colonel Gordon, from Ramsgate, on the 10th of July last, the following letter, requesting him to favour me with a copy of it: ——"*Ramsgate, July* 10, 1806.—Sir; "Having mislaid your letter to me of the "3d of May, I have to request that you will "do me the favour to transmit a copy of it "to me at this place. In consequence of "the permission of Lord Moira, I am now "preparing an address to the public relative "to what has lately passed in my case.—— "As your last letter was in direct contradic-

" tion to the statement given to me by Lord " Moira, of what passed betwixt his lord- " ship and the Duke of York relative to my " case, it is indispensibly necessary in jus- " tice to his lordship and to myself, that " the public should be put in possession of " what passed on that occasion, and of other " circumstances which will sufficiently " prove the marked hostility of a high per- " sonage, prior even to my court martial " being assembled, but after the members " were nominated; an anxious wish to con- " ciliate matters has hitherto prevented me " from giving this statement to the public, " in the hopes that justice would have been " at last administered; but, treated as I have " been, any further delicacy on my part " cannot be expected.——I have the ho- " nour to be, &c.—(Signed) A. COCHRANE " JOHNSTONE."——This letter having been shewn to Lord Moira by Colonel Gordon, his lordship wrote to me upon the subject as follows, on the 14th of July :——" *London,* " *July* 14, 1806.—My dear Sir; It is " with infinite surprise that I have perused " a letter from you to Lieut. Colonel Gor- " don, transmitted by the latter for that " purpose : Because, you have stated in it, " that an appeal intended to the public by " you, against the Commander-in-Chief, " is, " *in consequence of the permission of* " " *Lord Moira.*" Assuredly, nothing can " be more completely out of the question " in such a case, than a permission from " one who is without title to use any sort of " influence on the subject. The impossi- " bility of my having a permission either " to give or to withhold, must instantly " strike every body; therefore, the expres- " sion will unavoidably be understood to " mean, that I have instigated this attack " upon the Duke of York. My respect " for His Royal Highness would have pre- " vented my taking such a step, even had I " not thought it a matter too delicate to ob- " trude counsel upon you on a busi- " ness, so deeply involving your future in- " terests. If you reconsider the paragraph, " you will be astonished how it slipped " from your pen, and you will hasten to " free me from an implication which places " me in so invidious a light. Be assured, " that I know it could only have proceeded " from your not adverting to the import of " the statement, and that I remain with re- " gard and esteem your faithful servant.— " (Signed) MOIRA."——Now, reserving ill by-and-by to observe, upon his lordship's silence as to the *facts* stated in my letter to Colonel Gordon, it must, I think, be evi- dent to every one that this letter of his lord- ship does by no means express his disappro- bation of my making the intended publica- tion. He is anxious, indeed, to be freed from the charge of having instigated, that which he is pleased to term " an attack on " the Duke of York;" but after what had passed between us, it was impossible for his lordship to say, that he objected to my making a public statement of the facts; and, accordingly, in no part of his letter, does he express, or leave to be implied, any such objection; yet it is too evident to need pointing out, that, if he could have urged any such objection, now or never was the time to urge it, seeing that he was even offi- cially informed, that I was actually engaged in drawing up the statement for publication. —But, before I proceed farther in remarking upon this letter of his lordship, it will be necessary to submit to the public my answer to that letter, which answer was transmitted him from Ramsgate, on the 16th of July last, and was given in the following words.—— " *Ramsgate, July* 16, 1806.——My dear " Lord;—When I wrote to Colonel Gordon " on the 10th of July, I certainly did " not mean to state, that " *the address to* " *the public was with your lordship's per-* " *mission.*" Upon perusing my letter to " the Colonel, I perceive that such might " be inferred. The sentence ought to have " been worded as follows. " In conse- " " quence of the permission of Lord " " Moira to state what has passed betwixt " " his lordship and myself, I am now pre- " " paring an address to the public." I " never meant to take the liberty to ask " your lordship's advice on the *propriety* of " giving the statement to the public. When " I had the honour of seeing your lordship " last, I stated, that I intended to adopt this " measure, as the cruel treatment I had ex- " perienced from the Duke of York, by Co- " lonel Gordon's answer of the 3d of May, " imperiously called upon me to have re- " course to it. In that letter his Royal " Highness declared, *that he never had in-* " *tended, nor could he think of recommend-* " *ing me to his Majesty for the rank of ma-* " *jor general.* This statement being IN DI- " RECT CONTRADICTION to what your lordship " mentioned had passed betwixt you and " the Duke of York, the door was there- " fore finally shut against my entering the " army, and it was therefore, my duty to " state to the public, the noble and gene- " rous efforts, which your lordship had " kindly made in my behalf.—Your lord- " ship will do me the justice to recollect, " that when I had the honour of seeing you " last, I stated also, that had the Duke of

"York sent for me and said, "Mr. Johnstone, I have endeavoured to procure "for you the rank of major general; "but, I am sorry to say I have not succeeded."——With that assurance, I stated, I would have been perfectly satisfied; but to authorise Colonel Gordon to give the statement he did in his letter of the 3d of May, was insulting to my feelings, and not *consonant* with what had really passed betwixt his Royal Highness and your lordship.—I trust that this letter will remove the apprehension which may be entertained at the Horse Guards, that your lordship has instigated, what is termed an attack upon the Duke of York. My publication will simply exhibit a statement of facts, without any comment, leaving it to the public to draw their own conclusion.——I have the honour to be, &c.——(Signed) A. Cochrane Johnstone."——Reserving, as in the former case, the observations which naturally grow out of this letter (a letter *never answered* by Lord Moira) with respect to the facts contained in my statement of the 9th of August, and which facts, are, as will be perceived, all stated substantially, at least in this my last letter; reserving to enlarge upon these points till I come to an examination of the second Charge, will it not be necessarily inferred, from his lordship's not having thought an answer to this letter necessary, that he had no valid objection to urge to the making of my intended publication? His lordship, does, indeed, in his letter of the 14th of July, say, that he "is "without title to use any sort of influence "upon the subject, and that it is *utterly* "*impossible for him to have a permission* "*either to give or to withhold,*" after which the public must naturally feel no small degree of surprise at his lordship's complaint of my publishing without his permission; for to my understanding, it appears undeniable that, in a case where a person has no right whatever to give or to withhold a permission for the doing of a thing, he cannot possibly have any right personally whatever to complain of that thing having been done. —But, the fact is, that, if any person upon earth had a title to use influence with me upon the subject; if any person upon earth had a permission to give or to withhold with respect to the publication, it was Lord Moira; his lordship having from the first to the last been my strenuous friend, and my principal adviser. The disclaimer, therefore, here made by his lordship, proceeded, I think it must appear, from the difficulty in which he found himself between his reluctance to sanction the publication which was about to be made, and the consent which he had before tacitly at least given, to the making of that publication.—My last cited letter to his lordship, was transmitted to him on the 16th of July; my publication did not take place until the 9th of August, during which interval (and indeed not at all) was any answer by his lordship given to that letter. Yet in that letter, his lordship is again apprised that I am preparing a publication for the press; he is fully informed of the nature of it, and is presented with a detail of the principal facts which it is intended to contain. I now put it to any candid man, whether the suffering of this letter to remain unanswered, did not deprive his lordship of all ground whatever whereon to make a complaint of a breach of private confidence? ——Besides, is it not clear, that from the very nature of the subject, no obligation of secrecy on my part, was, or could have been, contracted? That the cause, though of great importance with respect to myself, was of far greater importance with respect to the army in general? That it was a public cause much more than a private cause? That the transactions relating to it were transactions amongst public men? And that, from the beginning to the end, it was always considered by me as a subject, every fact and circumstance relating to which, was proper matter for public discussion? I appeal to his lordship, I appeal to every person in the military and political circles of the last winter and spring, whether it was not matter of notoriety amongst them, that Lord Moira had put himself at the head of those who espoused my cause; whether his exertions and the steps he took were not in due succession, publicly spoken of; and, whether, if the cause had succeeded, the officers of the army, were not prepared to bestow upon his lordship the commendation due to their general protector? That the cause was defeated; that the evil complained of continues undiminished; that his lordship's exertions were rendered useless, the officers of the army, and the nation in general, may, and do, lament; but, I will venture to say, that nothing but the apparent regret in his lordship, at seeing the transactions made public, could, by exciting a doubt with regard to the motive, have lessened the merit of those exertions.——Having now, and, I trust, in the most satisfactory manner, refuted the first Charge above stated, I cannot help, before I proceed to the other, expressing my sorrow at perceiving, that, on the part of a person like Lord Moira, an attempt should have been made, through the colour

of a breach of confidence, preferred against me, to divert the attention of the public, not only from the important facts stated in the publication complained of, but also from the cause itself, in support of which that statement was made, and which has, from what motives I shall not pretend to say, been now tacitly, if not expressly abandoned, apparently in complaisance to the Duke of York, towards whom Lord Moira has now discovered reasons for expressing, and in a letter *to me too*, his profound respect! *—The second charge, as above stated, is, that, *what I stated in my publication of the 9th of August, was, in part at least, incorrect, or, in other words not true.* This Charge, if well founded, would indeed, be a very serious one; but, I trust, that, though Lord Moira, has not ventured to point out any particular part of my statement as containing an untruth, I shall be able to shew, that, as far as rested *with me*, every part of the statement was true; or, in other words, that, whether the information given me, was

* Mr. M'Arthur, too (a most zealous imitator of his superiors), must have, forsooth, *his* charge of breach of confidence. What I related upon the authority of this gentleman, was, as before stated, derived from his information, given, in the first instance, unasked for, and in the second instance, obtained for the evident purpose of publication; and that he understood it in that light, needs there any other proof than that of his having taken the precaution to preserve a copy of his letter, as he has stated in a letter to me of the 11th inst. Mr. M'Arthur in his letter to the editor of the Morning Chronicle, (see p. 367 of this sheet) dated the 17th inst. observes, "that "if, without authority, the report of a con- "versation is to be published, with the "names of high and respectable characters, "in the sheets of a periodical paper, there "must be an end to all confidence between "man and man in the reciprocal relations "of social life." The reason, doubtless, for introducing here the description of "high and respectable characters," was to include Mr. M'Arthur's own self in that description, he having, (as every one of the newspapers in a paragraphical advertisement have very carefully informed the public) recently received, for precisely how many shillings I shall not pretend to say, the dignified title of Doctor of Laws in the University of Edinburgh! But, whatever may have been the reason for the introduction of this description and circumstance, it certainly has no weight with respect to the sentiment expressed by Mr. M'Arthur; for, in a case where it is unjustifiable to publish the report of a conversation, such publication can never be rendered justifiable by any considerations with regard to the rank of the parties conversing. In the present case, however, the conversation was at a large dinner party; how far it was from being confidential the public may easily judge, when they recollect, that as it now appears, Mr. M'Arthur did not even know the person of the gentleman from whom the words came which afterwards found their way into publication through me; those words were related to me in Pall-Mall, unasked for on my part, without the least reserve on the part of the relator, and, in short, from all the circumstances attending the relation, it was evident that no obligation of secrecy was contracted by me either expressed or implied, any more than would have been contracted by me if I had received information of any thing that had passed at a dinner at the Crown and Anchor, or indeed of any thing that had passed at the India-House, or in either of the Houses of Parliament. Mr. M'Arthur observes, that if my mode of acting be sanctioned, there must be an end to all confidence between man and man; but, I may venture to assert, that if I was not, under these circumstances, justified in repeating the information I had received from him, there must indeed be an end to all confidence between man and man, because there could, in that case, be no communication between man and man; and do the public believe that I should go too far in saying that the dinner party in question, as at every other dinner party, nine-tenths of the conversation consisted in reports of what the parties had heard in other conversations at other dinners or elsewhere. Where is the man who scruples to say that he has received such or such imformation at a dinner? Where is the man that scruples to speak of this any where? and the only circumstance that distinguishes the present case from cases that occur every day is, that I have repeated the information in print, whereas, in general, men do not think it necessary to repeat their information otherways than verbally. When we speak of a breach of confidence, in the relating of what we have heard from others,

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true or not, it is perfectly true that *I received* all the information that I have communicated to the public. It will be observed that Lord Moira had several opportunities of

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naming those others at the same time, there is always implied an injury of some sort or degree arising from such relation towards whom the breach of confidence has been committed. But, in this case, it is impossible that any such injury should arise; the naming of Mr. M'Arthur could expose him to nothing injurious any more than if I had related something which he might have told me with regard to a conversation upon a point of natural history; and, though I am aware that the modesty of Mr. M'Arthur may be pleaded as a strong ground of objection to the bringing his name forward before the public, yet when I turn back only for a day or two to the advertisement, universally circulated, about the degree of Doctor of Laws bestowed "on John M'Arthur, *Esquire*, of London, *a gentleman* well known "for *great respectability of character*, and "author of political and financial facts, "and a work on the law of courts-martial, with other *ingenious* treatises, the "first of which has already reached the "*fourth edition*," to which, if fame speak truly, might have been added, that of the fourth edition, as well as of every other edition, and of every one of the other treatises in question, a very considerable portion had been converted into real use by the trunk-maker and pastry-cook; when I turn back to this advertisement, I must confess that I cannot attribute the coyness of the learned doctor upon the present occasion to any general prevalence of that sort of feeling which makes a man shun notoriety, and, to say the truth, I am compelled, however reluctantly, to conclude, that, though the doctor was willing enough to be thought, within the circle of a few friends, the strenuous advocate of justice, and the resolute enemy of oppression, he would, with equal, if not with greater willingness, have been excused from appearing in that light to His Royal Higness the Duke of York. Having introduced the learned doctor here, I shall, for the desirable purpose of avoiding a second introduction, now give a specimen whereby to enable the public to judge of the frankness and public spirit of that gentleman. It has already been seen, that, on the 5th of May last, I wrote to Lord Moira upon the subject of the letter which I had just received from Colonel Gordon, stating, that the Duke of York had never entertained the intention of recommending me to the King for the rank of major-general. I observed to Lord Moira that this statement of Colonel Gordon's was in flat contradiction to the information given me by his lordship; and in order further to impress upon his mind a due sense of the conduct of the Duke of York, I thought it necessary to communicate to him, in the most authentic manner possible, the information which I had received from Mr. M'Arthur, and according to which information Colonel Gordon had made use of expressions corroborating the information given to me by Lord Moira. Previously, therefore, to my writing to Lord Moira, I wrote to Mr. M'Arthur, on the same day, in the following words:—"*Harley Street, 67, 5th May*, 1806.—Dear "Sir,—Do you recollect how long it has "been, since you met Colonel Gordon as "dinner, when he stated that my business "was then before the King, and that he did "not doubt but that I would get my rank "in a short time?—I am, Dear Sir, Your's "faithfully, (Signed) A. COCHRANE "JOHNSTONE." To which letter I received the following answer:—"*York Place, "Portman Square, May 5*, 1806.—Dear "Sir,—I think it may be about six or seven "weeks ago I met with Colonel Gordon at "dinner at Mr. Lambert Blair's, Gloucester "Place, when your business was mentioned, "and the colonel observed that it was (or "would be) laid before the King, and *he "thought it probable you would get your "rank*. I am not acquainted with the co-"lonel further than having met him at my "friend Mr. Blair's, and it was merely a topic "of conversation glanced at after dinner, "and started by some one at the bottom of "the table," [the learned doctor being of course at the top]. "His brother was also one "of the party.—I remain, My Dear Sir, with "best wishes for your success, Your's very "sincerely, (Signed) JOHN M'ARTHUR." Notwithstanding this letter, which expresses not even a hint as to the identity of Colonel Gordon, and which when taken into view with my letter to which it is an answer, could not possibly be understood as speaking of any other Colonel Gordon, than the secretary of the Duke of York, notwithstanding these circumstances, Mr. M'Arthur, in his letter before mentioned to the editor of the Morning Chronicle, affects to say, that he did not tell me that he derived his information from "*Colonel Gordon*" but from "*a* Colonel Gordon," than which I must say, a subterfuge more unworthy of a Doctor of Laws is not, in my opinion, to be found amongst the recorded controversies of

contradicting the principal fact contained in my published statement; that he was informed in conversation first, next by letter to Colonel Gordon of the 10th of July, and subsequently in my letter to himself of the 16th of July; upon all these occasions he was fully apprized not only that I was about to publish a statement of the information I had received from him, but was also fully apprized of what that statement would, in substance be; he was told, in short, that I was about to inform the public *that I had received from the Secretary of the Duke of York a declaration, on the part of the Duke, in direct contradiction to what his lordship had assured me had passed between them.* Thus apprized from the 5th of May to the 9th of August, during which time, several conversations and letters passed between us, his lordship never in any instance whatever, dropped a single expression calculated to give me an opinion that he had any doubt as to the correctness of this fact, which he knew I was about publicly to state on his authority. Need I say any more to convince the public that I stated the fact in my publication of the 9th of August, exactly as I received it from his lordship? And, have I not some reason to complain, that his lordship now publishes a letter, through the means of Mr. Cobbett, (see p. 366) calculated to excite doubts with respect to the correctness of my statement, but at the same time, carefully avoiding to point out in what that incorrectness consists? If the statement had been untrue as to the principal fact just mentioned; if his lordship meant to say that he never informed me, that the Duke of York assured him that he would recommend a restoration of my rank; if his lordship meant to say this, why did he not say it? And, if he did not mean to say it, did not justice towards me demand, that he should leave no doubt as to that meaning? —If, however, it were possible to believe, that Lord Moira should entertain any doubt as to my principal fact just referred to, and yet should suffer me, after due notification to him given, to publish that fact to the world; if it were possible to believe this, it would, I think, be impossible to believe, that his lordship would, had any such doubt existed in his mind, have suffered the fact to be corroborated so strongly as it has been, by his silence with respect to Mr. Cobbett's letter of the 18th instant (see p. 366). His lordship writes to Mr. Cobbett requesting him to clear up a mistake, said by his lordship to have been committed in my statement. Mr. Cobbett, *six days* before he published his lordship's letter, writes to him to say, that he does not understand what part of Mr. Johnstone's statement is regarded as incorrect. He observes, at the same time, that the main fact, namely, the assurance of the Duke of York to Lord Moira that he would undoubtedly recommend to his Majesty to confer upon me the rank of major general; this fact, Mr. Cobbett observes, remaining undenied, the statement remains unimpaired, as to the conclusion therefrom to be drawn; and he adds, that he is totally unable to determine, whether, in his lordship's letter, this fact be intended to be denied, or to be admitted. Yet, after a space of six days, we see his lordship's letter in print, unaccompanied with the explanation,

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Grub Street. It must be observed, that in the letter last mentioned, he affects to say that any thing that was said at the dinner, respecting the probability of my rank being restored to me, must have come from himself, and not from Colonel Gordon. This was necessary in order to prevent his report of the conversation of "*a* Colo- "nel Gordon" from appearing utterly improbable; because if the Colonel Gordon, in addition to having said that my case was before the King, had given it as his opinion that I should get my rank, it almost necessarily followed that this could be no other than Colonel Gordon the Duke of York's secretary; therefore, says Mr. M'Arthur in his letter to the editor of the Morning Chronicle, "I might probably add, *from* "*myself*, that I hoped soon to see Mr. "Johnstone gazetted;" but, as will be seen from his letter to me above quoted, no such addition of this was made as from *himself*, but as from Colonel Gordon, the words of his letter being, "and *he* thought it pro- "bable you would get your rank."—No more need be said as to the part which the learned doctor has acted. The public will find no difficulty in passing sentence upon his conduct; though, I must say, that, in my opinion, that sentence ought not to be very severe. He was, and I believe with perfect sincerity, a friend to my cause; that he is so still, at the bottom of his heart, I have no doubt; and, if I am told, that good luck has placed him beyond every temptation to sacrifice his principles at the shrine of rank or of power, I answer, that the instances are very rare, where the mind, naturally formed for subjection, is, by any circumstances of fortune, elevated to feelings of independence: "Puss," as Æsop tells us, "though transformed into a beautiful mai- "den, was, after all, a *mouser still*."

the necessity of which was so forcibly pointed out by Mr. Cobbett. From all which, what other conclusion can possibly be drawn, than that this main fact *could not be denied?* And here again, I have to repeat my complaint, that his lordship should have proclaimed my statement to be incorrect, without having, even when called upon, so urgently and yet so respectfully, by Mr. Cobbett, acknowledged the correctness of this the principal fact contained in that statement. At any rate, if his lordship's reluctance to be explicit was not to be overcome by any considerations of justice towards me, will it be believed, that it was so powerful as not to be subdued by a regard for his own high reputation? In my letter to him of the 13th of August, I assert, that "*my facts* "had been stated with a scrupulous adhe- "rence to truth, though it is possible that I "may, unfortunately, have erred in my "*conclusion*;" and, as my conclusion had been, "that implicit faith would be given "to the statement afforded to me by his "lordship," is it possible to doubt, that his lordship would have lost any time to convince me of the error in my facts, if those facts had not to his knowledge been perfectly true?—To conclude then, as to this part of the subject, it being, I think, clearly proved by the best evidence that the case admits of, that I stated no more than what was communicated to me, I must, if Lord Moira still persist in accusing my statement of errors, leave the public to judge (feeling less interest as to the decision than I should heretofore have felt), whether those errors originated with his lordship, or with the Duke of York.—Upon the supposition (for his lordship's letters leave me nothing but *supposition* whereon to proceed) that the mistake, to which his lordship alludes, relates only to the scheme, before mentioned, of sending Mr. Bond to the King with a statement, throwing the blame intirely on Sir Charles Morgan; upon the supposition, that it was the object of his lordship to cause it to be believed that the Duke of York had no participation in this scheme, an object, which, it will be confessed, it was natural enough in the Duke of York to wish to see accomplished; if this was the object, it would have been much more likely to be accomplished by his lordship's stating, that *he* unintentionally fell into an error, or, at least, was deficient in point of explicitness, in the information which he gave me upon the subject; for, as to myself I have committed no error at all, and, indeed, the statement itself does not say positively that the Duke of York, in his own person, did participate in the invention of the scheme. That such a scheme was on foot, there needs, as was before observed, no other proof than the letter above inserted, written by Mr. Bond to me; that Colonel Gordon, or the Duke of York, was present at some one or more of the conferences when this scheme was discussed, is I think evident from the silence which has been observed upon the subject by Colonel Gordon, in his correction of the error committed by Mr. M'Arthur, as noticed in my address in Mr. Cobbett's Register of the 23d instant, (see p. 362 of the present number), that the Duke of York did participate in the scheme, too, is, I think, not less evident, it being altogether improbable that Mr. Bond would have received any intimation on the subject, until the Duke of York's consent had been obtained; and that the scheme was rendered abortive only from some apprehension with respect to Sir Charles Morgan, I am fully persuaded; but, whether the Duke of York be intitled to a share, or whether the whole merit of the scheme appertains to Lord Moira and those "colleagues" of whom he speaks in his letter of the 11th of August, is a question, which, as in the former case, must be left to the decision of that public, to whom I have now appealed, and on whom I confidently rely for that justice in this great cause, which has, in every other quarter, been refused.

A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.

Harley Street, August 29, 1806.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's Address, published on the 9th August, 1806.

TO THE PUBLIC.——Shortly after the present administration came into place, the Earl of Moira informed me that he had had an interview with the Duke of York, the Commander in Chief, upon the subject of my Case, to represent to His Royal Highness the extreme hardship of my situation, the justice and expediency of his immediately attending to the subject, and of moving his Majesty to confer upon me the rank of major general. Lord Moira informed me that at this meeting, THE DUKE OF YORK ASSURED HIM, OF HIS READINESS TO ATTEND TO THE SUBJECT, AND THAT HE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY RECOMMEND TO HIS MAJESTY TO CONFER UPON ME THE RANK OF MAJOR GENERAL.——Lord Moira has informed me that several other meetings on this subject took place, both with the Duke of York and Colonel Gordon the Secretary of the Commander in Chief. At one of these meetings it was arranged that Mr. Bond the present Judge Advocate General should wait upon his Majesty and report,

that upon inspecting the papers of his office after succeeding Sir Charles Morgan, (the former Judge Advocate General) he had perused the proceedings of my court martial, that he was sorry to state that Sir Charles Morgan had not made a correct report to his Majesty of the state of the proceedings, that it had consequently excited a considerable degree of uneasiness throughout the army, which could only be allayed by conferring upon me the rank of major general. I was also informed, that a letter to the same effect signed by the Commander-in Chief was to be presented at the same time by Mr Bond to the King.——After this statement I never doubted but that my name would appear in the Gazette in a few days afterwards as Major General, and such also was Lord Moira's opinion, who congratulated me upon the state in which matters were.—Mr. Mc. Arthur, late Judge Advocate General to the Navy, the day after I had seen Lord Moira, informed me (agreeably to his letter, which I have now in my possession,) that he had, the day before, been in company at dinner with Lord Hutchinson, Colonel Gordon (the Commander in Chief's Secretary) and others; that a conversation had taken place with regard to my case; and that Colonel Gordon stated *that it was then before his Majesty*, and he did not doubt but that my name would appear in the Gazette in a few days as Major General.—Having waited a considerable period in the hopes, that day after day would have produced the wished-for decision in my case, and wearied with the state of suspense in which I was kept, I at last addressed the following letter to Colonel Gordon, Secretary to the Commander in Chief.——"*Harley Street, May* 2, 1806. ——"Sir,—Having been informed some "time ago from unquestionable authority, "that it was the intention of his Royal "Highness the Commander in Chief, to "advise his Majesty to cancel his accept- "ance of the resignation of the commission "of colonel, which I tendered last year, "and to confer upon me the rank of major "general in the army, I had, therefore, "given up my intention of pursuing ano- "ther line of life, not doubting but that the "gracious recommendation of the Com- "mander-in-Chief, would have due weight "with the King.——As a considerable time "has elapsed since I received this informa- "tion, and not having heard of any thing "having been decided on the subject, I "trust that you will pardon the liberty I "take in requesting that you will be pleased "to move His Royal Highness to favour "me with the determination of his Majesty "on the subject; for, if the door shall be "finally shut against my anxious wish to "join those of my own family who are "daily gaining laurels in his Majesty's ser- "vice, and who have evinced the loyalty "and attachment of the name of Cochrane "to the King's person and government, I "must then make the strongest immediate "exertions for retrieving my injured inte- "rests, and endeavouring to save the re- "mains of a fortune, which the vindictive "attacks of injustice and malice had so "cruelly conspired to ruin.——I have the "honour to be, with respect Sir, your "most obedient and most humble servant. "*(Signed)* A. Cochrane Johnstone." ——To the above letter I received the following answer.——"*Horse Guards, May* "3, 1806.——Sir,,—I have to acknow- "ledge your letter of yesterday, acquaint- "ing me that you had been informed of "the intention of his Royal Highness the "Commander-in-Chief, to advise his Ma- "jesty to cancel his acceptance of the re- "signation of the commission of colonel "which you tendered last year, and to con- "fer upon you the rank of major general in "the army; and, *having submitted the* "*same to the Commander-in-Chief, I am* "*commanded to communicate to you, that* "His Royal Highness HAS NOT EN- "TERTAINED ANY INTENTION TO THAT "EFFECT, NOR CAN HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS "RECOMMEND SUCH A MEASURE TO HIS "MAJESTY.——I have the honour to be, "Sir, your most obedient humble servant, "*(Signed)* J. W. Gordon.——Having now submitted to the public what is consistent with my knowledge, of the attempt made by my noble and respected friend the Earl of Moira to procure me justice, it only remains for me to express my sense of obligation to his lordship, and my perfect conviction, which will, I am confident, be that of the public, that implicit faith will be given to the statement afforded to me by his lordship.——A. Cochrane Johnstone.—*London, July* 10, 1806.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's Address, published on the 23d August, 1806.

To the Public.—Since the publication of my address, in Mr. Cobbett's Political Register of the 9th instant (page 360), there have arisen certain circumstances, which would have produced, on my part, another address to the Public, which address, would have been accompanied with the whole of the correspondence between Lord Moira and others on the one part, and myself on the other part, relating to the Duke of York's

conduct with regard to the applications made to him for the restoring of me to that rank in the army, which is my unquestionable due; but, being at present, in doubt as to the purport of a communication, which I understand is, by Lord Moira, shortly to be made to the Public upon the subject of a supposed error in my address, above referred to, I think it proper to wait until that communication shall have been made, in order that I may know distinctly upon what it is that it will be necessary for me to observe.—In the mean time, however, it appears necessary for me to give an explanation of the error, which has been made the subject of a letter from Lieut. Col. Gordon, Secretary to the Duke of York, and which letter was published in the Morning Post of the 14th instant, in the following words:—"Sir;—"An address to the Public, signed A. Cochrane Johnstone, having appeared in a "weekly paper of last Saturday, containing "the following words, viz." "*"Mr. "*M'Arthur, late Judge Advocate-Gene-"*ral to the Navy, the day after I had "*seen Lord Moira, informed me (agree-"*ably to his letter, which I have now in "*my possession), that he had, the day "*before, been in company, at dinner, "*with Lord Hutchinson; Colonel Gordon "*(the Commander in Chief's Secretary), "*and others; that a conversation had "*taken place with regard to my case, and "*that Colonel Gordon stated that it was "*then before His Majesty; and he did "*not doubt but that my name would "*appear in the Gazette in a few days "*as Major-General—" "I think it "right to state, that Lord Hutchinson, "Mr. M'Arthur, and myself, were never "together in the course of our lives; and "that I have not, in the most remote manner, the pleasure of Mr. M'Arthur's "acquaintance, never to my recollection "having seen him; and that I never did, "at any time or place, make use of any "such words as those attributed to me, or "of any words that could be so interpreted. "—I am, Sir, your humble servant, J. W. "Gordon."—The first thing to be noticed here, is, that the fact in question is by no means very material; for as the Public will perceive by referring to my address beforementioned in the Political Register, (page 203), the great point in my statement was, that the Duke of York had assured Lord Moira, that he would recommend to His Majesty to confer upon me the rank of Major General. This was the material fact, because, as will be seen from Colonel Gordon's letter, in the Political Register, (page 205), the Duke of York had not, even long after I had received the above information from Lord Moira, entertained any intention to give such a recommendation to His Majesty.—The information given to me by Lord Moira was amply explicit and circumstantial; and, though forming a striking contrast to the information given to me by Colonel Gordon, was, as I believed, and as I still do believe, strictly true. It was, therefore, for the purpose of corroborating the statement of Lord Moira, that I introduced into my address, before referred to, what had been said by Colonel Gordon, in the presence of Mr. M'Arthur; and not for the purpose of bringing forward any new circumstance, none at all being necessary to elucidate the merits of the case, or to characterise the conduct of a principal party concerned. Nevertheless, there having been an error as to the mere identity of Col. Gordon, it is proper here to state, that it was another Colonel Gordon of the 67th Regiment, with whom Mr. M'Arthur had dined, as is stated in my former address, and whom he took for Colonel Gordon, Secretary to the Duke of York. This I learnt from an explanatory letter, written to me by Mr. M'Arthur, on the 14th instant, and not received, (owing to my being at a great distance from town) until the 18th instant. From this letter, it would appear, that there was some misconception on my part with respect to the parties at dinner; it would appear, that there were in question, two dinners in place of one; and, that Mr. M'Arthur, though he actually had the honour of meeting Lord Hutchinson at dinner, somewhere or other, (agreeably to the information which he has taken care now to repeat), had not the honour to meet his lordship in company with Colonel Gordon.—But, though these mistakes arising, apparently, from a harmless desire in Mr. M'Arthur to be thought familiar with great men, are very unimportant in themselves, it is not unimportant to observe, what has been the conduct of the real Colonel Gordon upon this occasion, and what inference naturally flows from that conduct.—It being now evident, that this Colonel Gordon was not the person with whom Mr. M'Arthur conversed, it is also evident, that the assertion attributed to him ceases to form a corroboration made by Lord Moira to me; but the statement of Lord Moira still remains, and the conclusion to be drawn from it, as contrasted with the statement contained in the letter of Colonel Gordon of the 3d of May, still hangs suspended over the heads of the parties.—With respect to which of the parties is affected by that conclusion, the

Public may, perhaps, be somewhat less decided in their opinion than they were before; but, if Colonel Gordon has, by his letter, removed a slight corroboration of the statement of Lord Moira, he has, by his silence, afforded a strong corroboration of the truth of that statement. For, when a man undertakes to remove the errors, which he finds in a statement respecting matters wherein he himself has been an actor, he undertakes to remove not a part, but the whole, of such errors. What are we, then, to conclude from the silence of Colonel Gordon with respect to the meetings, which, agreeably to the statement of Lord Moira, took place both with Colonel Gordon and the Duke of York, relative to the means to be used in order to obtain a restoration of my rank? In the part of my address, to which Colonel Gordon has thought it necessary to publish an answer, he is spoken of merely as having said, at a dinner party, that my case was before His Majesty, and that he did not doubt that my name would shortly appear in the Gazette; but, in another part of the same address, he is represented as having been one of those who assisted at consultations as to the mode in which the matter should be submitted to His Majesty with the fairest probability of success. Now, if this part of Lord Moira's statement to me be correct, it almost necessarily follows that the other material parts are correct also, it being altogether improbable that such consultations would have been held, had not the Duke of York expressed his readiness to recommend to His Majesty the measure in contemplation; and, if this part of Lord Moira's statement had been incorrect, will it be believed, that Colonel Gordon, having undertaken to correct errors in my address, would have suffered this most important error to pass entirely unnoticed? In short, there are few persons, who will not perceive of how much greater consequence it was to remove the effect of Lord Moira's statement, than it was to remove the statement of Mr. M'Arthur; and of course, it would be concluded, that Colonel Gordon left the statement of Lord Moira untouched, only because he knew it to be true.—Having explained the cause of the mistake, corrected with so much solemnity by Colonel Gordon, the subject must be permitted to rest here, until the intended communication of Lord Moira, above noticed, shall have been made to the Public.

A. Cochrane Johnstone.

Harley Street, 67,
August 18, 1806.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Sir;—I beg you to add this line or two, by way of Postscript, to the address which I sent you for publication on the 18th instant. —Since that address was written, I have seen in the Morning Chronicle, a letter from Mr. M'Arthur, upon which I shall content myself with the following remark with respect to the two letters, which he informs the Public he wrote to me on the 11th and 13th instant, and which he complains of my not having noticed: The mistake made by Mr. M'Arthur, will be found to be rectified in my address of the 18th and, as to an *answer* to the two letters, such was the style and tone of them, that it was impossible to answer them except in one mode, and from adopting that mode I was prevented only by circumstances of locality.

A. Cochrane Johnstone

21*st August*, 1806.

Lord Moira's Letter to Mr. Cobbett, dated St. James's Place, August 14, 1806.

Sir;—In your paper of Saturday last there is an Address to the Public, in which the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone endeavours to arraign the Duke of York of inconsistency by contrasting a letter from the Military Secretary of his Royal Highness with a statement which he (Mr. Johnstone) supposes himself to have received from me. Mr. Johnstone will probably, in consequence of my having by letter indicated to him his misconception, request you to explain an error assuredly unintentional on his part. But in case he should omit it, your justice will lead you upon my testimony to clear up the mistake in such manner as you may think best. Conferences with other persons the substance of which I mentioned to Mr. Johnstone, have been misconstrued by him into repeated interviews with the Duke of York upon the subject in question: and on this ground the commander in chief is most erroneously taxed with first actively participating in measures suggested for the advantage of Mr. Johnstone and then subsequently disclaiming any knowledge of them. The imputation is completely unfounded, and could only have arisen from the misapprehension to which I have alluded.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) Moira.

Mr. Cobbett.

Mr. Cobbett's Answer to the above, dated Botley, Southampton, 18*th August*, 1806.

My lord; I have but this day received the letter, which your lordship did me the honor to address to me on the 14th instant, and which, by being left at Mr. Budd's in Pall Mall, has been thus retarded on its way.——

While I feel conscious, that your lordship does not over-rate my love of justice, in supposing that I shall be ready to clear up any mistake, that Mr. Johnstone may, through the pages of the Register, have unintentionally led the public to adopt; while I am, in no common degree anxious to give effect to your lordship's wishes by publishing an explanation of what you consider as an error, I must confess, that I do not, from your lordship's letter, clearly comprehend the extent of those wishes.—— The main fact, in Mr. Johnstone's statement, is, "that, shortly after the change "of ministry, in February last, your lord- "ship told him, that the Duke of York "had assured you, that he would undoubt- "edly recommend to his majesty to confer "upon Mr. Johnstone the rank of Major "General." That fact, undenied, the statement remains unimpared, as to the conclusion therefrom to be drawn; and, I am totally unable to determine, whether, in your lordship's letter, that fact be intended to be denied, or to be admitted. It appears to me, therefore, that the mode, in which I shall be most likely to fulfil the desires of your lordship, will be to publish, in my next Number, your lordship's letter that I now have before me, which mode, unless I am apprized of your lordship's pleasure to the contrary, I shall conclude you approve of my adopting.——Begging leave to conclude with an expression of my deep regret, that a cause, which your lordship espoused from a high sense of its intrinsic justice, as well as of its importance to the army and to the preservation of public liberty, should have dwindled into a controversy as to *the manner of its being defeated.*

I remain, my lord,
your lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant.

To the Earl of Moira. WM. COBBETT.

Mr. M'Arthur's Letter to Mr. Cobbett, dated Cheltenham. August 17, 1806

Sir;—Having seen, while on a visit at this place, an address in the Political Register of the 9th inst. signed by the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, in which he has unwarrantably introduced my name, and misrepresented a conversation that took place at a dinner-party last spring, where it is said Lord Hutchinson, and Col. Gordon, Private Secretary to His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, were present; and having given him an opportunity to correct his statement, by two letters addressed to him in town, on the 11th and 13th inst. which he has not noticed, I now think it my duty thus publicly to state the facts as they really occurred.—1st, I positively deny having ever mentioned, in conversation or in writing, that I had met Lord Hutchinson and Col. Gordon, the Secretary of H. R. H. the Duke of York, at one and the same party; and, as Mr. Johnstone has insinuated that I wrote him in May last to that effect, I call upon him (as I have already done by my letters of the 11th and 13th) either to produce such writings, or to correct his statement in a public manner.—2d, Having, to the best of my recollection, early in March last, met Mr. Johnstone in the streets of London, some days after I had dined with a large party at my friend Mr. Lambert Blair,s, of Gloucester Place, I casually mentioned to him that there had been a conversation respecting his Court Martial (then a common topic), and that I was glad to find, from an observation made by a *Colonel Gordon*, "that his case was laid, "or would be laid, before his Majesty for "consideration," or words to that effect; and I might probably add from myself, that I hoped soon to see him gazetted. This was the first and the only time I had seen *this* Col. Gordon, and on my describing his person to Mr. Johnstone, he took it for granted, and I must confess, that from what then passed, I was led to believe, that the Officer alluded to was his Royal Highness's Secretary, to whose person I was totally a stranger; whereas, I am now convinced, that he was another Colonel of the same name.—3d, On meeting Mr. Johnstone occasionally afterwards, I inquired into the progress or result of his case, to which I was prompted by a warm predilection in his favour, conceived early on our acquaintance, which originated in his having presented me with a copy of his trial by Court Martial immediately on its publication, and was continued by occasional friendly communications.—4th, Early in May last also, to the best of my recollection, for I have not here Mr. Johnstone's letter, he wrote me, politely requesting that I would give him the particulars of what Col. Gordon had said at the dinner-party alluded to. In return, I stated the conversation to the effect I have now mentioned, never suspecting it possible that Mr. Johnstone, unknown to me, would make any, and still less an improper, use of a mere friendly communication. But here I explicitly deny having in my said letter made any mention of Lord Hutchinson's name, or of his having been of the party with Col, Gordon.—5th, Indeed I cannot possibly account for this last glaring incorrectness, otherwise than by

supposing that I might possibly have mentioned to Mr. Johnstone, at the first conversation in the street, the fact of my having had the honour of meeting Lord Hutchinson at a small dinner-party at a military friend's, a week or ten days prior to the other party, but at which there was no gentleman of the name of *Gordon* present; and that Mr. Johnstone, trusting to memory, instead of referring to my letter, has unfortunately for himself, blended those very respectable names in one party, upon the alleged authority of a letter from me; a letter which, could I have written it as he has represented, must be interpreted into a *voluntary* as well as an *indecorous* act; because, Mr. Johnstone has not informed the Public, to whom he appeals, that my letter was written positively in return to the letter from him before-mentioned.—Here, I cannot resist observing, that, if a friendly well-meant report of a conversation is to be caught at and misrepresented, even though unintentionally, to serve one private purpose or another; and if, without authority, the report of such conversation (say that it were correct) is to be published, with the names of high and respectable characters, in the sheets of a periodical paper, there must be an end to all confidence between man and man in the reciprocal relations of social life. But having stated the facts, I shall make no further comments upon them.—I am, Sir,

(Signed) JOHN M'ARTHUR.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——A person, after reading the last article upon this subject, in the preceding Number of the Register, page 261, observed, "no "*answer* will ever be given to that." He was right; but, it did not follow, that the famous logician of the MORNING POST was not to *write* about it; that he was not to revile me; that he was not to wriggle and wince and shuffle; and that he was not again to have recourse to all the tricks of a beaten though unyielding disputant.——In his paper of the 26th instant, he has sent forth three deadly columns by way of answer to the article of last week, as referred to above. ——In describing the witnesses, in his former article, he said, that they consisted of a gentleman and his wife, and of some "me-"nial servants, *formerly belonging to Carle-"ton House.*" Upon which latter base and disloyal, really disloyal, insinuation, I made such remarks as appeared to me proper, in order to remove the impression, which it was evidently *intended* to produce; and, I trust, that I did clearly shew, that the said menial servants had not been and could not have been, appointed by the PRINCE; and that, therefore, the insinuation was most abominably wicked. The writer of the Morning Post seems to have sense enough to perceive the conclusion that the public would draw from this exposure; and he, accordingly, endeavours to defend himself, thus:—"To return to the matter that con-"cerns us more particularly: this writer "thinks it gives a bad air to the defence of "the Princess, to begin by depreciating her "accusers. The public will recollect that "we never said any thing against the accu-"sers till we stated the absolute falsehood "of the charge upon high authority. Our "depreciation of them was the consequence, "and not the means, of the total falsifica-"tion of the charges exhibited by them. "He then comes to the witnesses, among "whom we have stated that there were "some menial servants *who formely belong-"ed to Carlton House.* In this *he infers "there is an insinuation* on our part that "these servants *acted under the influence of "Carlton House.* This is an excellent speci-"men of the justness of his inferences, and "the fairness of his reasoning. He then "goes on to say, professing a total igno-"rance of the fact throughout, that, *doubt-"less*, these menial servants belonged to "Carlton House, when it was the habita-"tion of their mistress; that they came "from Germany with the Princess, that "they left it with their mistress by her own "free choice, &c. What an astonishing fa-"cility this man displays, to fabricate facts "in order to support absurd and malevolent "inferences! All that we have been able "to learn of the fact, and this writer con-"fesses he knows only what he has derived "from us, is merely what we have stated, "that some of the witnesses were menial "servants *who formerly belonged to Carl-"ton House*; how and when they came or "went away; who or where they are, or "what country gave them birth, we know "not, and therefore do not pretend to say, "because absolute ignorance is never a "ground for positive assertion with us, "though, *doubtless*, it is so with this wri-"ter."——Reader, did you ever before witness *shuffling* like this? Poor, paltry, shuffling! Methinks I see the writer, upon his first perusal of my remarks, looking like one of "the well-dressed rabble" who has just been detected at cogging a die. So, my good, candid Sir, you have merely stated all that *you knew* about the witness; you knew (*how* you do not tell us) that they *formerly belonged to Carlton House*: but

you do not happen to know how or *when* they came or went *away* from that house; you do not know *who* they are, *where* they are, nor of *what country* they are of; as to all these circumstances, you are in "*absolute ignorance*;" all that you have been "*able* to learn" is, that "they *formerly* "*belonged to Carlton House*;" and so you have just stated *all* you knew! But, though you are so anxious to rub off the charge of maliciously and disloyally insinuating, that these servants have come forward under an influence from Carleton House; though you meanly flee from the natural effect of this charge, take my word for it, that you will find no shelter from the indignation of the sensible and just part of the public, until you can produce a satisfactory reason *why* you introduced the circumstance of the witnesses having formerly belonged to Carlton House. The objecting to my word "*doubtless*" is mere cavilling. That the menial servants, if ever they belonged to Carlton House, belonged to it when it was the habitation of their mistress; that they quitted it with her; and, that, at any rate, they were not servants selected by Carlton House, there can be *no doubt*; does it not, therefore, argue an extremely weak cause, on the part of this writer, to hear him objecting to the word "doubtless," as applied to the affirmative of these positions? This cavilling will avail him nought. By introducing the circumstance of the witnesses having formerly belonged to Carlton House, he has exposed himself to the charge of a most foul and most disloyal insinuation; and, in his defence against this charge, he has had recourse to a shuffle, the shabbiness of which is equalled only by its folly.——The next charge that I made against him, was, that he, having (*falsely*, I trust) informed the public that a report upon the conduct of a certain person stated that she had fallen into "some *trifling levities*," had asserted that "NO WOMAN IN THE WORLD WAS "FREE FROM SUCH LEVITIES," and that, upon the supposition that he meant levities approaching, in any degree, towards gross familiarity with men, he was guilty of an "infamous calumny" upon the women of England in general. This charge was, as the reader will clearly perceive, *hypothetical*; because, not having defined the meaning of the words "trifling levities;" not having (though he could, as he pretends, tell us the exact time and manner of the port's being delivered) condescended to tell us *what sort* of levities those were, of which he was speaking; not having told us positively whether it was by the Committee, or *by himself*, that the epithet "*trifling*" had been originally prefixed to the levities in question; not having clearly expressed himself as to these essential points, it was impossible for me, as yet, to make my charge against him positive. Let us now see, then, how he has *defended* himself against this hypothetical charge:——"This candid writer gives a long dissertation upon our "statement that the report of the commissioners of inquiry was said to notice some "*trifling levities*. It IS CERTAINLY "NOT VERY EASY TO AFFIX ANY "DEFINITE IDEA TO THESE "TERMS; but no one can be *at a loss* to "conceive the *kind of thing* that is *meant*; "and any one who pretends to be at a loss "to conceive it, for the purpose of annexing to it his own gross conceptions, and "thence deducing false, unjust and monstruous inferences, is guilty of a forgery "of the basest nature, with a view to promote the most shocking and criminal design. This writer speaks of "talking "love to a parrot, kissing a lap-dog, or "hugging a monkey, as acts that may "possibly be denominated levities by us." "Then he says, "that if by levities we "mean any thing approaching to acts of "gross familiarity with men, the women "of the land of whom we said no one "was free from some trifling levities, "were calumniated by us." What is the "object of this extraordinary and extravagant interpretation of a PLAIN INTELLIGIBLE TERM? Does this writer "mean to charge the Princess with these "things to which he artfully and designedly considers the denomination of levities "may possibly be applied? Does he mean, "by a cowardly insinuation, to impeach the "purity which he disclaims all intention of "questioning? If he does not mean this, "what does he mean? With all his affected "boldness, it is clearly ascertained that he "is a man ready to shrink from real danger, "however ready to press forward where no "risque is to be apprehended. He has to "choose which of these two interpretations "he will give to his language on this point; "either that it is a cowardly insinuation of "what he dared not to prefer as an open "charge; or words without meaning, by "way of illustrating an absurd and foolish "misconception. He has to select for his "characteristic, either cowardly malice, or "absurd folly. Every person *who knows* "*any thing of the world*, must easily understand what we described as a few trifling levities, which may be exaggerated "into matter of crimination by the malice

"of the worst of sycophants, those pre-
"pared to seduce, with a purpose to betray.
"From such levities, with every care for
"the virtue of our fair and honourable
"countrywomen, but with a full sense of
"the power of malice, we say no woman in
"the land is free, not even those much re-
"spected and justly respectable ladies
"named by this writer."——He who, in disputing, feels his weakness, is sure to fly off from the subject; and, if it will afford this writer any gratification, it may be observed, that, in this respect, he is an imitator of PITT, who, when he was unable to speak to the matter in question, always, though with more dexterity than this gentleman is master of, diverged into something foreign thereto, and, not unfrequently into a personal attack. But, I will not follow this gentleman: his calling me *coward*, or *fool*, or both at once, shall not draw me from the point in view; shall not prevent me from observing, that he has not now, though his defence against my charge of having grossly calumniated the women of England depended upon it, explained *what he* meant by "*trifling levities*;" he may apply to me every opprobrious term that the dictionary contains, but he shall not prevent me from observing, that those words, which, in one place, he calls "*a plain and "intelligible term*," he says, in another place, do "certainly *not* admit of having af-"fixed to them *any definite idea*;" he may rail till he disgust even his senseless readers; and he may assert that "every person who "knows any thing of the world must *easily "understand*" a phrase, to which *no one can "affix any definite idea*;" but he shall not prevent me from again calling upon him to explain what *he means* by that phrase; and from again calling upon him to tell us how it happens that he, who, as he pretends, is so well informed upon *every other point* of this important matter, has not told us by *what words* the "trifling levities" are described *in the report*, which he asserts to have been made, and respecting the delivery of which he is so minute in his account; he may curse on, until the tongue of him cleave unto the roof of his mouth, but still will I say to him, thou son of subterfuge, tell me plainly what thou meanest by "trifling levi-"ties," or I still arraign thee for having grossly calumniated the women of England. ——In consequence of his observations upon what he represents as the *unsupported* and *helpless* situation of the royal lady, of whom he chooses to speak, I shewed clearly, as I think, in pages 268 and 269, that his representation was false. I shewed, that there was no deficiency in point of friends or of means; and, I asked, "what need was "there of ADVICE with respect to *a mat-"ter like that in question*?" What is his answer? Does he remove, or attempt to remove any effect which my observations, upon this head, may have produced? No such thing; but, what he wants in argument he amply makes up for in point of assurance: "What we have said," says he, "of the *exposed* and unprotected situation "of the Princess, we will not now repeat. "*Every one feels it*; and to *attempt to ques-"tion* it, is to tell *a gross and odious false-"hood*, with the certainty, that it will im-"pose upon nobody."——This is his way. He tells us (for as to the *fact* I reason not upon that) that "trifling levities" have, no matter by whom, or whether truly or falsely; but *he tells us*, that certain "trifling "levities" have been imputed to the illustrious personage in question, and he gives *a reason* why such levities ought, in this case, to be thought nothing of. I show, or, at least, I think, I show, that that reason is unfounded; and he, though he condescends to publish a reply of three columns length, deigns not to point out a single error, either in my premises or my conclusion; but contents himself with the bold, though bare, assertion, that to "*attempt to ques-"tion*" the truth of what he has said is to "*tell a gross and odious falsehood*." Verily, my friend, that cause must be a prosperous one indeed that thrives in hands like thine! That client must indeed be innocent, that escapes from thy defence without strong presumption of his guilt!——At the outset of my observations (in page 265), a hope was expressed, that, as the report was, according to this writers' assertion, *in the hands of the Princess*, we should hear, on his part, no more *complaints* that the report was *with-held from the public*; and, it was, at the same time, noticed, that, *before* the report was, by him, said to be made, he *dared* certain of the parties to publish it; and, that he threw out most intelligible insinuations, that these parties with-held it, because it would discover who were *the instigators*, which instigators, and particularly the principal one, was pretty clearly designated. But (for this is of vast importance) let us read again his remarks of the 7th of July here adverted to:—"We shall be sorry to "find a determination *not to publish* the "report acted upon, as it will enable the ca-"lumniators who have preferred the charge, "to shelter themselves from public indig-"nation, under the veil of state secrecy. "The nation instead of being accurately

"informed of the precise nature of the accusation, by whom it was preferred, by what motives it was prompted, by what evidence it was supported, what part every one concerned took in it; instead of being, as it ought to be, accurately informed upon all these points, the nation will be left to form its own conjectures upon every one of them. *No wonder, that, if in such a latitude rumouros should exist extremely injurious to some very EXALTED characters,* who, i is most material to the satisfaction of the public, should stand altogether clear of any *concern in the transactions* that have led to the investigation. Conjecture is a thing so incapable of restraint, that it will always be more active, in proportion as any attempt is made to restrain it; and it is ever sure to penetrate into those recesses from which particular care is taken to exclude it. What is most material to be shewn is, that there has been no encouragement, no invitation to the fabricators of the charge; that there has been *no subornation.* We are informed from a very respectable quarter, that two anonymous letters have been received at different periods by a gallant officer, whose name has been much mentioned in the universal conversation that has prevailed upon this subject. These letters held forth *immense advantages,* in return for, and as an inducement to the disclosure of any matters tending to criminate the illustrious personage, the purity of whose conduct has now been established by the strictest investigation. In the indignation which must have fired any manly mind upon the perusal of so base a proposition, the first letter was torn to pieces: but on reflection the fragments were collected and rejoined: and this letter as well as the second is still in existence. The second letter followed the first at the interval of some months, and expressed surprise that no notice had been taken of its precursor; it stated the proposition, which it renewed in still stronger terms, to *come from* HIGH AUTHORITY."

——Now, as to the "EXALTED characters" and the "HIGH AUTHORITY" here represented as liable to be suspected of *subornation,* and of witholding the report in order to prevent the proof of their guilt from reaching the public, I must leave the reader to say, at whom he supposes this most candid, most manly, and most *loyal* writer particularly to point. But, the main fact for us to keep in view is, that, as *he* tells us, the Princess has had the report in her possession ever since the 11th instant; and, now, bearing in mind that he told us, that "the Princess had written to the King, requesting, in the most pressing terms, "*that the report might be published;*" bearing this in mind, let us now hear what he has to say in answer to the part of my last article (page 265) where, upon a supposition, for argument's sake, that his statement about the delivery of the report was true, I presume that we may be permitted to ask the *reason* why the Princess does not cause the report to be published. "To enquire," says he, "WHY the Prince, or WHY "*the Princess* of Wales, *does not become* "*the publisher,* is not, in our opinion, "*consistent with the respect due to those* "*exalted individuals,* though the publication is essentially necessary in justice to "both. We did understand that the publication was to have been made by the "Commissioners, under His Majesty's Authority. If ALL *those whose names* have "been *irreverently* implicated in this extraordinary affair are to be pronounced guilty, unless they publish such part of the "paoceedings before the Commissioners as "may have come to their knowledge, *why* "*have not those innocent informers,* who "have been so injuriously characterised as "infamous calumniators *vindicated themselves by the publication of the particulars* "*of the guilty transactions of which they* "*were informed,* and the evidence by which "their information was supported?"—— And, this, *this* is his *answer!* This is all he can say in answer to my question! Pitiful subterfuge! Does he not see reason upon reason why *the Prince* should *not* become the publisher? And as to *the witnesses* taking upon them to publish the evidence, either in words, or in substance, does he not know; however famous he may be for the profundity of his ignorance, does he not know, that such publication, if unpleasant in its purport, would, whether false or true, introduce all the parties concerned to the agreeable variety to be found, in fine, imprisonment, and the pillory? Does he not well know, that there is not a printer or bookseller in London, who, upon having such a publication tendered to him, would not shrink into a size that you might thrust him through a key-hole? How mean, how despicable, then, is it, to attempt, by such a comparison, to get rid of the plain and simple and natural question, which I put, and which every man puts, with regard to the silence, as spoken of by this writer, of the Princess of Wales, who, if the report has been delivered to her, as this writer

asserts, has the right and the power to publish it whensoever and wheresoever she pleases?——When a weak man is defeated in dispute, he falls into a passion, which he generally vents in reproachful words; and, if he be at once weak and malignant, as is, indeed, frequently enough the case, he then, if he has the power, has recourse to *the law*, which, as far as it relates to the press, may be considered as the great foster-mother of stupidity. Accordingly, my foolish friend of the Morning Post concludes by calling upon the *Attorney General* to come and see what *he* can do with me; or, in default of power, to procure *new laws to be passed*, giving him power sufficient for the purpose! Indeed, this writer appears to have an eye, in this case, to the laws against *sedition*, if not to those against *treason*: "We copy," says he, "this passage "for the purpose of exposing the Writer to "the merited detestation of all classes of "the community, but chiefly of the higher "orders of the State, and the more elevated "ranks of Society, whom this Writer has, "in his *revolutionary cant*, described as "" the *well-dressed rabble* of the readers "" of the Morning Post." "We hope "the Attorney-General will look to "this."——Yes; look, to see that the readers of the Morning Post are not laughed at! But, though I certainly shall, to any charges such as he prefers against me, plead not guilty; and, though I am confident that I should, in any of the courts at Westminster, be clearly acquitted of treason, I am afraid, that, if tried in a court of criticism, I might be convicted of thieving from POPE:

"Leaves the dull Cits, and joins (to please the "fair)
"The *well bred Cuckolds* in St. James's air."

Which object of imitation, however, while it may serve to convict me of plagiarism, will, I trust, unless that which is permitted in poetry be absolutely prohibited in prose, also serve to ward off from me the charge of "*revolutionary designs*," evinced by my description of "the *well-dressed rabble*" that read the Morning Post.——In conclusion, I beg leave to remind the reader, that this discussion was not sought for by me; that it arose out of a wish expressed by the writer of the Morning Post to see a Baronet and his Lady put to death, for being, as he said, the accusers of an illustrious personage; and, that, through the whole of the discussion, I have never even *supposed* any offence, of any sort or degree, to have been committed by that illustrious personage; that I have combatted with the false facts and false reasoning of the Morning Post; that I have given no opinion at all as to the real facts of the case; and that, above all things, I have used no means whatever of exciting a public prejudice against any of the parties concerned.——My wish is not to discover guilt, but my duty is to discover truth, whether it bring to light guilt or innocence. That, in the present instance, innocence may be brought to light, is my wish, as it must be the wish of every man, who thinks, as I do, that the independence and happiness of the country are inseparable from the stability of the throne, and that that stability depends, in a great degree, upon the reputation of the members of the Royal Family; but, I am, at the same time, one of those, who do not believe, that that reputation is to be supported by the disguising of truth, and by the administering of flattery upon any of those occasions where the case calls aloud for admonition.

NEGOCIATION FOR PEACE.—It is quite amusing to observe the means, which the newspapers attached to the people who are called "THE OPPOSITION," have recourse to, in order to prepare the way for an outcry against the *terms of peace*, if peace should be the result of the present negociation. They have been put down upon the subject of our *pecuniary resources*. The display of our Naval Superiority is good; but, there may be too much of a good thing; and they have found, that this has now little effect, it being next to impossible to conceive what impression can be made upon the enemy by this superiority *alone*. SOUTH AMERICA has, therefore, been found out, as an object containing at once the requisites of novelty, the means of employ for our fleets, and the means of affording us what these wiseacres think will soon *pay off the national debt!* From a long dissertation in the Courier of the 26th instant I shall take a passage or two, leaving the reader to make his own remarks upon them. ——After detailing, in a very rapid way, how BUONAPARTÉ will proceed, until he has dethroned the monarchs of both Spain and Portugal, and, of course, taken possession of South America, the writer proceeds to describe the use that he will make of that conquest, which is, principally to take from us the West India Islands. Having thus premised, he goes on thus: "And all this "will be going on whilst the pacific minis-"try of England will be teaching us to be-"lieve that our only chance of salvation is "in submission to Buonaparté, in offering "incense to his vanity, and surrendering up "objects of his ambition. We shall be

" told of the " dilapidated means and re-
" sources" to which the Foxites succeeded,
" and of the impossibility of discovering a
" new object of taxation. Spanish Ameri-
" ca will be represented as an incumbrance.
" A few months ago the Morning Chroni-
" cle represented it as such, and deprecated
" the idea of attempting to take it. The
" language of the Foxites is, that we have
" already too many colonies, and of course,
" that Buonaparté may take all he can find.
" Look at their publications of last winter.
" See in Cobbett and the Chronicle, both
" equally execrating the commercial inte-
" rests of this country, and representing
" that it would be a benefit to society, if the
" plough were to pass over the city of Lon-
" don. Have we forgot Cobbett's triumph-
" phant tone when asserting that Balaam
" must yield his gold to the iron of Buona-
" parté? Have we forgot the malignant joy
" with which the Chronicle announced
" that " this purse-proud, ignorant gene-
" ration would soon be humbled?" And
" can we doubt that the revolutionary reve-
" ries of Mr. Windham, which look to an
" agricultural and rural state of society, ra-
" ther than to commercial and maritime
" strength, will be acted upon in preference
" to that system which alone has made and
" can continue the existence of the British
" empire? The fee simple of Spanish Ame-
" rica would be to this country equal to the
" amount of our national debt. What has
" enabled us to carry on the war so long, at
" an expense which thirty, nay ten years
" ago, no man believed it possible for this
" country to bear, but our increase of colo-
" nies and consequent increase of com-
" merce? It would astonish the public to
" know the great riches we have derived
" from the Dutch colonies alone of Deme-
" rara, Esequibo and Surinam, which will
" probably be thrown away in a treaty of
" peace by our ministers as if they were in-
" cumbrances. Out of such fertile colo-
" nies, British industry and capital have ex-
" tracted prodigious wealth. What might
" we not draw from Spanish America,
" having as we still have, though Lord
" Howick is still First Lord of the Admiral-
" ty, the sovereignty of the seas? With the
" sources of the precious metals in our
" hands, we could controul commerce in
" peace nearly as much as we do by our na-
" vy in time of war. With the monopoly
" of the trade of the richest, most exten-
" sive, and naturally strongest colonies in
" the world, our commerce and manufac-
" tures would rise with a new life, would
" expand with a new vigour which would
" make our national debt be felt but as a
" feather, while its redemption would be
" rapidly going on by means of the sinking
" fund. Our increase of commerce would
" also necessarily augment our maritime
" strength, and circumscribe that of the
" enemy. France, it is feared, may one
" day reach our East Indian dominions
" overland with her armies; but Spanish
" America is not so vulnerable; so detach-
" ed from Europe; it would always belong
" to that nation which held the trident of
" Neptune. From it we should derive
" new sources of wealth to counterbalance
" our new burthens, and the conquest of it
" would more firmly establish us as a colo-
" nial and maritime power than any other
" step we could take."——These observa-
tions are, as the reader has perceived, partly of an historical, partly of a philosophical, and partly of a prophetic cast; and, with respect to the qualities exhibited in each, one may say, that the philosophy is as foolish as the history is false, and that the prophecy possesses the merits of both the others. This gentleman, who writes in the Courier, is a tolerably good hand at a party paragraph. He turns you off three or four columns of lobby gossipping with wonderful dexterity; and I have often admired to see how, laying hold of the passions of party men, he puzzles, hampers, and distresses them. But, here he is got out of his depth. He evidently has never spent a day of his life in *thinking* upon the subject; and, though, probably, with very good intentions, he would, had he the power, soon show us the consequence of being under the rule of a noddle that has conceived the brilliant idea of paying off the national debt by the means of a war for the conquest of South America, including the mines of Peru and Mexico!—— At present I have no room for any further remarks. In my next, if I find the subject still agitated, I may submit some few observations thereon; but, until this writer shall have answered my article contained in the VI. volume of the Register, page 595, he must not expect me to notice any thing that he may say.——*Botley, August* 28, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.—*Act of Confederation of the Rhenish League, Done at Paris, July* 12, 1806.

(Concluded from p. 316.*)*

Art. XXVI. The Rights of sovereignty consist: in exercising the legislation, superior jurisdiction, administration of justice, military conscription, or

recruiting, and levying taxes.—Art. XXVII. The present reigning Princes or Counts shall enjoy as patrimonial or private property all the domains they at present occupy, as well as all the rights of manor and entail that do not essentially appertain to the sovereignty, viz. right of superior and inferior administration of justice in common and criminal cases, tenths, patronage, and other rights, with the revenues therefrom accruing. Their domains and chattels as far as relates to the taxes, shall be annexed to the prince of that house under whose sovereignty they come, or if no prince of the house be in possession of immoveable property, in that case they shall be put upon an equality with the domains of princes of the most privileged class. These domaine cannot be sold or given to any prince out of the confederation, without being first offered to the prince under whose sovereignty they are placed.—Art. XXVIII. In penal cases, the now reigning princes and counts, and their heirs shall preserve their present privileges of trial. They shall be tried by their peers. Their fortune shall not in any event be confiscated, but the revenues may during the life time of the criminal be sequestrated.—Art. XXIX. The confederate states shall contribute to the payment of the debts of their circle as well for their old as their new possessions. The debts of the circle of Suabia shall be put to the account of the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Princes of Hohenzollern, Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, the Prince of Lichtenstein, and Prince of Leven, in proportion to their respective possessions in Suabia.——Art. XXX. The proper debts of a prince or count who falls under the sovereignty of another state, shall be defrayed by the said state, conjointly with the now reigning prince in the proportion of the revenues which that state shall acquire, and of the part which by the present treaty is allotted to attach to the attributes of the present sovereigns.——Art. XXXI. The present reigning princes or counts may determine the place of their residence where they will. Where they reside in the dominions of a member or ally of the confederation, or in any of the possessions which they hold out of the territory of the confederation, they may draw their rents or capitals without paying any tax whatever upon them.——Art. XXXII. Those persons who hold places in the administration of the countries which hereby come under the sovereignty of the confederates, and who shall not be retained by the new sovereign, shall receive a pension according to the situation they have held.—Art. XXXIII. The members of military or religious orders who shall lose their incomes, or whose common property shall be secularised, shall receive during life a yearly stipend proportioned to their former income, their dignity, and their age, and which shall be secured upon the goods of the revenues, of which they were in the enjoyment —Art. XXXIV. The confederates renounce reciprocally, for themselves and their posterity, all claims which they might have upon the possessions of other members of the confederation, the eventual right of succession alone excepted, and this only in the event of the family having died out, which now is in possession of the territories, and objects to which such a right might be advanced.—Art. XXXV. Between the Emperor of the French and the confederated states, federatively and individually there shall be an alliance, by virtue of which every continental war in which one or either parties shall be engaged shall be common to all. —Art. XXXVI. In the event of any foreign or neighbouring power making preparations for war, the contracting parties, in order to prevent surprise, shall, upon the requisition of the minister of one of them at the assembly of the league in Frankfort, arm also. And as the contingent of the allies is subdivided into four parts, the assembly shall decide how many of those shall be called into activity. The armament however shall only take place upon the invitation of the Emperor to each of the contracting parties. —XXXVII. His Majesty the King of Bavaria binds himself to fortify Augsburg and Lindau; in the first of these places to form and maintain artillery establishments, and in the second, to keep a quantity of muskets and ammunition sufficient for a reserve, as well as a baking establishment at Augsburg, sufficient to supply the armies without stop in the event of war.—Art. XXXVIII. The contingent of each is determined as follows: —France 200,000 men, Bavaria 30,000, Wirtemberg 12,000, Baden 3,000, Berg 5,000, Darmstadt 4,000, Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others 4,000.—Art. XXXIX. The contracting parties will admit of the accession of other German princes and states in all cases where their union with the confederation may be found consistent with the general interest.——XI. The ratification of the present treaty shall be exchanged between the contracting parties, on the 25th of July, at Munich.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Resignation of the Office of Emperor of Germany, by Francis, Emperor of Austria. Done at Vienna, August 6, 1806.

We, Francis Second, &c.—Since the

peace of Presburgh, all our attention and all our care have been employed to fulfil, with scrupulous fidelity, all the engagements contracted by that treaty, to preserve to our subjects the happiness of peace, to consolidate every where the amicable relations happily re-established, waiting to discover whether the changes caused by the peace, would permit us to perform our important duties, as chief of the German empire, conformably to the capitulation of election.—The consequences, however, which ensued from some articles of the treaty of Presburgh immediately after its publication, and which still exist, and those events generally known, which have since taken place in the Germanic empire, have convinced us, that it will be impossible, under these circumstances, to continue the obligations contracted by the capitulation of election, and even, if, in reflecting on the political relations, it were possible to imagine a change of affairs, the convention of the 12th July, signed at Paris, and ratified by the contracting parties, relative to an entire separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar confederation, has entirely destroyed every such hope.—Being thus convinced of the impossibility of being any longer enabled to fulfil the duties of our imperial functions, we owe it to our principles and to our duty, to renounce a crown which was only valuable in our eyes, whilst we were able to enjoy the confidence of the electors, princes, and other states of the Germanic empire, and to perform the duties which were imposed upon us. We declare, therefore, by these presents, that we, considering as dissolved the ties which have hitherto attached us to the states of the Germanic empire, that we, considering as extinguished by the confederation of the states of the Rhine, the charge in chief of the empire; and that we, considering ourselves thus acquitted of all our duties towards the Germanic empire, do resign the imperial crown, and the imperial government. We absolve, at the same time, the electors, princes, and states, and all that belong to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme tribunal, and other magistrates of the empire, from those duties by which they were united to us as the legal chief of the empire, according to the constitution.——We also absolve all our German provinces and states of the empire from their reciprocal duties towards the Germanic empire, and we desire, in incorporating them with our Austrian states, as Emperor of Austria, and in preserving them in those amicable relations subsisting with the neighbouring powers and states, that they should attain that height of prosperity and happiness, which is the end of all our desires, and the object of our dearest wishes.——Done at our residence, under the imperial seal.—FRANCIS.

Address of the Emperor of Austria on resigning the Office of Emperor of Germany.

We, Francis Second, &c.—In abdicating the imperial government of the empire, we, considering it as the last effort of our care, and as an absolute duty, do express thus publicly a desire equally reasonable and just, that the persons who have hitherto been employed in the administration of justice, and in diplomatic and other affairs, for the good of the whole empire, and for the service of the chief of the empire, should be suitably provided for.—The care which all the states of the empire took of those persons who lost their places by the affair of the indemnity in 1803 induces us to hope, that the same sentiments of justice will be extended to those individuals who have hitherto been employed in the general service, who have been chosen in all parts of the Germanic empire, and many of whom have quitted orher profitable places, looking forward to an honorable subsistence for life, and which should not be wanting to them on account of their fidelity, and the integrity and capacity with which they have executed their functions.—We have, therefore, taken the resolution of preserving to those of our imperial servants, who have hitherto drawn their salaries from our chamber, the same appointments, reserving to ourselves to place them in employments in the service of our hereditary states, and we hope, with so much the more confidence, that the electors, princes, and states, will provide for the imperial chamber of justice of the empire, and the chancellerie of the chamber of justice, by charging themselves voluntarily with this expence, as it will be trifling in amount, and will diminish every year.—As to the chancellerie of the Aulic council of the empire, the funds destined for its support will be employed to provide for the wants of those individuals who have hitherto drawn fr m thence their salaries, this will serve them until other measures may be taken.—Done in our capital and residence of Vienna, under our imperial seal, the 6th of August, 1806.

FRANCIS.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" The country, to be saved, must have warm advocates and passionate defenders, which a heavy, discon-
" tented acquiescence never can produce. What a base and foolish thing it is for any consolidated body of
" authority to say, or to act as if it said, " I will put my trust, not in mine own virtue, but in your
" " patience; I will indulge in effeminacy, in indolence, in corruption; I will give way to all my perverse
" " and vicious humours, because you cannot punish me without the hazard of ruining yourselves!"——
BURKE'S WORKS, Vol. VII. p. 364.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GRANTS TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.——The large grants of public money, made by the *Whig* ministry, just at the close of the last session of parliament, were, by many persons, and by myself amongst others, regarded as being totally unnecessary, seeing that the allowances to the several branches were already so ample. COLONEL WOOD has the merit (a merit that will, 'ere long, be distinguished) of having opposed these grants; and, though his opposition proved ineffectual for the time, it encourages us to hope, that, when the House shall again be *full*, there will be some few members, at least, found to endeavour to cause a revision of this measure, which, I will venture to say, has given a greater shock to men's feelings than any one that has been adopted for many years.——But, at any rate, since the money has been granted, it must be the wish of every good subject to see it judiciously expended; to see it, agreeably to the declarations of the ministers, employed in " supporting the *dignity*" of the several persons, on whom it has been bestowed; and, under the influence of this wish, what must have been the public feeling at reading the following account, ostentatiously published, in all the London news-papers, of the 23d ultimo, under the title of " DUKE OF " CLARENCE'S BIRTH DAY?" To be precise, however, I shall, previous to my inserting the account, just state, that I copy it from the *Courier* news-paper of the day here mentioned.——" The Duke of Clarence's birth day was celebrated with " much splendour in Bushy Park, on Thursday. The grand hall was entirely new " fitted up, with bronze pilasters, and " various marble imitations; the ceiling " very correctly clouded, and the whole " illuminated with some brilliant patent " lamps, suspended from a beautiful eagle. " The dining room in the right wing was " fitted up in a modern style, with new " elegant lamps at the different entrances. " The pleasure ground was disposed for the

" occasion, and the servants had new li-
" veries. In the morning the *Dukes of*
" *York's and Kent's bands arrived in cara-*
" *vans;* after dressing themselves and din-
" ing, they went into the pleasure grounds,
" and played alternately some charming
" pieces. The Duke of Kent's played some
" of the chorusses and movements from
" Haydn's Oratorio of the CREATION,
" arranged, *by command of his Royal High-*
" *ness,* for a band of wind instruments.
" About five o'clock the Prince of Wales,
" the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and
" Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c. arrived,
" from reviewing THE GERMAN LE-
" GION. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure grounds,
" accompanied by the Lord Chancellor,
" Earl and *Countess* of Athlone and *daugh-*
" *ter,* Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and
" *Lady,* Baron Eden, the Attorney General,
" Colonels Paget and M'Mahon, Serjeant
" Marshall, and a number of other persons.
" At seven o'clock the second bell announced the dinner, when THE PRINCE took
" MRS. JORDAN *by the hand, led her*
" *into the dining room, and seated her at*
" *the head of the table.* The Prince took
" his seat *at her right hand* and the Duke
" of York *at her left;* the Duke of Cam-
" bridge sat next to the Prince, the Duke
" of Kent next to the Duke of York, and
" the Lord Chancellor next to his Royal
" Highness. The DUKE OF CLARENCE
" *sat at the foot of the table.*——It is hard-
" ly necessary to say the table was sump-
" tuously covered with every thing the season
" could afford. The bands played on the
" lawn, close to the dining-room window,
" The populace were permitted to enter the
" pleasure grounds to behold the Royal
" Banquet, while the presence of Messrs.
" Townshend, Sayers, and Macmanus,
" preserved the most correct decorum. The
" Duke's NUMEROUS FAMILY *were*
" *introduced,* and admired by the Prince,
" the Royal Dukes, and the whole com-
" pany; an infant in arms, with a most

"beautiful white head of hair, was brought "into the dining-room by the nursery maid. "After dinner the Prince gave "The Duke "of Clarence," which was drank with "three times three. The Duke gave "The King," which was drank in a si-"milar manner. A discharge of cannon "from the lawn followed. "The Queen "and Princesses."—"The Duke of "York and the Army." His Royal "Highness's band then struck up *his cele-"brated march.*"——Now, first observing, that I do not mean to give this paragraph as a narrative of real facts, but merely as a publication that I have found in the news-paper above-named, and as a statement which I wish to see contradicted by order of his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, or of some of his brothers; thus observing, and explicitly stating, that my object is to remove the evil impression, which such a publication must necessarily tend to produce upon the minds of a people, who, *by the express command of His Majesty*, have read to them from the pulpit, four times a year, a long exhortation against vice and immorality, and who have fresh in their minds the large grants of money recently made for the declared purpose of enabling the several branches of the Royal Family "to support the *dignity* of their station;" thus previously observing, I would beg leave, as a beginning of my comments upon the publication before me, to ask the writer of it, *what march* he means, when he talks of the "*celebrated* march of the *Duke of "York*?" And, I would further ask him, what necessity there was in a publication of this sort, to remind the people of England of the Duke of York's *marches*? And why he could not have so far got the better of his too obvious disposition, as to suffer those '*cele-"brated*" marches to rest quiet and unalluded to?——The representing of the oratorio of the CREATION, and arranged by the Duke of Kent, too, applied to the purpose of ushering in the "NUMEROUS FA-"MILY of the Duke of Clarence;" the thus representing the Duke of Kent as employed in an act, whereby the procreation of a brood of illegitimate children is put in comparison with the great work of the Almighty, is, in this writer, an act of the most insidious disloyalty, and of blasphemy the most daring. We all know, that the Duke of Clarence is not married, and that, therefore, if he had children, those children must be bastards, and that the father must be guilty of a crime, in the eye of the law as well as of religion, and that he would exhibit a striking example of that vice and immorality, which his royal father's proclamation, so regularly read to us by our pastors, commands us to shun and to abhor, and enjoins upon the magistrates to mark out and to punish wherever they shall find them existing among us. While we hear this command so often repeated to us, and know that, from the form in which it is conveyed, it comes immediately from His Majesty's mind and conscience, can we possibly suppose, that he would wink at acts, in his own family, such as are described by this writer? And when to this consideration we add the many others that present themselves upon the subject, can we hesitate in declaring, that to represent the Duke of Clarence as having a "numerous "family of children" is foully to slander his Royal Highness, and that, further to represent him as *ostentatiously* exhibiting this "numerous family" in public, and in the immediate presence of all his royal brothers and of the Lord Chancellor of England, and other of the nobles, is to accuse him of a gratuitous and wanton insult against the laws, the manners, and the morals of the country. ——This representation and accusation I must and I do, therefore, consider as *false*; and, I am confirmed in this my opinion, when I hear the same writer assert, that the Prince of Wales *took Mother Jordan by the hand*, and, in the presence of a *Countess*, a *Countess's daughter*, and a *Baroness*, *seated her at the head of the table*, taking his place upon her right hand, his royal brothers arranging themselves, according to their rank, on both sides of the table, the *post of honour* being nearest Mother Jordan, who, the last time I saw her, cost me eighteen-pence in her character of Nell Jobson!——This part of the account proves the falsehood of the whole. But, though, amongst persons, who are at all acquainted with the characters of the illustrious personages, who are, by this writer, represented as having been actors in the scene, there can be no doubt that the whole of the representation is false, more especially when we take into view the pious and strenuously-enforced precepts of the royal father's proclamation; yet, amongst that part of His Majesty's subjects, who know nothing of the manners of the great, except what they learn through the channel of the news-papers, doubts upon the subject may prevail, nay, such persons may *believe* the representation of the COURIER, particularly as it has been given, and *in nearly the same words, too*, by all the other newspapers; and, therefore, being fully convinced, that the representation must produce, in whatever degree it is believed, an impression extremely injurious to the characters of the parties

named; not less injurious to the manners and morals of the people; and, eventually, greatly dangerous to the stability of the throne, for this plain reason, that the most virtuous part of the people, that part of them in whose minds truth and justice are predominant, that part of them on whom alone reliance could safely be placed, would infallibly be the most disgusted, and the most alienated by the belief of such a representation; being fully convinced of these important truths, I venture to beseech the royal parties, whose names have been so unwarrantably brought before the public, in the above-cited publication, to cause a formal contradiction thereof to be publickly made; I venture to beseech them to reflect on the fatal consequences, which have uniformly ensued, and especially in recent instances, from proceedings such as are described in this publication, and to remember, that to be blameless, as they, doubtless, are, in this and in all other cases of the kind, is not enough, unless they are also thought to be blameless; I venture to beseech them well to weigh the words of my motto, taken from the writings of one of the wisest of men, and to consider, whether, though the above-cited publication is a tissue of falsehoods, their permitting it to remain uncontradicted may not expose them, amongst the uninformed part of the people, to the imputation of acting upon a principle such as that in my motto described; I venture to beseech them, above all things, to reflect upon what must be the natural and inevitable effect produced in the minds of the people, if they were once to believe that any portion of the grants made out of the taxes, in times like the present, was expended upon objects such as those described in this poisonous publication; and, lastly, as I have, in proportion to my means and my capacity, done as much as any private individual ever did in support of the throne and the reputation of the royal family, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous, that I now make them a tender of my pages and my pen, for the purpose of making and promulgating that contradiction, which every *truly* loyal subject is so anxiously desirous to see.

WHIGGISM.——It will be recollected, that, in page 161 of the present volume, I took occasion, in speaking of the conduct of the present "Whig ministry," relative to the press, to say, that I disliked the *Whig principle* (supposing it, for argument's sake, still to have been alive) "having ob-
"served, that *all* those measures which
"have proved greatly and permanently
"disgraceful to England, originated with
"the pretenders to exclusive patriotism,
"who called themselves Whigs."——A commentator upon this passage appeared in page 239; and another, taking courage from my silence, has made his appearance in the present sheet.——Both these writers seem to be perfectly willing to give up the *pretenders* to Whiggism, as the basest of apostates; but neither of them attempts to *prove*, that any real Whigs (according to their notion of the import of the term) have ever existed. They maintain the *theory* of Whiggism, but have no scruple to give up the *practice*.——With such conceding opponents it is difficult to know what to do. They slip from one's fingers like an eel; and there is no answering them otherwise than by repeating and backing one's own assertions.——To the Whigs we do not owe either the *Bill of Rights*, or that other great security for liberty the Act of *Habeas Corpus*; but, we owe to them the frequent violation of both. We owe to them (as is observed by a correspondent, whose letter I cannot publish) the *Septennial Law*; the *Excise Laws* and the recent attempt at extending them to private houses; the Germanized system of *keeping up a standing army in time of peace*; the constant and uniform *rejection of pension and place bills*; the primary *increase of the civil-list*; the *Walpolian system of influence and corruption*; the sullen and sulky rejection of various propositions *for inquiry into their mal-administration*; *the introducing of foreign troops into the kingdom*; and, if we owe to them the Revolution of 1688, we owe it to their love of power, and to the same passion in them we owe that terrible evil, that more than a balance against all the good they ever pretended to wish to produce; we owe to them the origin and the maintenance of the *National Debt*, since the creation of which *no House of Commons has ever refused to vote whatever sums of money any minister has thought proper to demand*.——Was I right in saying, that to the Whigs we owe all the measures that have proved greatly and permanently injurious and disgraceful to England? Had I reason, or had I not, to dislike the *principle* of Whiggism, which principle, as evinced in their actions, is an adherence to place and power, though at the expence of all their professions?——The correspondent, in the present sheet, tells me, that the main principle of the Whigs is, that *a jealousy should always exist with respect to the power of the crown, and that endeavours should constantly be made to check that power*. Whether he means to include the members

of the Whig Club, who are also members of the present administration; whether he means to include these gentlemen in his description of apostates, I cannot pretend to say; but, if he does *not*, let me ask him, whether he thinks the operation of this main principle of Whiggism has been very visible in the abandoning of the measure relative to a *Military Council*; in the declaration of Mr. Fox respecting *the restoration of Hanover as a sine-qua-non of peace*; in the *exemption of His Majesty's funded property from the Income Tax*; or, in *the recent grants to the Royal Family, notwithstanding the existence of those funds?* And, if he *does* mean to include them in his description of apostate Whigs, I would beg leave to ask him, whether, after their twenty years of vehement professions, the people will ever be foolish enough again to put their trust in the professions of any man upon earth, who shall call himself a Whig?——As I can go no further without an answer upon these points, I shall here take leave of the subject, for the present, with a remark that will, I should think, give these correspondents an opportunity of coming to a mutual explanation.——My former correspondent (pray look at page 240) asks me, "Are the "principles, Sir, that produced the great "and glorious revolution, and placed upon "the throne of the realms OUR PRESENT *illustrious and beloved Monarch*, as the "*guardian of his people's rights and liberties*, principles to be *combatted by you?*" This is to say: Whig principles produced the revolution, the revolution placed the present king upon the throne; therefore, Whig principles caused the present king to be king, and, of course, if I persist in expressing my dislike of Whig principles, I express my dislike of the present king! Admirable logician! Candid, and, above all things, *manly* disputant! But, let us hear what the *other* Whig, in the present sheet, says about the "*present king*." He asserts, with no less boldness than his brother Whig makes his assertions, that "the "*present reign* has been a reign of *Toryism*;" so that, if both speak truth, the Whig principles that produced the glorious revolution that placed the present king upon the throne, have been productive of nothing but Toryism, and that this Toryism has been "the guardian of the people's rights and "liberties!" The Whig in the present sheet calls upon me, in a manner somewhat trium hant, to answer his brother Whig's observations; but, surely any further answer, on my part, may be well dispensed with, until the gentlemen have been able to reconcile their own assertions as to the present reign; yet I am aware, that the intelligent reader will have already perceived, that the difference is easily accounted for by merely supposing, that the former correspondent is a Whig *in place*, and the latter a Whig *out of place*.——The object of the remarks first offered upon this subject, was, to expose the folly of those, who, though very good men, and, in every other case, very sensible men, suffered themselves to be cajoled and deluded by the hypocritical use of a catch-word; a word which I hope to see scouted out of conversation, and consigned to the works of those writers, who may hereafter moralize upon the political impositions practised upon mankind.

NATIONAL DEBT.——In the present sheet, will be found a letter, signed LUCIUS, upon this subject. He begins by talking of the "*flagrant injustice*" of my proposition for disloading ourselves of this unbearable burden, without, however, making any attempt to confute any one of the arguments, by which the *justice* of that proposition was, in the preceding volume, under the title of "FATE OF THE FUNDS," endeavoured to be maintained.——He asks, *what good* I propose by the annihilation of the debt; and this I look upon as rather hard, after I have so repeatedly described the *evils* inseparable from the debt's existence.——He proceeds on to show what embarrassments would arise in the money market, *if the whole of the principal were paid off at once*; but, he must do this out of mere sport; for, I have had in view the destruction of that vile thing called the money market; and, never, in all I have written upon the subject, did an idea escape so full of absurdity, as that the principal could possibly be *paid off*.—— This writer (and I thank him for it) has exposed the folly of regarding the national debt as *a source of revenue*; but, does he not, in some measure, fall into the folly exposed, by arguing, that the debt is become necessary to the support of *charitable institutions?*——His close is admirable. His exposition of the shocking absurdity of seizing a part of every man's real property, in order to liquidate the debt, is perfect in all its parts; and, without disparagement to the Edinburgh Review, it very far surpasses the remarks, made in that work, upon the SPEECH, which was intended to be spoken, and which was really published, by the Bishop of Landaff. The profundity of this part of his letter compensates for the banker-like notions of the former part, and fixes the writer, in my opinion, as a man who ought to have answered my arguments in

support of the *justice* of ceasing to pay interest upon the debt, supposing such a measure to be *necessary* to prevent the ruin of the nation.——This gentleman, like all the others, who have taken the same side, avoids asserting, *that we are able to go on in our present way*. He leaves the subject, as to that point, where he finds it. He seems to rest upon a hope not very strong, and the grounds of which are not clearly conceived in his own mind. So I, for my part, cannot rest. Whatever *justice* there may be in *throwing the burden upon posterity*, the *impolicy* of it is, in my opinion, certain and evident. I wish to see, with my own eyes, the way clear for posterity; nor can I bring my mind to draw one moment's consolation from any thing to arise out of the chapter of accidents. By the annihilation of her debt, England would, I am fully persuaded, be enabled to laugh at her enemies, however numerous and however mighty; and, until I am convinced of the contrary, I shall continue to wish for that annihilation, and shall applaud every measure for curtailing the interest upon the debt.

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE.—Speculations on this subject are useless; and the only reason for my introducing the topic here, is, to have another opportunity of expressing my hope, that, for the reasons given in the excellent letter in page 275 of the present volume, the *restoration of Hanover* will form no part of our claims. I beg leave again to refer the reader to that letter, and to ask himself seriously, what must be our fate, if such an object be introduced into the discussions at Paris?——This squares, too, so excellently well with the idea of a *fourth coalition* against France, of which, according to the apparent opinions of our sapient political writers, *Prussia* is to be a member! There appears to be no probability of such a coalition; and, if there were, I think, we might rest assured, that more dethronements would speedily take place. The gentlemen of the Morning Post and the Courier talk it well about "the "*untouched* armies of Prussia;" but, the question is, how much touching would those armies bear? The "KNIGHT OF THE "POLAR STAR" may exhaust himself beyond the reviving powers of brandy, though his whole pension were expended in that commodity; but, he will never succeed in persuading me, that there are now greater means of combatting Buonaparte than there were a year ago. The fact is, that, from the folly and baseness of others, the Emperor of France is become the master of the continent; and, every hope that is excited in our breasts as to what can be done in that quarter, must tend to slacken those exertions of our own, on which alone our safety now depends. The battle, whether peace take place now, or not, remains to be fought between England and France. We have, with proper measures, ample means both of defence and offence; but, if we adopt not such measures, we share the fate of all those nations which, one after another, have fallen under the dominion of France.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——This is, probably, the last time, that I shall find it necessary to trouble the reader with any remarks upon this subject. It is, indeed, exhausted, and one can only repeat one's expressions of regret, that any man capable of putting words into sentences, should have so far disgraced the art of writing and of printing as to have resorted to subterfuges and falsehoods, such as those which I have exposed in the writer of the Morning Post, by whom, be it always remembered, this, for him, ill-fated discussion was provoked.——There have been, since his assertion (a *false* one, I presume) that *the report had been made to the Princess of Wales*, two principal points in dispute; to wit; the "*trifling* "*levities*" that he talked of, and *the reason why the report was not published*. Upon the former I have stung and goaded him, in all manner of ways, in order to obtain from him a definition of what *he* means by the phrase, "*trifling levities*;" but, all in vain; he will not define; he will not tell us what he means; and so we must leave him.——Upon the other point I have been equally unsuccessful. No plain reason will he give us; but, as it is not here a mere matter of verbal meaning, we will once more hear what he says, throwing in a few words, here and there, for the purpose of avoiding the trouble of a commentary subjoined.——In his paper of the 1st instant he says:——

"We come next to the point of publication.
"The public will recollect, that we always
"have urged the publication on the broad
"ground of the general justice of the case,
"and the full satisfaction due to the people
"of England. We have said that the com-
"missioners were the proper persons *to*
"*prepare* the report for publication; and
"our reason for saying so was particularly,
"that we were informed that many parts of
"the infamous calumnies were advanced
"in language *so gross and disgusting*, that
"the evidence which was the most material
"part of the proceedings (the result being
"*already public*, to the amount of a full
"and *complete acquittal*), *could possibly be*
"*made public only* BY SELECTION, *and*

in substance." [What! the *language* so gross and *disgusting* as to be unfit to meet the eye of decency! The language of *evidence* too! *What* could these *filthy* witnesses have to give *evidence of?* Tell us *that*, thou able advocate!] "To make that selection, to condense that substance, and to put the publication in every way in the shape that *it ought to go forth in*, the commissioners alone appeared to us qualified. This writer would infer, that because the Princess of Wales has not published the report, she is guilty of all that has been laid to her charge." [False. I never regarded it as *a fact* that the report had been *delivered* to her, and I do not regard it so now.] "He says, there is reason upon reason, why the Prince of Wales should not publish it. Does he include among these reasons the urgent advice he was so friendly as to give to his Royal Highness in his last number, to cause the publication to be made; the information he communicated of the delay of the publication being imputed intirely to his Royal Highness, and the assurance that the most unreserved and most painful liberties were taken with his Royal Highness's name in consequence? We should consider this as a reason upon reason why the Prince of Wales should become the publisher, that is, why he should use all the means in his power to cause the report to be published. It is said the informers dare not publish a relation of their depositions. Let them put the facts in the shape of an information before a magistrate, and they may do it with safety." [No magistrate would *take* the deposition; and, if he did, no printer would publish it.] "But considering the extraordinary kindness this writer has shewn for these meritorious and much injured persons, it seems rather odd, that they have not given him some few hints which he might use for their advantage, without subjecting himself or them to the penalties of the law. Will he tell us why they have not? As to the Princess of Wales, the publication is now essential to her chiefly with a view to the punishment of her calumniators, and the exposure of the criminal designs formed against her. HER INNOCENCE IS ALREADY DECLARED, AND UNIVERSALLY BELIEVED. Why she does not publish the report *we do not pretend to say.* We are not informed whether the report was accompanied with the evidence, or any part of it. *The evidence is what is most material to be known.*" [And yet you would *select* and *condense* it; that is to say, you would *garble* it!] "The ACQUITTAL IS ALREADY PUBLIC AND UNCONTRADICTED. The commissioners are the proper persons to prepare the evidence for publication. To them the public ought to look for it; and according as any one has weight and influence, and authority with them, which the Prince of Wales may most particularly be supposed to have, he ought to press them to make the publication." —All this is really too pitiful; and it were a shame to give it circulation, except for the purpose of exposing the falsehood and the folly of this pretender to an intimacy with the great. ——As usual, he concludes with some most monstrous misrepresentations of my remarks; upon which, from the high respect for the parties whom he accuses me of intending to defame, I shall just observe, that my words will, by all the torturing that they can undergo, bear no such construction as that which he has put upon them. —— Again, like CALIBAN, in his complaints against Trinculo, he invokes the vengeance of the Attorney General upon me. "Lo, "lo again, how he mocks me! Wilt thou "let him, my lord? Bite him to death, I "pr'ythee!" To which the Attorney General might answer, in the words of Stephano, "Oh, that a monster should be such "a natural!"

JEWISH PREDOMINANCE.——Under this title, some very interesting observations will be found in a letter, in a subsequent page of this sheet.——MR. BROTHERS, some time ago, predicted, that we should all be in Jerusalem, or, in Palestine, at least, on, or before, the 1st of September, 1806; and, really, from the tenour of the newspaper paragraphs of late, and from the endless recurrence of Jewish names in high places, a doubt might be excited, in minds a little flighty, whether we had not actually arrived! ——Where all this is to end, on this side of the channel, it would be hard to say; but, amongst the many acts of the Emperor Napoleon that I disapprove of, I am glad to find two, whereof to express my decided approbation, namely, his measures for compelling the Jews to work like other men, and for preventing the blood of the French from being mixed with that of the Blacks, and I heartily wish that similar measures were adopted in England.

Botley, September 4th, 1806.

NATIONAL DEBT.

SIR,—Before proposing the annihilation of the National Debt by an act of the most

flagrant injustice, or attempting it by means that would at least be highly inconvenient, not to say altogether impracticable, it appears to me to be incumbent on yourself and your correspondents to point out what advantages would accrue to the nation, and in what respect its condition would be bettered, by adopting the measures that are proposed. Nothing can be more simple, nor more easy to carry into execution, than the mode you propose for effecting this object; but whether upon the whole we should be substantially benefitted by it, is, to say the least of it, highly problematical.—Let us suppose, what at least you, Sir, must acknowledge as the most desirable mode, were it a practicable one, of exonerating the public from the payment of its annuitants, that the government had repaid to every man the amount of the capital sum with which he had purchased his annuity. By this operation, it is evident, the public would immediately be relieved from the payment of the interest of such money; and thenceforth, by a sum equal in amount to the interest of the debt, its expenditure would be diminished. But at the same time that its expenditure was diminished, so would be diminished, in how great a degree it is impossible to say, the aggregate capacity of the public for yielding money in the way of taxes. It would clearly be going too far, to say that the nation, by paying twenty millions annually, creates to itself a source of revenue, yielding in the way of taxes, a sum more than equal to that twenty millions. Yet there have not been wanting persons, who have asserted, and certainly it could be so only in the above view, that the existence of the National Debt is a position of abstract benefit to the community: that is to say, that the National Debt is absolutely so much national wealth. This is evidently very absurd, but probably not the greatest absurdity that this subject has given birth to. But still I think it seems very questionable, whether if, by sudden operation, the National Debt were to be extinguished, the wealth of the nation, meaning by its wealth, its capacity of yielding taxes, would not by such a measure be diminished. A temporary diminution in its wealth would certainly be experienced. If you put the annuitant in possession of his principal, what is he to do with it? How is he to employ it? And being thus incapable of employing it, how is he to pay taxes? And who, upon the supposition of his keeping his money at home, unless by the most vexatious inquisitorial procedure, is to know what is his capacity for yielding taxes? If he can no longer make it serve as a source of revenue, by putting it out at interest, he must live upon the principal, and may live to see it exhausted. That he must live upon the principal is evident: for it cannot be supposed that immediate employment would be found for the vast sums that would thus be set free. That a demand for it does not exist in any other way, the very circumstance of its being vested in the funds is a sufficient proof. The demand for capital to be employed in the way of trade, is limited by the amount of the trade that a nation has occasion for; and the effect of paying off the National Debt, would rather be to diminish than enhance this demand; since, by rendering frugality necessary, it would necessarily diminish the consumption of articles of commerce. Our very manners, too, and the constitution of the community, has adapted itself so much to, and is so intimately involved in the existence of the National Debt, that its sudden annihilation, however just the means by which it might be effected, could scarcely fail of being productive of the most serious and extensive inconvenience. What would then become of our London Bankers, our Insurance offices, our Charitable Institutions, and so forth? Does not their very existence depend upon the security and facility with which they can derive a revenue from the money invested in their hands? It would be utterly impracticable to such bodies as these, assuming that the demand existed for it, to employ an extensive capital in trade: the care, the hazard, the length of time that must necessarily elapse before any return is made, all forbid it. I do not mean to assert, that these circumstances would, of themselves, afford a sufficient reason for the perpetuation of the National Debt, but they are merely mentioned as circumstances not altogether unworthy consideration in the discussion of this subject, and may serve, in some degree at least, to reconcile us to a burthen, which, while it is accompanied with so much real inconvenience, has at least the semblance of not being altogether destitute of advantages.—As to the means that are proposed to be employed for effecting this great object, taking it for granted that it is desirable, it cannot have failed to have given the dispassionate part of your readers considerable pain to have observed, coming from you, the recommendation of a measure, fraught with such flagrant injustice, as that which you propose; not merely on its own account, but because it must tend to diminish the effect which your writings on other subjects cannot fail to have, and to which they are so eminently intitled. You demand

of the government, and most justly, and most forcibly too, the punishment of peculators: and at that very same time, perhaps in another part of the same work, you are inviting and encouraging that same government, not merely to do a trifling act of injustice, but to become themselves the most aggravated species of robbers: for surely it will not be attempted to be maintained, that the magnitude of the crime at all diminishes its turpitude? You are on all other subjects a model of consistency: I think it becomes you to reconcile sentiments that are upon the face of them so compleatly inconsistent. It is too flimsy a sophism to produce conviction in the minds of any of your readers that are worth convincing, to say, that because people have dabbled in the funds, that is to say, bought in and sold out when they thought it would be for their benefit, that therefore, they have committed a material crime, and ought, as a punishment for it, to be deprived of the whole of the money that has been made the instrument of such crime. Do not people with a view to profit buy and sell land, and all other articles of commerce? And ought they, on that account, to be declared to have forfeited the articles thus bought and sold? The Government, or, to speak more correctly, the mass of the people do not suffer by this trafficking in the funds, and where then is a justice of selecting such traffickers as objects of its vengeance? If the nation is not to pay *money* borrowed, neither should it, by parity of reason, pay for *money's worth*: how much for its easement would it be were it to say to merchants who had furnished it with stores, or ship-builders who have built ships for it,—"No you have been trafficking with, and thinking to make profit by us, therefore you have no claim whatever to be paid." If the present debt is to be extinguished by this means, who, upon any future emergency, will become its creditors? Or how will credit be to be obtained for such commodities as we have no other means of procuring but upon credit?—It may be said, that in France, and that more than once, a spunge has been passed over the debt of the State, and yet notwithstanding the government has been able to obtain credit from its subjects. So it has: but is France, in its present regenerated state, a nation under whose example we can shelter ourselves from the infamy of such a measure? And in what way have those subsequent loans been obtained? spontaneously? Certainly not, but by irresistible power; the reflection of being exempt from which may afford us no small source of satisfaction.—The advocates for the annihilation of the National Debt, triumphantly talk of the absurdity of one part of the nation owing a debt to another part, or rather, to give it the greater appearance of absurdity, of the nation owing a debt to itself. But where the *real* absurdity of this lies, passes my comprehension. Would it be absurd to talk of one part of a family owing a debt to another part of the same family? Certainly not. And if in this instance, as well as in abundance of others, we were in the habit of considering the nation at large, not merely as a being *sui generis*, and therefore requiring a peculiar mode of treatment, and changing the nature of words when applied to it, as for instance, injustice into justice, but differing merely from an ordinary family in the amount of its numbers, our judgment as to national measures would not probably be less correct, nor our affairs conducted upon principles less consistent with the great interests of society.—Your correspondent's plan, in your last Register, appears to carry with it more the air of unfeasibility and absurdity, than injustice. He sets out with complaining of the heavy burthens to which we are already subject, and makes this a ground for paying off the debt, by way of exempting ourselves from a part of those burthens. In the common course of life, it would appear somewhat absurd, were we to hear of a man who was very deeply involved in debt, his receipts scarcely sufficient to meet his ordinary expenditure, to seize upon the moment when there happened to be extraordinary demands upon his income, to pay off the whole of his debts. If it would be impracticable for an individual to act thus, so would it be for the nation. If we are incapable of paying the interest of the debt, and so we are represented to be, we must clearly be incapable of paying the principal. Admitting, for the purpose of the argument, the proposed plan was *practicable*, yet still I see not the *policy* of carrying it into effect. On common principles of justice, I see not the demand there is upon us to reduce ourselves to the brink of ruin, to exonerate our posterity from bearing a part in those burthens, the whole of which we have not created, and are therefore entitled to act with regard to our successors, as our predecessors acted towards us. The complaint is, that we are already squeezed up to our capacity of endurance, and yet your correspondent cries to be still more severely squeezed. This may be very commendable stoicism, but a stoicism in the practice of which, he will find, I fear, but few imitators. *Money*, for the proposed purpose, evidently exists not: The public creditor must be paid them in

money's worth. In the instance of great land proprietors, they must give up the requisite portion of their lands: some at least of these portions would come to be transferred to ignorant men, helpless widows, or trustees already, perhaps, overburthened with their own business. And are they to cultivate the land thus forced upon them? Would not this endanger a famine? What would be the value of land were such an arrangement to be determined on? What the distribution of property after it it had been carried into effect? Would it not be the means of throwing a larger proportion into the hands of the opulent, and of their possessing a larger share than they now do, of the inconvenience of which we already affect to complain? By this means one part of the nation would be impoverished, without enriching the other part; its liberty would be endangered by the accumulation of property in the hands of the already opulent, and its very existence be brought into jeopardy, by diminishing its capacity for resistance, which is already found not more than equal to withstand the attacks made upon it.—I am, &c.

Aug. 29th, 1806. DECIUS.

WHIGGISM.

"There is a dignity in the warm passions of a "Whig, which is never to be found in the cold "malice of a Tory: In the one nature is only "heated, in the other she is poisoned: the instant the "former has it in his power to punish, he feels a "disposition to forgive; but the *canine venom* of "the latter knows no relief but in *revenge!*"

SIR,—I fully intended to have troubled you, before this time, with some observations on your late violent philippic against the Whigs; and as I have been hitherto prevented, it gave me much pleasure to observe that this subject has not escaped the animadversion of another correspondent. However manfully you may throw down the guantlet, and defy all the host of whigs, I shrewdly suspect that there is some reasoning in the *Whigs'* letter that will require all your ingenuity to answer: but as you promise to expose, in your next number, the futility of this correspondent's arguments, I am very desirous of having the matter fully discussed: I shall therefore make no apology in requesting your attention to some things, that were not noticed by the *Whig*.——A whig and a tory (according to my understanding of the terms) must possess dispositions and temperaments diametrically opposite to each other; and therefore I have selected my motto, as happily illustrative of their different characters. The genuine whig approves a mixed government, composed of several checks; and is always jealous of the power of the crown; whilst the tory would prefer an absolute monarchy, and is constantly endeavouring to enlarge the power and prerogative of the crown:——the former is liberal in his ideas respecting those who dissent from the established church, and would generally promote an abolition of all tests;——the latter erects a lofty fence around his church, and would gladly exclude every nonconformist from the participation of all its present advantages, as well as from the expectation of all its future rewards! Human nature is ever liable to error; and, on every subject left to the fallible judgement of man, there will be a diversity of opinions; especially in politics, where men are accustomed to discuss the nature of the government and constitution under which they live. In your future lucubrations on whiggism, permit me, sir, seriously to request, that you will never forget, that whiggism itself, is not, cannot be blameable for the apostacy of its professors. You very well know, that the truth of christianity could not be substantiated, were this mode of reasoning allowed. There would have been no need of Apostasy, for my making this observation to a mind so acute as yours, were we not all too prone in the warm pursuit of a favourite theory, to seize with avidity on every circumstance, so that it *only appears* to show them on our side of the question, or to invalidate the cause of our opponent.——And has not a man, of tory principles, interfered in the affairs of state for the last seventeen years?——Pray, sir, do you intend to maintain that the Marquis of Bute was a Whig? And my Lord Liverpool, shall we denominate him a Whig, Mr. Cobbett?——Indeed it is well known that toryism has been the fashionable political sentiment during the whole of the present reign: the thriving sentiment that has invariably conducted its professors to emoluments and honors! Mr. Pitt, I very readily acknowledge, was originally a whig: and never did a light more brilliant and promising dawn upon our political hemisphere, than on his first appearance above the horizon: but alas! it proved to be the mere corruscation of a comet, instead of the steady lustre of a fixed star. I am almost ashamed to particularize any of the transactions of this reign, as *peculiarly* evincing a predilection for tory principles. However, I cannot refrain from asking you two questions:—1. whether taxing the Americans, who had no opportunity by their representatives, or otherwise, of objecting to the tax, originated in whig or tory principles?——2. With

which system the commencement of the late war with France is the most congenial? ——If we ever live to see an impartial narrative of these times, the question will be decided: and on that decision would I stake my life!—I do certainly expect from your masterly pen some strong objections against whiggism; and forcible must they be, to induce me to abandon those principles, to which I consider this nation indebted for all the personal and public freedom that it enjoys! But, as you dwell "upon all those "measures, that have proved greatly and "permanently injurious and digraceful to "England," do not forget the revolution of 1688, to which the *Whig* alludes; nor the act of succession; nor the many beneficial results that have issued from those glorious proceedings! Should you persist in your intention of endeavouring to make us weary of defending the cause of Whiggism, I trust, that an abler pen will advocate its defence; but, at any rate, my own sincere, though weak endeavours shall not be wanting to the cause!—And do you think Lord Melville an honester man than any one of the present ministers?—O, fie, Mr. Cobbett, fie. Still, sir, I can conscientiously return you my sincere thanks for your exertions hitherto:—let patriotism and not captiousness be the ruling motive of your conduct; and this country will be more indebted to you, than Rome ever was to the elder Cato! I am, &c. A FRIEND TO FREEDOM.—*August* 20, 1806.

JEWISH PREDOMINANCE.

"——Non possum ferre, Quirites,
Græcum fieri."——JUVENAL.

SIR,—I observe you have not inserted in your Register the dazzling description given by a certain Jew broker of his new palace in Surry, and the magnificent feast he lately gave there to our princes and nobles. Perhaps you think it has been sufficiently published already; and indeed I must confess it drives for the last ten days, thrown the affairs of Europe very much into the back ground. But there are so many interesting considerations arising out of all this splendour, that I am persuaded you will not refuse me a corner of your paper to moralize upon it.—But you will observe in passing, that I do not exactly say the description in question was written by the broker himself, any more than that he built his own barouche, or engraved that portrait of him which appears in the shops with both arms loaded, not with cornucopiæ, but with vast rolls of his public charities, and contributions. So far from being the author himself, I do not suppose that of having ever written a sentence in any language whatever. But it is an additional proof of his liberal spirit, that he exercises and rewards the talents of our writers, architects, painters, poets, and musicians, and even charms colonel Pattypan himself to lay down the truncheon and repair to Morden with the rolling pin.—I am not ignorant that Mr. Cumberland, in his Life, solemnly declares that he was not paid a farthing by the synagogue, or any individual Jew, for writing his comedy of that name. This looks like an imputation on the liberality of the race; but Mr. Cumberland should consider, that he has indiscreetly over-done the part; and, that a Jew who gives away his money for the mere pleasure of doing good, without shew or profit, is such a monstrous caricature as no real Jew can see without contempt. It is only with us simpler Christians that the play has had any influence, and I will not dispute with Mr. Cumberland, that it may have assisted us to shake off those suspicions and prejudices which so long held our Jewish inmates in the condition of rats, always persecuted but never extirpated, nor prevented from purloining our victuals.—Till lately, the richest Jews amongst us affected poverty for fear of envy, and eat their unleavened cakes and counted their usuries in secret. But now they are the companions of our feasts, the pride of our assemblies, the arbiters of our amusements.—This speculation becomes important, when it is considered, that the remarkable changes we have spoken of are chiefly connected with the growth of the commercial spirit among us. Indeed the treatment of the Jews from the beginning, has always been milder in proportion to the commercial advancement of the states in which they lived. How sadly forlorn were they, for example, in the pasturing countries of Assyria and Babylon! How different there the state of the homeless exile, hanging up his harp in despair on the willows, from that of our modern broker, with the military bands of a whole county cheering his feasts on the banks of the Wandle? And, in the same way, France is now giving us a pleasing proof, if any were wanting, of the lamentable condition of her trade, by the harsh measures she is taking with her Jewish citizens. Bonaparte must needs inquire *why they do not work* and conform to the institutions of his other subjects; whilst, in our commercial state, if they are *wealthy*, no other question is asked. They may then dig wells, and build houses, and plant trees, on the very soil, where our boasted Nelson was wont to relax himself (in far humbler stile, alas!) from his severer labours!—It is

likewise obvious, that Bonaparte's funding system must be very different from ours, else he would not dare to discompose the Jews. Let Moses Jacobson say what he pleases about tilling the rocks of Palestine, it is certain the race are not of a temper to submit to agriculture or mechanical trades; and let Bonaparte do what he can, he never shall make them regular artizans, any more than Pharaoh could make them brick makers. We see that every soul of them, male or female, takes with alacrity to traffick, from the children that sell shoe-strings and pick pockets near the Bank, up to the richest of the race.—It is all a nursery of commerce; the fountain of brokerage, exchange and barter; and the living principle of all kinds of jobbing and huckstery. Tremble, ye statesmen, to touch this hallowed confederation? A whole ministry may be turned out (all but the commander in chief) and the nation proceed no worse, but the hair of a Jew's beard must not be singed, lest our gold become paper, our paper assignats, lest our stocks vanish into air, and loans become impossible.—Let us not be stunned here with the cry of illiberality. I despise no man for his country, lineage, or religion. If a German, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a man of any other country settle amongst us, he soon coalesces and becomes amalgamated with the rest of us, and at any rate his progeny is sure to be English. But a Jew is of no nation, and his children are Jews, never uniting and coalescing with any other race, but making it their religion and their study to remain distinct and separate from all. They are united together though spread in all countries, a mass widely extending amongst other materials, but gravitating uniformly and alone to its own centre. Such an enormous confederacy, like the Jesuits of late, all engaged in one pursuit, and held together by perpetual correspondence, might well be the object of jealousy, but surely neither requires nor deserves superior indulgence, or fostering kindness.—It is far from me, Sir, to envy any man his riches, neither is my bile moved by the pomp of a Jew broker. But I am grieved that any one should have gained the most amiable and most accomplished of princes to decorate his triumph. Wealth, especially in a land of trade, must always draw its full share of deference and attention, and be sufficiently admired by the multitude. It is, therefore, the proper glory, and, I may say, the duty of our prince, when at any time he steps out of his court, to bend his countenance and favour so as to reward distinguished merit, or to illustrate that which is obscure, I should delight to see him visiting the humble dwelling of David Levi, or any other Jew eminent for learning and intellect, instead of swelling the state of Abraham Goldsmidt. Or when high rank requires the vicissitudes of humbler society, I am not singular in saying, that I would rather see the heir apparent at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, (like his great predecessor) "touching the base string of humility" with another Poins, than worshipping (like princes of another race) a thing of gold. But I believe it was an unconsidered and good natured act, and certainly he did not suspect that our prints should be taught to publish to all the world, that he condescended, at a Jewish feast, with the High Chancellor and other great ministers of the king about him, *to pronounce studied eulogiums* on exchange brokers, and to mix his princely voice with Jews and Jewesses in singing the song of Moses in their tabernacles.—I am, Sir, with very great respect, your obedient humble servant, ETHNICUS.

MODERN AGRICULTURE.

SIR,——As every exertion of the human mind ought to have for its object general utility, I cannot conceive that purpose to be more effectually attained in a periodical work, than by the free admission of any opinions which may be offered upon subjects of great national importance. Of this description none are superior to the primary source of all our strength; namely, Agriculture, in which is comprehended the production of food, animal and vegetable, and the raw material, which furnishes the means of carrying on the greater part of our valuable and extensive manufactories.——Your correspondent A. whose letter you have inserted on the 23d of August, begins by stating, that it is problematical, how far the effects arising from the high estimation in which agriculture now stands in Great Britain, will be ultimately beneficial. He then proceeds to admit that the agricultural mania, (as he has been pleased to call it,) of the nobility and gentry has produced great improvements. Among these it has presented to the mind of the cultivator a more enlightened view of his art, he has been taught to consider agriculture not merely as an art, but to reflect and reason upon the principles of the science, and that they save unnecessary labour and expense.——These would, in my humble opinion, be of themselves great benefits, and to maintain any doctrine that such advantages could be problematical only, must require very strong arguments, stronger than can be found in Mr. Chalmers, or the

Apes of Louis XV.——The first accusation is that our nobility and gentry descend from their station, to mingle in pursuits unworthy of them, and usurp the place of husbandmen. What is there in the pursuit of agriculture that is to be deemed unworthy? Is the adorning their country seats with the best productions of human art to be extolled, while they are to be debarred from beautifying them by the improvement of their grounds? Are unwholesome swamps and marshes preferable to drained meadows, or barren heaths to verdant sheepwalks? Are briars and bushes browzed by cattle, more noble than woods and plantations, whose luxuriance depends upon being well fenced and preserved with care? Is not the scenery of a whole country rendered more beautiful by the symmetry of the cattle who depasture it? And can any sensible man deny that if with all this utility can be combined, these are noble pursuits?—But it is their province to watch over the interests, and direct the energies of the people. Let me ask your correspondent to what purpose they can more effectually direct the energies of the people than to the improvement of agriculture, or, whether the late Mr. Pitt was less qualified to watch over the interests of the people, because he turned his comprehensive mind to that pursuit, and employed his leisure hours in directing the cultivation of a farm in the county of Kent?——But next comes the grand mischief, the raising the value, and consequently the rent of land. Before we determine whether such effects are produced, let us consider upon what the rent of land depends. The rent of land is the profit to be paid after calculating the expense of production (including taxes, rates, and the interest of capital employed.) It may be deemed that remuneration which the landlord was intitled to for his expenses of building and enclosing. In an early state of society, the best and most productive land was cultivated. The quality of such land rendered the produce very great in proportion to the expense of cultivation. As long as the demand was confined to the produce of such land, provisions were cheap, and in great plenty. As the population of the country increased, the demand for food increased with it, and it became necessary to bring into cultivation a secondary sort of land, the produce of which was inferior, while the expense of tillage was greater. This latter quality immediately became the criterion of the value of land, consequently, if the demand enabled the farmer to pay the expenses of tilling such land, that is, if land of a secondary quality could compensate the owner, and afford a fair profit for enclosing, and building upon, the annual expense of production and an interest of capital, equivalent to the ordinary profits of similar concerns, the land of a superior quality would rise in value, in proportion to its superiority in produce over the land of a secondary quality.—The same argument is applicable to every progressive stage of society, and the age in which we live is furnishing us daily proofs, that to support our present and gradually increasing demand for food, we are obliged annually to bring into cultivation the most barren and waste lands of our island. The rent of land then must be fixed at the profit of the worst land that is tilled with advantage, and that accounts for the rent of land in many instances not exceeding from five to ten shillings an acre, a sum scarcely adequate to the inclosing and building upon, while lands of a superior quality are let at five and six pounds, and in most instances the high priced lands are the most profitable to the tenant.——The value of land, and consequently the rent, depends upon the demand for food, and the proprietor has no more the means of fixing its value, than the manufacturer of woollen or iron goods.—If I have succeeded in proving this, what injury can the agricultural mania have done to the community at large. Their demand is food, and the nobility and gentry by their superior means of information, by travelling and introducing into their own counties the best practices of others (an advantage which the common farmer whose habits and occupations keep at home, has not the power of obtaining) increase the supply, and while they are endeavouring to augment their own profits, their efforts have a tendency to lessen the price to the community at large by that increase.——But "*they must retire and give preeminence to the upstart but more powerful trader.*" Granted, they must, if idle and inattentive to their own concerns, while the trader is industrious and never one moment losing sight of his own interest, they will be annihilated and their farms will be daily (as is already the case in many instances) purchased by the gains of industry and perseverance. This effect is natural, it is to be avoided only by their becoming equally attentive, and equally industrious. If it is desirable such a race of men as the independent freeholders of Great Britain should remain, it is the agricultural mania alone that can compensate them. But the increase of rent is not the only evil your correspondent apprehends. All the misfortunes of the French revolution are to be expected from

the innocent and rural enjoyments of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain. Never did I so completely differ with any man. I had some opportunity of observing the sentiments of the French, previous to that important crisis, and have ever thought that the non-residence of the great landed proprietors was at that period the greatest misfortune. That it was the cause of that revolution I cannot assert, but that it deprived the country of that check which ought to have been imposed upon the power and mania of the city of Paris, I have never doubted. When the French wished to assimilate their constitution to ours, the greatest loss they experienced was that confidence, which ought to subsist between the landed proprietors and the electors, and caused the introduction of advocates and attorneys as the representatives instead of men who had property to protect. This could never have occurred if the proprietors had resided upon their estates, instead of squandering away their rents at Paris, and when they found it necessary to retire to their own estates, were known only to the peasant by their extortion.——As to his statement of this mania having arisen in the age of Louis XV. every one who knows the disposition of the French, must recollect that the court set the fashions, and whether it were hunting, dress, or shooting, the courtiers were sure to follow it. Fortunate, in my opinion, had it been for them, if it had been attended with those consequences, which would have induced them to reside upon their own estates. —Lastly, he seems to apprehend that the independence of the country gentlemen will be effected by their love of agricultural pursuits. Were a minister of Great Britain so wicked as to wish to render them subservient to the views of despotism, it is not by leaving them to reside in the country, there to judge of his acts impartially, and free from prejudice, but it would be by inducing them to spend their fortunes in London, and by increasing their wants in proportion as they observed the luxuries of others, render them dependent upon himself. He is most independent, who is truly rich, and he is, in the truest sense of the word, rich, whose wishes and desires do not exceed his means of gratifying them.—I have been induced to offer these few observations, to endeavour to place this subject in its true light, and to obviate any prejudice which might arise against a most useful and deserving class of men, a prejudice which it is unfortunately the interest of many to encourage. But, it remains to you, Sir, to promote the free discussion by the insertion of all fair arguments on both sides, and to leave the merits of the case to the judgment of a candid and enlightened public.——I am, Sir,—A. D.—

York, August 29, 1806.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXES.

Sir,—To what you have written concerning exemption from taxes you may if you think fit add the following well-authenticated anecdote.—When Mr. Legge was chancellor of the exchequer, he proposed a tax on placemen, with certain exceptions, in which were included the Speaker of the House of Commons and the twelve judges. When the bill for establishing this tax was before the committee of the House of Commons Mr. Onslow, the Speaker, spoke to some such effect as this.—" Mr. Chairman, it is " not my intention to oppose the tax now " under consideration or indeed to discuss " its expediency or justice. The observa- " tions which I think it my duty to submit " to the committee, relate exclusively to " the clause for enacting certain exemp- " tions. This clause is doubtless intended " as matter of favour to the objects of it, " but I cannot regard it in that light. To " exempt a man from a tax is to preclude " him from contributing his share to the " support of the security and dignity of the " throne, and the prosperity and safety of " his country. If any officer be not suffi- " ciently paid for his services, let his salary " be augmented, but let him not be held " up to mankind as a man exempted from " the common burthens of his countrymen. " In this sentiment, I doubt not, I shall " have the concurrence of my lords the " judges. I can, however, speak only for " myself, and for myself I declare, that if " the bill with this clause be passed into a " law, I shall feel myself under the obliga- " tion of quitting the chair of this house on " the next day; for highly as I have ever " esteemed the honour of filling it, I never " will continue to sit in it, under an exemp- " tion from paying my proportion of those " taxes which the exigence of the state re- " quires to be imposed."

X. X.

SINKING FUND.

Sir;—From the observations on the Sinking Fund, made by your correspondent, C. S., in his letters to Mr. Fox, one of which appears in your Register of the 23d instant, I have been induced to look into some of the preceding numbers of the Register, to see what has been advanced by other writers, your correspondents on that subject; in doing which I have discovered, that a writer under the signature of J. T.

has not only had recourse to words to express his sentiments and opinions on this important subject, but has adopted the more certain and unerring mode of demonstration, by the use of figures.—But as this is, a more certain, more clear, and more conspicuous mode of conveying ones ideas, were it can be applied, it at the same time, enables others more readily to detect any errors that may have been committed; (for nothing can be more clear and unalterable, than, that twice two make four) and when we see a man have recourse to this mode of reasoning, it makes an impression very much in favour of his argument; for on the first view of his argument so supported, we are half convinced he must be right. Though this may, and is in many cases, the effect of cursory observation, it will by no means stand the test of serious investigation and solid inquiry.—My habits of life naturally inducing a disposition to be rather a cursory observer of such matters, I must confess, it had the effect abovementioned with me, and so it passed; 'till the extraordinary letter of C. S. to Mr. Fox in the Register of the above date excited in me a curiosity, to see what his fellow-labourers in the same vineyard had offered on the subject; and there I found this mighty man J. T., of figures, "his thoughts arranged in square battalions, bold to meet the attacks of time and chance, himself a numerous host."——My observations will be directed merely to the post-script of his letter (which is to be seen in the ninth vol. of the Register, page 334), by which I am in hopes I shall be able to point out, and convince him that he has committed an error that upsets the whole of his argument; at the same time, I must, (as he does) bar any quibbling of the small wits, about bonuses, douceurs, and all such like things, and confine my remarks to his words and figures. He says, "it will appear to any person who chooses to make the computation, and nothing can be more easy; that supposing an annual deficiency of 10 millions for 14 years it would increase at interest of 5 per cent., upwards of 205 millions of debt."—Now according to his mode of calculating principle and interest, it might amount to the sum stated by him, viz. 205 millions; but this mode of calculation is highly erroneous, and I believe never entered the brain of any man except himself. Nothing can be more evident, than, that 10 millions borrowed annually for 14 years, would amount to 140 millions, and the interest of 10 millions so borrowed for 14 years, would amount to £52,500,000; making, with the 140 million, a total sum of 192,500,000.—If the nation at the end of the 14 years, then paid back, or redeemed the 140 million so received, no part of the transaction would then remain, but what might be left in the imagination; but if, at the end of 14 years, this 140 million should be funded, the nation would bring on itself the annual charge of 7 million for interest. Now let us see what the Sinking Fund would be doing with the 10 million annually, which this writer proposes to give it, in these 14 years; he admits, that any specific sum, put out at compound interest, will in 14 years double itself; the Sinking Fund, will then at the end of that period, have twenty millions annually at command, which at twenty years purchase, would produce 400,000,000: suppose then it should be the determination of the government to annihilate the Sinking Fund, and continue the interest created by borrowing the 10 million annually for 14 years, which at the end of that period would amount as above stated to 7,000,000 annually, then the difference to the nation would be as 7 to 20, that is the interest upon the national debt, would by the plan proposed by J. T. be reduced from 20 to 7, being a saving annually of 13 millions, by the operation of the Sinking Fund. This I conceive to be the true operation of a Sinking Fund, and the advantage arriving from money employed at compound interest, over that employed in the usual way at simple interest. This writer, J. T., farther says, "the commissioners have redeemed 140 million, and they can only redeem as *much more* within that time;" I suppose he means 14 years: now even this, his own position does not agree with his battalia, for I believe, that as *much more* as 140 will make 280; but his figures produce in that time, only 205 which leaves a balance of 75 in favour of the Sinking Fund; but I do not conceive that the amount of what has been redeemed is, *in this case*, the criterion by which we are to be regulated, no, it is the annual produce of the Sinking Fund we are to consider, and not its aggregate.—The 10 millions appear to me to be a very fair criterion to fix on, by which we are to shew the advantages arising from the Sinking Fund established in this county for the redemption of its national debt. It is quite immaterial what sum is fixed on whether at £10 or 10 millions, its effects will be, no doubt, in proportion to its magnitude: but to make myself understand, if £10 are put out at compound interest, it will in about 14 years double itself; and by the same unerring rule 10 millions would be 20; and therefore it does not appear, to me, to

be necessary to shew the operation of a Sinking Fund (or more properly the advantages from employing money at compound, over that of simple interest), to fix on any specific sum or time, to take any sum, at any time, and apply it to that purpose, it will

Amount to be borrowed, 1st year	£10,000,000
Ditto 2d	10,000,000
Ditto 3d	10,000,000
Ditto 4th	10,000,000
Ditto 5th	10,000,000
Ditto 6th	10,000,000
Ditto 7th	10,000,000
Ditto 8th	10,000,000
Ditto 9th	10,000,000
Ditto 10th	10,000,000
Ditto 11th	10,000,000
Ditto 12th	10,000,000
Ditto 13th	10,000,000
Ditto 14th	10,000,000
	£140,000,000

in 14 years double itself.——I shall now endeavour to shew in figures, what I conceive would be the effect of borrowing 10 millions annually for 14 years, and which is to bear an interest of 5 per cent.

Interest on ditto, 1st year	£500,000
Ditto 1st and 2d	1,000,000
Ditto 1st to 3d	1,500,000
Ditto 4th	2,000,000
Ditto 5th	2,500,000
Ditto 6th	3,000,000
Ditto 7th	3,500,000
Ditto 8th	4,000,000
Ditto 9th	4,500,000
Ditto 10th	5,000,000
Ditto 11th	5,500,000
Ditto 12th	6,000,000
Ditto 13th	6,500,000
Ditto 14th	7,000,000
	£52,000,000

The above I think will shew what would be the effect of borrowing 10 millions annually for 14 years.——If a single 10 million are borrowed for 14 years at 5 per cent., the interest during that time would amount to 7 million; the next year borrow 10 million more, the interest for that sum in 13 years, would amount to, 6,500,000; and so on borrowing annually 10 million for 14 years, at which time it would be found 140 million had been received, and 52,500,000, would have been paid as interest on that sum, instead as your correspondent J. T. states, have created a debt 205 million.—The Sinking Fund may not inaptly be compared to man in his origin and progress in this world, with one exception, viz. that the Sinking Fund carries itself the germins of renovation, and that of man the seeds of his own dissolution) for when he first enters it, what a helpless, and useless thing he is, but by being nursed and properly taken care of, his strength and power increase with a velocity incredible, when his infantine abilities are taken into consideration.—I am, Sir, your humble Servant, X. T. *London, 29th August*, 1806.

CLAIMS ON AMERICA.

SIR,——As your correspondent A. B., in your Weekly Political Register of the 2d instant, appears to be an advocate for the commissioners appointed by act of parliament, under the convention with the United States of America, and privy to their proceedings, I inclose you my appeal to the unerring tribunal of an impartial public, from their decision on my claim; wherein you will see that the Board have superseded the moral obligations of my debts, which were not *extinguished*, but only *suspended* by the war; and *revived* on the restoration of peace, by the law of nations: that they have not paid a proper regard to the public faith, solemnly pledged by Sir Henry Clinton's proclamation of 3d March, 1780, in virtue of letters patent under the great seal, promising persons in my situation, the *most effectual countenance, protection, and support*; with which promise that decision is utterly irreconcileable: that they have equally disregarded the statute of the 30th of his present Majesty, chap. 34, although expressly descriptive of, and applicable to, my case: that they have plainly deviated from their *own resolution* in Andrew Allen's case; which resolution comprehends every feature of mine: that, after my exhibiting, pursuant to order, indisputable evidence of my debts, amounting, inclusive of interest, to upwards of £25,000 sterling; as well as of the insolvency of my debtors or their estates, the Board have finally deprived me of the moral and political benefit of the treaties of peace and amity, which, by the law of nations, ought to be interpreted according to the *state things happened to be in, at the time of those treaties, as their legitimate state*; and, consequently, included me and every other British subject, and *bona fide* creditor, when they were concluded; and, that in this depriving me of the moral and political benefit of those treaties, they have assumed to themselves a power unknown to the constitution, of dispensing with the law of the land; of which the law of nations is unquestion-

tionably an essential part; although the exercise of that power has been so often reprobated in the history in this country: and have moreover extended that power to impugn national treaties, which ought to be held sacred and inviolate ——You will also see, by the appeal, that the *ostensible cause* of the dismission of my claim, is, my having returned to Carolina during the war, to prevent the ruin of my family and fortune, and taken an oath of allegiance to the existing government. But my return to that country, although strongly recommended by the then Secretary of State, without any application on my part, was not adopted until I consulted the King's Commissioners at New York, who approved of the measure, and procured me a flag of truce for the purpose. And as these were the only organs through whom the sentiments of this government could be obtained in so important a matter, their error in judgment, if any, ought not to be imputed to me. And as to my submitting to the imperious necessity of taking the oath of allegiance as above, under an ordnance passed in my absence; it was not considered in so obnoxious a light by the Secretary of State, as he blamed those who left the country to avoid taking an oath of allegiance and abjuration. But even supposing, by my return to the country, and taking the oath of allegiance to the existing government, or from any other circumstance of my conduct during the usurpation, *any criminality* could possibly attach to me; the above proclamation expressly pardoned it, as well as promised the most effectual countenance, protection, and support to those who should speedily return to their duty and allegiance. To the benefit of which promise, I am, by all laws, divine and human, clearly intitled, as I strictly conformed to that proclamation in every respect; and, relying on the public faith of it, submitted to banishment, confiscation of estate, (debts excepted) and all the calamities of war; and persevered in my allegiance until the conclusion of the treaty of peace; by the 4th article whereof, 'it is agreed, that creditors on 'either side shall meet with no lawful im-'pediments to the recovery of the full value, 'in sterling money, of all *bonâ fide* debts 'heretofore contracted.' At which time I was a British subject and *bonâ fide* creditor, and have continued so ever since. And the plain object of the 6th article of the treaty of amity was to carry that article of the treaty of peace into faithful execution, in behalf of the British merchants and *others his Majesty's subjects*. Notwithstanding all which, after near twenty-three years painful suspense, I am now left destitute of any prospect of relief: although, even admitting there could be an existing doubt in the case, it is effectually obviated by the above statute, which expressly and positively intitles those, '*who took oaths to the American states, but* '*afterwards joined the British*,' to compensation for their losses. And the resolution of the Board in Andrew Allen's case plainly corresponds with the statute.—— Having more fully and clearly proved, in my appeal, that the ground of the decision is untenable, it was reasonable to suppose some *substantial* arguments would have been offered to the consideration of an impartial public in support of it: but the Board have taken refuge in the plenitude of their power, by observing a profound silence, which is oftener a cloak for the most absurd and jejune positions, than it is a proof of accurate judgment; as most candid men, in their public and private capacities, pride themselves in the disclosure of the reasons and principles whereon it is founded, from motives of celebrity and applause. However, as your correspondent A. B. seems to be a friend to publicity, I trust, the public will now be gratified with a vindication of this injurious decision, by so zealous an advocate and panegyrist. But if I should find myself disappointed, as I am confident of your inflexible disposition to resist injustice and oppression, from whatever source they may originate, I shall leave you to any comment on the occasion, which your independent spirit and ingenuity may suggest: and am, Sir, &c.——An American Loyalist.

Lambs Conduit Street, Aug. 13, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Dutch Press.——*Proclamation issued by the King of Holland.*

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. We have determined, and determine by these: 1. The daily paper called the Amsterdam Evening Journal, shall be suppressed. The conductor shall not obtain permission to be employed again in any periodical work, having pretended to be the writer of a paper under our authority; and having spoken, in his publication of July 24, in a light and unjustifiable manner of governments with whom we are at peace. 2. Since no subject is permitted to speak in the name of his sovereign, and as it is unlawful for any private person to censure the acts of different governments, otherwise than in speech, and this entirely within his own domestic circle, every conductor of any printed work, who shall act in opposition to this law, shall be punished as an open disturber of the public tranquillity, and a transgressor of his duties to his sovereign.—C. J. Van Brakel. Given at Mentz, August 6, 1806.

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VOL. X. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"This writer" [the Morning Post man] "is a defender of vice; an open propagator of the principles of "immorality; and, he would, in my opinion, be a much fitter object of the vengeance of the VICE SO-"CIETY, than are the poor creatures, who vend ginger-bread and apples on a Sunday, only because "necessity compels them to work all the rest of the week. It was for the purpose of combating this most "shocking slave; it was for the purpose of preventing his vile notions, notions that would have disgraced a "Russian, from gaining ground among the thoughtless crowds of the metropolis, and thence working "their way into the country; this was the purpose for which my remarks upon the "Delicate Investigation" "were made, and not for the purpose of giving, by way of insinuation, an opinion hostile to the party said "to have been accused."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. 10. p. 269.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BATTLE IN CALABRIA.——The official account of the proceedings of the British army in Calabria will be found in a subsequent part of this sheet; and, from that account, it is impossible that we should not derive the greatest satisfaction; for, though the loss of the enemy, when compared with the whole of his forces, be but trifling; and, though the victory which we have gained will, it is to be feared, retard but very little the accomplishment of the designs of NAPOLEON, yet, this victory is not only a victory of Englishmen over Frenchmen; but, it is a victory, which, without being too sanguine, without exposing ourselves to the charge of boasting, we may hold forth as a *proof*, of the *decided superiority* of English over French troops. The victory, in any other light, is of little or no value; but, in this light, it is valuable beyond all price; and the gratitude of the country ought to be clearly evinced towards the officers, under whom it was gained.——There are, at this moment, in the king's dominions, 500,000 men like those, who, with the gallant COLONEL KEMPT at their head, drove back, at the point of the bayonet, Frenchmen more than double their number. These islands contain 500,000 such men. What, with these men; or, only one-third part of these men, well armed, well trained, and WELL COMMANDED, have we to fear? And what need have we of FOREIGNERS to defend our country?

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE.——If these negociations should fail, and that they will fail there is, I think, but little doubt, a FOURTH COALITION will, apparently, be the consequence, it being now certain, that the Emperor of Russia has refused to ratify the treaty negociated by Mr. D'OUBRIL.——Whether D'OUBRIL surpassed his powers, or whether the mind of the Emperor underwent a change after the giving of those powers, it is, of course, not easy to determine; nor can it, as yet, be a fact publicly known, whether the interference of our cabinet has had any weight in producing the event; but, if a FOURTH COALITION should take place; if new treaties of subsidy should be entered into by us; if the country is to undergo another year or two of draining for the sake of putting the continental armies in motion; if this is to be, I cannot help fearing, that it will be by mere chance, if at all, that England will escape unconquered from the effects of such a coalition?——Who are to be *parties* to the coalition? Russia, Austria, and England? So they were before; and, at a time, too, when the House of Austria was in possession of the Tyrol, and was able at once to push forward her armies to the banks of the Rhine. What hope is there, then, that a similar coalition would be able to effect any thing against France at this time? What ground is there, whereon to build a rational expectation of success from such a coalition? For my part, I can see none. Am I told, that Prussia will make a party to the coalition? I first ask, how we are to prevail upon Prussia to give up Hanover? Or, shall we, for the sake of obtaining the aid of Prussia, give up to her the object, and the sole object, of the war which we are now waging against her? This I should be surprised to see, especially under an administration that calls itself *Whig*; but, if all difficulties should be removed between us and Prussia, and if Prussia should join us and the other powers in a war against France, the consequence, in my opinion, would be, that Prussia herself would, in a very short space of time, cease to be an independent power. The great talk about the "*immense army* of Prussia" we hear from those, who seem to be totally unacquainted with the nature of that army; with the means by which it is raised and kept together; and, indeed, this is the only way of accounting for that great reliance that some persons are disposed to place upon the mili-

tary power of Prussia. But, neither the Prussian government nor the Emperor of the French is ignorant upon this subject; and, hence it is, that the former is in no haste to get into a war with the latter, and that the latter takes very little pains to avoid giving offence to the former. The army of Prussia makes, I dare say, as fine a shew upon parade as it does in the columns of our newspapers; but, it is formidable only in shew; and by shew the French are not to be intimidated.——As to Russia and Austria, one would have thought, that, after what we have seen, within this twelvemonth, no man would have been found upon the face of the earth foolish enough to entertain any hope of their being able again to meet France in the field; and, in short, he who expects from another continental coalition any thing but the creation of more French kings seems to me to be inflicted with a most mischievous species of madness.——"What then," some one will say, "are we to do; for, "you have frequently told us, that, the re- "lative situation of England and France be- "ing what it now is, England can never "enjoy one moment of real peace, though "she may make as many treaties as she has "generals upon the staff?" I have said so; and my opinion remains unchanged; but, because I wish to see the relative situation of England and France altered, does it follow, that I regard a FOURTH COALITION as the means of effecting that alteration? "But, "what, then, would *you* do, if you had the "sole rule in England?" Why, since it is now too late to arrest the progress of France upon the continent, I would bend my whole attention to the placing of England *in such a state as to be able to await, with arms in her hands, for the day when that progress should, of itself, have enfeebled France.* And, in order to accomplish this object, I would first set about the reduction of every expense not absolutely necessary; and, having lightened the hand of taxation as much as I could in that way, I would make addition upon addition to the deduction from the dividends, commonly called the tax upon the funds. By the operation of these measures the nation would soon find itself relieved from that pressure, which makes it constantly sigh for peace, without any regard whatever to its honour or its safety. By these measures 150,000 tax-gatherers would be sent back to till the land, to ply the oar, or to work in the making of goods. By these measures the poor-houses would once more be depopulated, and the million and a half of wretches who now inhabit them, would again become something in society.——I am aware, that I shall be again reproached with a wish to see the funds destroyed; but, to those who so reproach me, I should like to put this question, Can you, in your present state, continue to make war for ten or twenty years longer? If they answer in the affirmative, they are consistent in their reproaches, or, at least, they are excusable. But, if they say "NO," and tell me, that they hope to enjoy peace, then they are inconsistent, unless they prove to me that the reasoning which I have frequently made use of upon the subject, and which I will now repeat, be false.——My opinion is, that, while the funding system remains, and while France retains her present relative power, we can have no real peace, because, at all times when we are not at open and decided war with her, she will have the power of draining England of the fruit of its land and its labour, through the channel of the funds.——In support of this opinion I first lay down the position, that, if there were a person, no matter who, who had the power of causing the funds to rise and to fall at his pleasure, and who, of course, knew the exact time, when they would rise and fall, that person would have the power of drawing into his own hands, by degrees, the whole of the 29 millions a year which are raised in taxes to defray the expenses of the national debt. If this position be granted, and, I think it will not be denied, the question that presents itself for determination is, whether, peace existing between England and France, Napoleon will have something approaching to that power; and, that this question must be answered in the affirmative, every one will, I think, agree, when it is considered how many and how strong will be our motives for avoiding a renewal of hostilities; how regardless he need be upon the subject; how numerous are the grounds upon which he may dispute with us; and how little he will have to dread from any resentment which his injustice or his insults may excite. If, in the present state of things, we make peace, it will, on our part, be a peace of necessity, and, on his part, a peace of policy. The time, during which it will last, will be occupied with diplomatic discussions. There will be a negociation, upon some point or other, continually on foot. As we shall be constantly endeavouring to avoid a rupture, he will alternately *threaten* and *soothe* us, as long as he shall find it useful to his views to preserve the name of peace; and, of the effect which that threatening and that soothing will produce upon our funds, he, and he alone, will be able to take advantage,

having it always in his power to cause the intelligence of his threats and his soothings to transpire at the 'Change at any moment that he may find it most conducive to the object that he may wish to accomplish.——It is true, that his local situation, the necessity he will be under of trusting to agents, the space of time required between each speculation, together with some other circumstances that might be mentioned, would render the work more difficult, and of slower progress, in his hands, than in the hands of an individual, living in this country, and possessing an absolute power as to the rise and fall of the funds; but, due allowance made for the effect of every difficulty, I, for my part, can see no reason, why he may not, in the course of two years of nominal peace, draw from this country, through the channel of the funds, *five or six millions* of the real wealth of the nation. If it be asked me, "*what* it is that he will thus "draw?" And, if some one should observe, that he will merely become the proprietor of stock instead of that same stock being the property of other persons, and that the nation will have no higher rate of interest to pay him, than it has to pay to any other fund-holder: if this observation be made, I answer, that, certainly it would be a great injury to the country, if so large a portion of the interest of the national debt were taken from its own people and carried annually into the treasury of its enemy; especially under the present law, which exempts from the fund-tax the property of nobody but *foreigners* and *his gracious Majesty*. But, still, the question recurs, "*what* is it that he would thus draw out of "the nation?" Not the certificates of the right to receive dividends; not the little oblong snips of crumpled and dirty paper that now constitute our English money; no, these would be of no use to him, nor would they be any loss to us. He would be no fund-holder, except *from fall to rise*; his winnings (and he would always win) would be converted into *gold*, and this gold would be derived from the land, and the labour of the people of this country. The operation is so obvious and so simple, that it is next to impossible for any one not to perceive and to understand it. Napoleon wins a million of pounds in the English funds. He possesses, of course, stock to that amount. He sells the stock. Gold he cannot get for it in England; nor would it so well suit him if he could. But, in exchange for his stock, he gets bills upon Hamburgh, or elsewhere. These bills are paid out of the proceeds of goods made in and sent from England, or of produce sent from the Colonies of England. And, thus, through the channel of the funds, does he draw the fruit of our land and our labour, as effectually and as evidently as the Pope formerly drew a revenue from that land and that labour, or, as if we were to pay him so much a year under the name of a tribute.——Clear, however, as all this appears to my mind, I have heard it denied; the denial not supported, indeed, by any thing resembling an argument, but merely by the observation, that, if France can, by such means, lay us under a tribute now, she would have done so, in times of peace, heretofore, the funding system having existed for more than a century, and France having, during the whole of that century, been full as much the enemy of England, as she now is, or as she can possibly become hereafter. But, those who make this observation, do not seem to perceive, that there has, of late years, been any increase in the magnitude of the debt, and, of course, in the means of drawing away the fruit of the land and the labour of the nation; and, if they do perceive this, they surely overlook the main fact upon which I proceed, to wit, *that the relative situation of England and France was never before what it now is*. The Kings of France would, at all times, have been disposed to *threaten* and to *soothe* us alternately, and therefrom to profit, in the same way, that it has been above predicted that Napoleon will profit; but, such was their situation relatively to us; so great, comparatively, was our power of *punishing* them for any act of injustice or of arrogance; for any of those steps that they might have taken for the purpose of drawing away our wealth through the funds, that they *dared* not take any such step. Previous to the year 1793; previous to the wars of Pitt; previous to the days of the power of that minister, to pay whose debts we are now taxed; previous to those days, England had always the power, either with her own hand, or by the hands of others, to inflict vengeance upon France, if the case justified the measure. France was, until the ill fated hour when the showy and shallow-brained and conceited and arrogant Pitt first made war upon her, always indeed, one of the great powers of Europe; but, she never was any more than *one* of those powers, some others of which England was always able to bring into the field against her, and thereby to *compel* her to act justly and with moderation. Is this the case now? Has the man, to raise a monument to whom, and to pay whose debts, we are taxed, left us with any such capacity? Do

we now possess the power of inflicting, in any way whatever, vengeance upon France? Are we able to compel her to act with justice and moderation? And, if these questions be answered in the negative, what is there in the experience of former times to resist the force of my argument? At the peace of Amiens England and France were placed in a relative situation entirely new. Whoever contemplated that situation, and formed a correct judgment upon it, must, in my opinion, have foreseen, that it was impossible for the two nations to remain at peace; that it was impossible for England to enjoy any of the benefits of peace; that it was impossible for her even to experience one hour's real peace again, *until that relative situation should be changed.* There were two ways of changing it: the one was, by forcing France back again to something like her former share of power; the other, by adding to our own powers of resistance. The former has been since tried, in a THIRD COALITION, and it has failed; the latter would require various great measures, but the greatest and most effectual of all is that which I have so frequently and so strenuously recommended, and by the means of which alone France can possibly be prevented from acquiring the sinews of war by a tribute raised upon England in time of peace.——Having now given, and with as much perspicuity as I am master of, my reasons for believing, that we never shall again experience an hour's peace or safety, while the Funding System exists, I beg leave to conclude with requesting those, who may differ from me in opinion, and who may think it worth their while publickly to express that difference, not to imagine, that my arguments, however feeble they may be, will, in the mind of any man of sense, be overset by shrew-like abuse. I shall be, upon this occasion, as I am upon all others, ready to hear, and to communicate to the public, any thing that may be urged in opposition to my facts or my reasoning; but, every angry writer must excuse me, if I refuse to acknowledge myself mistaken, merely because those facts and that reasoning happen to thwart his interest or his humour.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."—— Upon this subject, I should now have said nothing, had not the writer, upon whose conduct, respecting it, I have so often had occasion to remark, made a violent effort to connect it with another, to wit, "THE BIRTH-DAY OF "THE DUKE OF CLARENCE," and my comments (in the preceding number of the Register) upon a publication bearing that title. Since, however, the former subject has been revived, I will, before I proceed to the latter, just put three plain questions to this writer, and those questions, until he give a plain and direct answer to each, I will, without saying any thing more, repeat as often as he makes any publication touching the matter.

1st. WHO *did you mean to designate, when you talked of the* HIGH AUTHORITY *whence had proceeded an* INSTIGATION *to prefer false accusations against the Princess of Wales, and also attempts at* SUBORNATION *for that purpose?*

2d. *Seeing that you repeatedly complained against, and bitterly reviled, all those whom you suspected of a wish to keep the Report and Evidence, touching the Princess of Wales, from the public; seeing that you assured us, that the Princess of Wales had written to the King, urgently requesting that there might be no delay in publishing the said Report and Evidence; and, seeing that you have now told us, that the said Report and Evidence have been officially delivered to the Princess of Wales; seeing all this,* WHAT IS THE REASON *why the Report and Evidence* ARE NOT NOW PUBLISHED?

3d. WHAT DO YOU YOURSELF MEAN *by the words* "TRIFLING LEVITIES?"

Leaving my friend CALIBAN of the Morning Post to answer these questions when he can find a moment's relaxation from his more important and sublime lucubrations, I shall now, first insert, and next make a remark or two upon, that system of court-morality, the principles of which he has broached, and promulgated in his paper of the 11th instant, where he comments on my remarks, in the foregoing Register, upon a scandalous publication, entitled, "THE DUKE OF CLARENCE'S BIRTH-DAY."—— After referring to those remarks, and giving his description of their tendency, he proceeds thus:—— "Undoubtedly, in a strict "moral point of view, Princes have the "same obligations on them as other individuals. But we believe we may, without "dreading the fear of contradiction, challenge history to produce a more moral set "of Princes than ours; A MORE MORAL FAMILY, whether royal or private. Restrained as our Princes are by law "from entering into wedlock as their inclinations may lead them, A SORT OF "LATITUDE MAY NATURALLY BE "SUPPOSED TO BE ALLOWED THEM, "in a case where a law of nature is, in a "great degree, violated for the interest of "the State. All who are acquainted with "history know, that when the Clergy were

" restrained from marriage for the interest " of the Church, CONCUBINAGE WAS " PERMITTED; and even in this country " this species of connection WAS EN- " FORCED AT THE INSTANCE OF " THE PUBLIC, for the preservation of " their wives and daughters, from the at- " tacks of the Clergy. Our Princes, " though restricted from marrying accord- " ing to their wishes, have never IN " ANY ONE INSTANCE VIOLATED " THE SANCTUARY OF ANY SUB- " JECT'S BED, OR FAMILY. If they " have fallen into any irregularities, that rigid " morality would condemn, human nature " will excuse them. This is reasoning, " which every mind ought to furnish " to itself in silence, and which, however " just and natural, we should be ashamed " to copy from the pages of our best histo- " rians, if it were not necessary in order to " shew the falsehood of the pretended mo- " rality, by the cant of which this writer " has attempted to bring one of the Mem- " bers of the Royal Family into disgrace. " But the gross and ungenerous indecency " with which this writer attacks a family " of innocent children, surpasses all his " former instances of unmanly violence, al- " most even that of his determined malice " against the Princess of Wales. Children " of the description of those we have alluded " to, *have at all times, and in all Monar-* " *chies, been educated as persons of the* " HIGHEST RANK; and instead of " its being matter of blame to give them " such an education, every one who has a " spark of nature in him will feel that it " would be most unnatural in the father not " to do so. It is matter of history that " SUCH children have done EMINENT " SERVICES, not only to individual states, " but TO THE WORLD IN GENERAL. " But for the valour of Don John of Aus- " tria, all Europe *might* have been reduced " under the Mahometan yoke, two cen- " turies ago. We say this not to encourage " the " " creation of such children" mock- " ing the great work of the Almighty, as " this writer chooses to express himself in " the sport of his hypocritical and blasphe- " mous morality, but to defend the pro- " priety of giving, when it has PLEASED " PROVIDENCE to send them, the best " education the circumstances of the parents " will permit.—The vulgar and indecent " attack made on the mother of those chil- " dren, is of that unmanly description, that " it will itself draw down on the author " the just contempt of every one who reads " it. It does not make a part of our object " to notice it more particularly. It is only " the disloyal and *revolutionary* system of " vilifying the Royal Family on every possi- " ble occasion, that we wish particularly to " point out to public notice; it is only the " JACOBINICAL DOCTRINES and LE- " VELLING principles of this writer, that " we wish to watch, and to warn the world " against, that the confusion which they are " calculated to produce may be prevented. " Is what we pay for the maintenance of " our numerous and illustrious Royal Family " to be compared in any degree with what " the victims of the oppression of Buona- " parté pay to support the profligacy and " prodigality of his relatives? Are we " WORSE off, under the payment of our " taxes, and the interest of our public " debt, than those who have been plun- " dered of *all their property*, and of the " *lives of so many dear relatives*, by econo- " mists who led the successive revolutionary " governments of France?"——Mr. CALIBAN, according to his usual custom, wanders here a good deal from his subject; but, to follow him a step or two in his wanderings, does he think, that the people of England ought to be *satisfied*, at being *not worse off* than those " who have been," as *he* says, " plundered of *all* their *property*, and of " *the lives of their relations*?" Does he think that this argument is of cogency sufficient to reconcile men to the additional grants, recently made to several branches of the Royal Family? Does he think that an argument like this will tend to urge the people of England to expose their breasts to the bayonets of an invader? If he could make men believe, that there remains no *private property* in France, and that the relations of *all the people* have been murdered; does he really think, that the people of England ought to find consolation in being able to say, that they are *not worse off* than the people of France?——Now, as to " re- " *volutionary*" and " *levelling*" views, which this gentleman, Mr. CALIBAN, thinks proper to ascribe to me, the public will not forget, that it was a publication, representing the Prince of Wales, his Royal Brothers, the Lord Chancellor of England, a Countess, a Countess's Daughter, and a Baroness, as being seated at a table with a *play-actress* and *her* children; the public will not, if Mr. CALIBAN does, forget, that it was upon this *levelling* representation; upon this representation so shockingly degrading to rank, dignity, and character, that I bestowed my reprobation.——From the politics of this writer, who considers this reprobation of mine as proceeding from

"*Jacobinical Principles*," let us now turn to his morality.——Upon his two facts, 1st., that the world does not contain, and never has contained, "*a more moral family*" than the Royal Family of England;" and, 2nd, that "our princes never have, *in any* "*one instance, violated the sanctuary of any* "*subject's bed or family*;" upon these facts, far be it from me to entertain the least inclination to contradict him; nor, indeed am I able to discover any very *loyal* motive for his thus gratuitously stating these facts. And, as far as the *fact* goes, with respect to the "sort of latitude," which he supposes our Princes to indulge in, I have nothing to say, nor have I said any thing; my comments having been expressly confined to an *audacious*, an *open*, a *printed*, and a *published representation* of what I considered and treated as false; but, of his *doctrine*, as touching the point, I have no scruple to express my abhorrence, and, in so doing, I do, I trust, express the feelings of the British public. "A sort of latitude is," he tells us, "allowed in a case, where *a law of* "*nature* is violated for the interest of the "State." But, what statute is there which does not, in a greater or less degree, violate the law of nature? Is not the law of nature violated by the Game Laws, by the Revenue Laws, by the Enclosure Laws, by all the Laws creating and securing property, by every law for preventing promiscuous intercourse; and, in short, is it not by an universal violation of the law of nature that men have been formed into families and states? And yet, this profound politician, this learned casuist, this zealous Anti-Jacobin, this railer against Tom Paine and Jack Cade scruples not to assert that a *sort of latitude* is allowed in cases where a law of nature has been violated for the interest of the state!——As to his assertions respecting "the concubinage not only *per-*"*mitted* amongst the clergy, but *enforced* "by the public," they are too notoriously false, and too despicably stupid to be dwelt on; and, as to his eulogium on royal bastards, where is the reader into whose mind instances innumerable will not rush of the fatal consequences, which, by the bastards of kings and princes, have been produced in the world? Against his instance of Don John of Austria we may place that of the rebellious bastard of Charles II, who skulked away from the ranks of the poor wretches whom he had deluded from their allegiance, and who, though bearing the title of Duke, and aspiring to the throne, died hidden in a ditch with half-chewed peas in his mouth; a death quite worthy of the baseness of his birth. But, it is that general defence, and open eulogy, of bastardy, implied in this writer's remarks, that demands the severest of our censure. He is, as was before observed, in the words chosen for my motto, an open defender of vice and immorality; and, I will venture to say, that he is the very first man, in this country, who has ever dared to send forth such a defence in an open sheet, to be laid upon the tables of his customers, there to be read by their sons, their daughters, and their servants.

DR. MC. ARTHUR.——In a subsequent page, a letter will be found from this gentleman, remarking upon the note in page 353 of the present volume, into which he was introduced by MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, and in which he appears to think that he was treated with contempt, merely because he has no *noble* blood running in his veins. I assure him, that, though I read the note before it was published, and have read it since, it left no such impression upon my mind; and that, if it had, I myself should not have been backward in asserting our plebian rights. But, is DR. MC. ARTHUR quite sure; has he examined well the bottom of his heart, and is he quite sure, that it is not his over anxiety to be thought something more than what PAINE calls "*a noble of nature*;" is he quite sure that it is not this anxiety that has made him discover in Mr. JOHNSTONE's note the marks of a sentiment foreign from that gentleman's mind; and, indeed, is he sure that it was not this very same anxiety, an anxiety "to be thought familiar with great men," that first led him into that correspondence which finally brought upon him the lash, under which he now appears to writhe?——There was, from the beginning, no need of any thing being said, on his part, except a few words, merely to explain the mistake that he had fallen into with regard to the person of Colonel Gordon. His letter to the public went farther; it conveyed censure on Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE's conduct; and, indeed, it was but too evident, that, in disclaiming a man, who had to contend with the Duke of York, DR. MC. ARTHUR was resolved not to be the hindmost.——As to the *Doctor's degree*, I really did not think it was an unfit object for a good-natured joke, having frequently heard of such things being obtained (I will not say where) for a cast-off coat, or an old pair or two of shoes, bestowed upon the residentiary dignitaries, and having more than once entertained the intention of decorating my printer's devil with the title of *Doctor of Laws*.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Letter V.

Sir;——The very extraordinary events, both foreign and domestic, which we have lately witnessed, render it altogether unnecessary for me to pursue beyond the limits of my present letter, my intended remarks on that part of your parliamentary report, which relates to the Catholic question. The advocates of the Catholic claims, are now in possession of the first offices of the state; and I cannot for a moment doubt that, under the present new and unexampled circumstances of the country, every measure, worthy of British statesmen, will be taken to cement the union, and consolidate the strength of the empire. Those, who so generously espoused the cause of four millions of their fellow subjects, and so triumphantly supported the grounds of the Catholic petition, will now feel the most urgent calls of policy, as well as liberality and justice, to carry into effect their beneficent and patriotic designs. The absolute necessity of giving to every subject of the King, without any distinction of religious belief, every possible motive of interest, in the preservation of his country, must *now* be deeply impressed on the minds of all those who are capable of forming an opinion on the question. It was observed, Sir, by a noble lord, during the discussion of the Catholic claims, that as almost every part of Europe holding communion with the Pope was subject to France it was extremely inexpedient to grant political power to the Catholics of Ireland, but that it was prudent to await the result of the contest in which we are engaged. (Lord Hawkesbury's speech, p. 683.) What the final result of this dangerous contest may be, God only knows. But without waiting long, we have beheld a dreadful catastrophe; for which, I believe, we were but little prepared. We have seen a formidable confederacy, consisting of the first nations of Europe, broken to fragments, and dissolved with a degree of rapidity unexampled in the annals of mankind. A Colossus of power, altogether without precedent, since the days of Roman greatness, is raised to the dismay of the present generation; the authority of an implacable enemy is settled on a firmer basis; and the assembled majesty of the crowned heads of Europe are bowing with abject submission to a self-erected Emperor, who has but just emerged from the obscurity of private life. This is, indeed, a new order of things. *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*—We are now freed from the care of superintending the concerns of the Continent, and all our attention must be given to the preservation of our own country. If it be then true, that the Pope is a vassal of Napoleon, is that a reason for withholding from the Catholics of Ireland *civil rights and liberties?* Is it not an additional inducement to conciliate their affections, and secure their attachment by every possible concession?—I cannot, Sir, view but with extreme astonishment the many passages in your parliamentary report, in which, the greatest tribute of applause is bestowed upon the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland, when I observe, on the other hand, that their connexion with the Pope, who is stated to be under the influence of France, is made use of, purposely to render their conduct suspicious. They are represented to be peaceable, and attached to the government of the country; and yet they are unfit to be trusted with power, because they obey the Pope, *as head of the Catholic church.* Surely such inconsistencies cannot be produced by the same head, though they may be occasionally uttered by the same mouth. It is now time to drop such absurd language, which can be disgraceful to those only who use it; but which is in the highest degree insulting to every Catholic in the universe. For it tends to propagate a belief, that the admission of the spiritual power of His Holiness, which is regarded by all Catholics as an *essential* term of communion, is incompatible with the authority of sovereigns, and independence of states.—It is not a matter of trifling curiosity, to read the different passages in your reports, concerning what is called with much affectation, "the foreign jurisdiction "of the Pope." I shall transcribe a most singular specimen of this kind from a speech, ascribed to Lord Ellenborough; after speaking of the different grants made to the Catholics during the present reign, the noble and learned lord proceeds in the following manner: "The only remaining emancipa- "tion, which they (the Catholics) are capa- "ble of receiving, must be acquired by an "act of their own, by redeeming them- "selves from the *foreign bondage and thral-* "*dom*, under which they and their ances- "tors have long so unworthily groaned; "and from which, the state, as it has nei- "ther imposed, nor continued it, has no "adequate means of relieving them, con- "sistently with the duty of self-preserva- "tion, which it owes to itself. Every state "claiming and exercising independent pow- "ers of sovereignty, has incidentally be- "longing to it, as such, the power of bind- "ing its subjects by laws of its own, not

" only paramount to, but exclusive of any " authority or controul to be exercised by " any other state whatever. In so far as " any other state or person is allowed to " exercise an authority, breaking in upon " this exclusive and independent power of " legislation, and enforcement of authority " in one state, to that extent such a state so " intrenched upon, is not sovereign and in- " dependent, but admits itself to be subor- " dinate to, and dependent upon the other. " The declaration contained in the oath of " supremacy, which expresses a denial and " renunciation of the existence of any " power and authority in respect of *eccle- " siastical and spiritual* matters, in any " foreign state, potentate, or person what- " soever, is but the affirmance of a proposi- " tion, which is logically and politically " true as an essential principle of indepen- " dent sovereignty, applicable not to this " government only, but to every other go- " vernment under the sun, which claims to " possess and exercise the powers of inde- " pendent sovereignty." (p. 807.) Such is the doctrine and language here ascribed to Lord Ellenborough. As to the independence of the state, *in all temporal matters*, no description of people can maintain it with more force than the Catholics. In the United Kingdom they are pledged to support it by the solemn sanction of an oath, which, upon the closest examination, will be found a more satisfactory test of their allegiance, than any given by the rest of his Majesty's subjects. But when the noble lord proceeds to consider all power and authority, in respect *to ecclesiastical and spiritual matters*, to be under the controul of the civil power. Does he, or do those, who think with him on this important point, apprehend the direct and inevitable consequences of such a principle? If the civil power possesses this exclusive jurisdiction *in spiritual matters*, as a part of independent sovereignty, it follows, that as temporal authority is the same in all places, it may enforce the creed of Pope Pius at Rome, the 39 articles in this country, and the Koran at Constantinople; and that those, who from conscientious motives, refuse to comply with these *spiritual* injunctions of the civil magistrate, are guilty of a breach of allegiance. On this principle, a lord chief justice in the dominions of Turkey, is bound to consider the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch as an infringement of the sovereign power of the state, and to repress by legal means, the public exercise of any authority *in spiritual matters*, if it does not proceed from the supreme head of the Mahommedan religion. According to this notion a very commodious rule of faith may easily be framed, which will be wonderfully adapted to all times and circumstances, and will clearly direct the honest believer in the right way. As the power of the state is, in this system supreme, in *all matters both temporal and spiritual*, and as authority and obedience are reciprocal, it follows that every man has only to profess the religion of the country in which he is born, and implicitly to obey the jurisdiction of his sovereign in *spiritual concerns*, whatever he may be, a Jew or a Christian, a Catholic or a Protestant, a follower of Confucius or Mahomet. Such is the plain and natural consequence of the doctrine laid down by the noble and learned lord in the passage before us. But the absurdity of such a conduct is too obvious, to require any illustration. For it tends to make religion, which rests on the revelation of God, changeable and subject to all the vicissitudes of human governments. Again, Sir, if supreme jurisdiction *in all spiritual matters* is lodged in the state, it will follow by consequence that the care of our eternal salvation belongs to the civil magistrate. How far this is correct let Locke decide. Excuse the length of my quotation. " The common- " wealth," says he, " seems to me, to be a " society of men, constituted only for the " procuring, preserving, and advancing of " their own *civil* interests. Now, that the " whole jurisdiction of the magistrate " reaches only to these *civil* concernments, " and that all that civil power, right and do- " minion is bounded and confined to the " only care of promoting *these things*, and " that it neither can nor ought to be ex- " tended to the salvation of souls; these " following considerations seem to me " abundantly to demonstrate. First, be- " cause the care of souls is not committed " to the civil magistrate, any more than to " other men. In the second place, the " care of souls cannot belong to the civil " magistrate, because his power consists " only in outward force: but true and " saving religion consists in the inward per- " suasion of the mind. In the third place, " the care of the salvation of mens souls " cannot belong to the magistrate; because, " though a rigour of laws, and the force " of penalties were capable to convince and " change men's minds, yet, would that not " help at all to the salvation of their souls. " For there being but one truth, one way " to heaven, what hope is there that more " men would be led into it, if they had no " other rule to follow but the religion of " the court, and were put under a necessity

" to quit the light of their own reason, to " oppose the dictates of their own con- " sciences, and blindly to resign themselves " to the will of their governors, and to the " religion, which either ignorance, ambi- " tion, or superstition had chanced to esta- " blish in the countries where they were " born? These considerations, to omit many " others, seem to me sufficient to conclude " that all power of civil government relates " only to men's *civil interests*; is confined " to the care of the things of *this world*, " and hath nothing to do with the world to " come." (Locke's Letter on Toleration, p. 27 et seq. edit. Glasgow, 1757.)——But, Sir, you will ask me, does not this doctrine of the great philosopher militate against an ecclesiastical establishment, which is supported by the civil government? By no means. Civil governors are free to protect any mode of worship, they conscientiously believe to be the best; they may secure rights and immunities to the clergy, and exact even tithes for the support of its ministers: and in this sense they declare a mode of worship, the national religion. But they cannot force any mode of worship upon the subject; they cannot oblige a single individual, who chooses not to profess the national religion, to frequent the service and to comply with the religious ordinances sanctioned by the state. Not all the powers of this land, can, with a shadow of right, compel Catholics, Jews, Methodists, and Quakers, to quit their chapels, synagogues, and conventicles, and repair to the church for the purpose of assisting at religious service. Though persons of all descriptions are totally subject to the *civil* ordinances of the state, such an interposition, as I allude to, would affect the right of conscience; a right above the control of states and empires. So far have I shewn, without fear of contradiction, that spiritual jurisdiction, regarding the care of souls, forms no part of the power of the state, and consequently, that the admission of a spiritual supremacy in the civil magistrate cannot be considered as a duty of the subject. I now come to examine the proposition of the noble lord, which states that the renunciation of any spiritual power in any foreign state, potentate or person, is essential to the independence of every government under the sun; or, in other words, that the admission of the spiritual power of the Pope is incompatible with the independence of states. This proposition I shall very easily shew to be false. I have already demonstrated, that, though a state may protect any mode of worship, yet spiritual authority forms no part of its independent power. Spiritual jurisdiction is not connected with the nature of civil government, the object of which is, to secure by an impartial execution of laws, the good of the subject in all concerns of the present life. Spiritual jurisdiction, on the contrary, is directed to objects which extend their influence beyond the grave; to the care of souls, to instruction, the use of the sacraments, and the power of punishing offences by censures. If then, the power of the Pope, regards spiritual objects only, how can it interfere with the independence of states or sovereigns, who possess no claim to spiritual authority, and whose dominion is wholly of a temporal nature? If the power of the Pope does not interfere with that of sovereigns, and this clearly appears from the different nature of their claims, as well as from the solemn oath taken by the Catholics of the United Kingdom, the renunciation of this power is, *not* " the affirmance of a proposition logically and politically true, as an essential principle of true sovereignty." As to what the noble and learned lord says about the oaths and the power of absolution, an attentive perusal of the instrument, which was then the subject of debate, might have afforded him more correct information.—— If, Sir, we carry our reflections still farther, on this most important point, we shall find, that the spiritual power of the Pope, is no more to be stigmatized as a *foreign jurisdiction*, incompatible with the rights of states and sovereigns, than that authority which was exercised by Christ and the apostles. To see this more clearly, we have only to examine the nature and extent of that jurisdiction, which Christ communicated to his apostles; and which they exercised in opposition to the Majesty of the Roman empire. The peculiar and essential jurisdiction of the church of Christ is of a spiritual nature, delivered by our Saviour to his apostles in these words: *all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.* (St. Matthew, c. 28. v. 18, 19, 20). Here is evidently bestowed the authority to teach the mysteries of faith, and the precepts of morality; for both these points were the subjects of the frequent communications of Christ with his apostles. He likewise conferred on them the power of remitting sin, and of passing sentence on sinners, when he said: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye re-*

mit, they are remitted unto them; and whatsoever sins ye retain, they are retained. (St. John c. 20. v. 22, 23). And, again. *Moreover, if thy brother should trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church, but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.* (St. Matthew, c. 18. v. 15, 16, 17, 18.) *Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.* Here we have the extent of the peculiar and essential jurisdiction of the church of Christ. In these passages is clearly bestowed a power of teaching whatever Christ has commanded us to believe, or to do; and, consequently, a power of explaining his doctrine, of checking the audacity of those who attempt to teach new doctrines, or to alter what has been delivered; a power of assembling the faithful for prayer and instruction; of giving them pastors and public ministers, and of deposing those who are unworthy of their charge; of judging sinners, and of distinguishing those who are to be absolved, from those who are not properly disposed for absolution; and, finally, of cutting off from the body of the church refractory and incorrigible members. It is worthy of observation, Sir, that this essential jurisdiction, given by Christ to his church, was not conferred on the civil governors of the time, on Tiberius, on Herod, on Pontius Pilate, but on the apostles, and on their successors to the end of time; for his church was to remain till the end of the world, as it incontestibly appears from his words, which I before cited. The power thus communicated was exercised by the apostles; who preached, who taught, who adjusted differences by virtue of this authority, as it appears from the council held by them at Jerusalem. (The Acts, c. 15); who used the sword of excommunication. Did not St. Paul, to use his own words, *with the power of our Lord, deliver the industrious Corinthian unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved?* They did more. They formed an hierarchy, by ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons for the government and instruction of the faithful. St. Peter established the Sees of Antioch and Rome; and from him to the present Pope, there has been, for the space of 18 hundred years, a constant and uninterrupted succession of pastors, exercising the spiritual power, which they derived from Christ. This fact is as incontrovertible, as the regular succession of monarchs on the throne of England from Egbert to his present Majesty. It is moreover, to be remarked, that the apostles used this spiritual authority, not with the *connivance of the civil power*, but in opposition to its edicts, and in defiance of its menaces; they underwent imprisonment, exile, torments, death in every form with unparalleled constancy, rather than relinquish the commission which they had received to preach the gospel. Persecution assailed the growing church for the space of 300 years, when bigotry was finally disarmed, and its foes became its most zealous protectors. Now, Sir, after this plain statement, I appeal to the noble and learned lord, I appeal to all those, who entertain the smallest apprehension of the power of the Pope, whether this spiritual authority in question, can be stigmatized as a *foreign jurisdiction, inconsistent with the sovereignty of states*, any more than the same authority in the hands of the apostles? The powers used by the apostles, and by their Catholic successors, are precisely of the same nature, and directed to the same objects. As to the civil pretensions of the Pope's, they have been long ago relinquished, and never constituted any part of their religion. If after this, it be maintained, that the renunciation of all spiritual authority vested in the Pope, or any other person whatever, is a necessary duty, which a subject owes to the independence of his own country, it will inevitably follow, that the apostles and primitive pastors, intrenched on the independence of Rome by raising a foreign jurisdiction, and justly suffered, not as martyrs to truth, but as traitors to their country. No alternative is therefore left to the enemies of the Pope's spiritual power, but either to relinquish their idle objections, or openly to declare themselves hostile to the cause of the apostles and primitive pastors, approvers, and advocates of the conduct of Nero, Domitian, Decius, Diocletian; and, consequently, the nations of infidelity. If, Sir, you reply, that it is not clear, that the Pope has derived any power from the apostles, my answer is, that the Catholics think it perfectly incontestible; they say, and they say with truth, that a constant succession of pastors from St. Peter to the present Pope is an historical fact, which admits of no doubt; and, consequently, that you might with equal reason deny, that George III. who sits on the throne of Egbert, has not inherited from that monarch the power of governing this country. I hope this statement of the nature and extent of the spiritual power, residing in the Catholic church,

will dissipate the unfounded alarms which have been raised on the subject, and completely silence the illiberal clamour, so insidiously kept up for a time against the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. These bishops certainly do not exceed the limits of that spiritual power, employed by the primitive pastors of the church; and in some instances, they do not proceed so far. We find St. Paul, (1 Corinth. c. 6.) forbidding the Christians of his time to go to law with each other, What did the Roman prætors, and the ministers of public justice say to this? The punishment of excommunication, on which so much has been said, was inflicted with at least as much severity and terror, as it can be by any Catholic bishops of the present time.—I am extremely sorry to find, from your report of the debates, that a very respectable and learned prelate joined in the furious outcry which was raised in a certain quarter against the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. That excellent man clearly denies the Catholic bishops any claim to jurisdiction; of course every act, which they perform in the exercise of their functions, is null and invalid. "The power of order," says he, "the Roman Catholic prelates pos-"sess. But the power of jurisdiction does "not necessarily attach to the power of or-"der. A man may be a bishop, and yet it "follows not of necessity that he is bishop "of a diocese. The only competent autho-"rity to give the power of episcopal juris-"diction in this kingdom, is the crown." (Speech of the Bishop of St. Asaph, p. 800.) The distinction betweeen the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction is perfectly just. But the source of the jurisdiction exercised by the Catholic bishops, is the only one, through which *spiritual* authority can be conveyed. For it is derived from pastors, to whom from the days of the apostles an unbroken succession has been maintained. St. Paul never received his authority to preach from the civil government of Rome. *Dictum sapienti sat est.*—But, it may be said, do not the Catholic bishops in countries in communion with the See of Rome, virtually surrender these high notions of papal supremacy? Is not Napoleon at this day as much head of that portion of the Catholics in his dominions, as his present Majesty is head of the church of England? Napoleon is unquestionably the protector of the Catholic church existing in the territories of France; and, by an agreement or concordat, between himself and the Pope, possesses all that influence and authority, which can be extended to the civil power. But there is one *great and essential* point of difference between George and Napoleon; the former acknowledges no dependence on any authority whatever; the latter recognizes the spiritual power of the Pope, as vicar of Christ, and suffers his bishops to receive from him canonical institution, by virtue of which they are empowered to perform spiritual functions. This is a landmark which is never to be removed, without quitting the communion of the Catholic church. When the noble and learned lord, exhorts the Catholics of the United Kingdom to *redeem themselves from the bondage and thraldom, under which they have so long groaned*, he, perhaps, was not aware, that he was urging them to direct and open apostacy; to the surrender of an article, which *all* Catholics regard as an *essential* bond of communion. The advice, I presume, was conscientiously given; and, I am confident that it will be as conscientiously rejected.—I have been, Sir, somewhat diffuse on the subject of the Pope's power, as I was willing to afford the fullest information on the point, and to remove every shadow of doubt and apprehension from the minds of my countrymen. If what I have here written, be compared with all I have said on the subject in my former letters, I trust that it will be found completely to have answered the purpose; and that the harmless supremacy of the Pope, which excites no alarms in the surrounding nations of Europe, as jealous of their independence as we can be, will no longer be considered as a bugbear in Britain. There are, in the course of your reports on the Catholic question, many other remarks, for I cannot call them arguments, which might be made subjects of discussion. But I have already trespassed too long on your patience, and have signified my intention of closing our correspondence with this letter. The times are sufficiently critical to induce the government to inflame the zeal and loyalty of four millions of people, by additional motives of interest; and every degree of necessary information on this important question is now before the public. I, therefore, leave this concern to the liberality and honour of those able men, who now fill the first offices of the state; I remain fully confident that Lord Grenville, an upright and dignified character, and an excellent statesman, Mr. Fox, whose abilities are only equalled by the liberality of his mind, and the other distinguished persons, associated with them in the ministry, will all concur in realising the hopes of the Catholics, whenever it can be done with effect. To *their* judgment the Catholics of Ireland will undoubtedly have the good sense to leave the business, with

the most perfect reliance on their integrity and honour. Having, Sir, during the course of two years, written several letters in your Register, on the Catholic question, and other topics closely connected with it, I cannot dismiss this my last communication, without begging you to accept my grateful acknowledgments for your kindness in receiving my performances, and your promptitude in giving them to the public. With my best wishes, that success may attend your useful pursuits, and ingenious researches, I beg leave to drop the curtain, and close the labours of THE BRITISH OBSERVER.——*Feb.* 15, 1800.

DR. M'ARTHUR.

SIR;—I am reluctantly compelled by the long episodical note, which the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone has introduced into his attack on the Earl of Moira in your Political Register of the 30th ultimo, (p p. 253 et seq.) once more to intrude myself on the public. —Your readers will observe, on comparing Mr. Johnstone's original statement, (page 203, and again inserted, page 271), with my answer to his letter of the 5th May, which he has after being called upon now given (page 330.) 1st., That this answer was drawn from me by his letter of the same date: *two days after* he had been officially informed by Colonel Gordon, that His Royal Highness the Duke of York, did not consider himself justified in recommending him for the rank of Major General; that this fact was concealed from me; and that his object in writing to me could be no other, than to make me without my knowledge the instrument of committing Colonel Gordon with the Duke of York. 2dly., That so completely ignorant was I, of this His Royal Highness's determination, as to conclude the said letter *with my best wishes for Mr. Johnstone's success.* 3dly., That I did not in the most remote degree mention Lord Hutchinson as having been one of the party with Colonel Gordon. 4thly., That it was not *the day before*, but six or seven weeks prior to Mr. Johnstone's having seen the Earl of Moira, that I had dined in company with Colonel Gordon. 5thly., That Mr. Johnstone had intimation that I had no further knowledge of the Colonel Gordon to whom I alluded, than what was derived from the solitary circumstance of having once met him at a dinner-party. And, lastly, supposing but by no means admitting, Mr. Johnstone to be justifiable in publishing what had passed, it was evidently his duty under the explanation given to have identified the officer of whom I spoke, before making the assertion he did, first to the Earl of Moira, and then to the public through your paper.—As to the circumstance whether it was I who wished Mr. Johnstone might soon be gazetted, or Colonel Gordon who thought it probable he would obtain his rank as Major General, it is too immaterial to be dwelt upon.—In return to the *pleasantry* of the Honorable Gentleman, with which he *meant* no doubt to wound my feelings, I fear his mind at present is but little affected by sensations of that kind; such as he may enjoy, I have no disposition to deprive him of. It may, however, be a *favor* to remind him, that the whole of his irony may be said to rest on the advantage which he supposes himself to be possessed of in the adventitious circumstance of his *having happened to be made the son of an Earl.*—Noble birth is in the first instance highly favourable to the possessor, but when used as the means of beating down a *Commoner* it is now universally laughed at. That such has been the conduct of the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone, witness the whole of what he has written against me and the whole of my life which has given no ground for it; and witness too, his *studied attention* to the Earl of Moira, even in the midst of an attack on that nobleman, and when charging his lordship (page 353) "with having tacitly if not "expressly abandoned him in compliance to "the Duke of York, towards whom his "lordship now discovered his profound "respect." While against me, a person whom he acknowledges (page 385) "to "have been with *perfect sincerity* a friend "to his cause, *and to be so still (as he be-* "*lieves) at the bottom of my heart,*" his utmost virulence is exerted;—even my literary labours are attempted to be run down and swept away in a vortex, merely because I had in strict justice been compelled to vindicate Colonel Gordon and myself from a charge prematurely and erroneously brought forward by Mr. Johnstone; and of which without my knowledge he had publicly named me the author.—With respect to the irrelevant matter he has introduced in his usual tone of irony, or what he terms the "paragraphical advertisement" of my degree of LL.D. from the university of Edinburgh, I shall only observe, that the notice was penned there, by a truly learned and respectable member of that university, to whom I am a stranger, and by his desire published in the Edinburgh papers without my knowledge and even before I knew that the degree had been conferred upon me; by his recommendation also, it was copied agreeably to custom into some of the London

papers, at the same time purporting what Mr. Johnstone has studiously concealed, that it was extracted from *the Edinburgh Courant of August 2d.*—Mr. Johnstone may continue to sneer at the first university *in his native country*, where probably he was educated; but its fame is too well known to be at all affected by any insinuation that he, or any individual can throw out: and with respect to myself, it will be the pride of my life in having been deemed worthy by the university of Edinburgh, of the degree so handsomely conferred upon me.—I now take my leave, certainly desirous that I may not be provoked by any farther rudeness to continue this controversy, being deeply impressed with that excellent advice of Fingal to Oscar, "*Never to search for the battle, "nor shun it when it comes.*" I still wish Mr. Johnstone no harm, but the contrary; and would therefore recommend it to him not in future unnecessarily at least, to hazard the making of enemies, when he may keep friends.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, JOHN M'ARTHUR.—*Hinton, near Horndean, Hants, September 6, 1806.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

VICTORY IN CALABRIA ——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Friday, September 5, 1806.*

Downing Street, Sept. 4, 1806.—A dispatch has been this day received by the right honorable William Windham, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Major General Sir John Stuart, commanding his Majesty's troops acting in Calabria, of which the following is a copy: Camp on the Plain of Maida, July 6, 1806. —Sir; It is with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have the honor of reporting to you, for the information of his Majesty, the particulars of an action, in which the French army quartered in this province have sustained a signal defeat by the troops under my command.—General Regnier, having been apprised of our disembarkation at St. Eufemia, appears to have made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking, and with his characteristic confidence, of defeating us.—On the afternoon of the 3d instant, I received intelligence that he had that day encamped near Maida, about ten miles distant from our position, that his force consisted at the moment of about four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and that he was in expectation of being joined within a day or two by three thousand more troops who were marching after him in a second division.—I determined therefore to advance towards his position, and, having left four companies of Watteville's regiment under Major Fisher to protect the stores, and occupy a work which had been thrown up at our landing place, the body of the army marched the next morning according to the following detail.

Advanced Corps.—Lieut. Colonel Kempt, with two four-pounders.
Light infantry battalion.
Detachment Royal Corsican Rangers.
Detachment Royal Sicilian Volunteers.
1st Brigade.—Brigadier General Cole, with three four pounders.
The Grenadier Battalion.
27th Regiment.
2d Brigade.—Brigadier General Ackland, with three four pounders.
78th Regiment.
81st Regiment.
3d Brigade.—Colonel Oswald, with two four pounders.
58th Regiment.
Watteville's Regiment, five companies.
20th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Ross, landed during the action.
Reserve of Artillery.—Major Lemoine.
4 Six pounders and 2 Howitzers.
Total.—Rank and file, including the Royal Artillery, 4795.

General Regnier was encamped on the side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, sloping into the plain of St. Eufemia; his flanks were strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. The Amato, a river perfectly fordable, but of which the sides are extremely marshy, ran along his front; my approach to him from the sea side (along the borders of which, I directed my march, until I had nearly turned his left) was across a spacious plain, which gave him every opportunity of minutely observing my movements.—After some loose firing of the flankers to cover the deploiements of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world, and the superiority was greatly and gloriously decided to be our own.—The corps which found the right of the advanced line, was the battalion of light infantry commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st and Watteville's, together with one hundred and fifty chosen battalion men of the 35th regiment, under Major Robinson. Directly opposed to them, was the favourite French regiment the 1re Légère. The two corps at the

distance of about one hundred yards fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, until their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.—Brigadier General Ackland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, with great spirit availed himself of this favorable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in his front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under Major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded.—The enemy thus completely discomfited on their left, began to make a new effort with their right, in the hopes of recovering the day. They were resisted most gallantly by the brigade under Brigadier General Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under Lieutenant Colonel Smith. The cavalry, successively repelled from before their front, made an effort to turn their left, when Lieutenant Colonel Ross, who had that morning landed from Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up to the army during the action, having observed the movement, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon their flank, and by a heavy and well directed fire, entirely disconcerted this attempt.—This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who now, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with carnage. Above seven hundred bodies of their dead have been buried upon the ground.—The wounded and prisoners already in our hands (among which are General Compère, and an Aid-de-Camp, the Lieutenant Colonel of the Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) amount to above one thousand. There are also above one thousand men left in Monteleone and the different posts between this and Reggio, who have mostly notified their readiness to surrender, whenever a British force shall be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the people. — The peasantry are hourly bringing in fugitives, who dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. In short never has the pride of our presumptuous enemy been more severely humbled, nor the superiority of the British troops more gloriously proved, than in the events of this memorable day.——His Majesty may, perhaps, still deign to appreciate more highly the achievements of this little army, when it is known that the second division which the enemy were said to be expecting had all joined them the night before the action; no statement that I have heard of their numbers places them at a less calculation than seven thousand men.—Our victorious infantry continued the pursuit of the routed enemy so long as they were able; but as the latter dispersed in every direction, and we were under the necessity of preserving our order, the trial of speed became unequal.—The total loss occasioned to the enemy by this conflict cannot be less than four thousand men. When I oppose to the above our own small comparative loss, as underneath detailed, his Majesty will, I hope, discern in the fact, the happy effects of that established discipline to which we owe the triumphs by which our army has been latterly so highly distinguished.—I am now beginning my march southward preparatory to my return to Sicily, for which station I shall re-embark with the army, as soon as his Sicilian Majesty shall have arranged a disposition of his own forces to secure those advantages which have been gained by the present expedition.—There seldom has happened an action in which the zeal and personal exertions of individuals were so imperiously called for as in the present; seldom an occasion where a general had a fairer opportunity of observing them.—The general officers, and those who commanded regiments, will feel a stronger test of their merits in the circumstances that have been detailed of their conduct, than in any eulogium I could presume to pass upon them.—The 58th and Watteville's regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Cols. Johnston and Watteville, which formed the reserve, under Colonel Oswald were ably directed in their application to that essential duty.—The judgment and effect with which our artillery was directed br Major Lemoine, was, in our dearth of cavalry, of most essential use; and I have a pleasure in reporting the effective services of that valuable and distinguished corps.—To the several departments of the army, every acknowledgement is due; but to no officer, am I bound to express them so fully, on my part, as to Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury, the deputy quarter-master general, to whose zeal and activity, and able arrangements in the important branch of service which he directs, the army as well as myself are under every

marked obligation.—From Captain Tomlin the acting head of the adjutant-general's department, and from the officers of my own family, I have received much active assistance. Among the latter I am to mention Lieutenant-Colonel Moore of the 23d light dragoons, who being in Sicily for his health at the time of our departure, solicited permission to accompany me on this expedition; he was wounded in the execution of my orders.—From the medical department under the direction of Mr. Grieves, the deputy inspector, I am to acknowledge much professional attention, the more so as their labours have been greatly accumulated by the number of wounded prisoners who become with our own, the subject of their care. The scene of action was too far from the sea to enable us to derive any direct co-operation from the Navy: but Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the Bay the evening before the action, had directed such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have greatly favoured us, had events obliged us to retire. The solicitude however of every part of the navy to be of use to us, the promptitude with which the seamen hastened on shore with our supplies, their anxiety to assist our wounded, and the tenderness with which they treated them, would have been an affecting circumstance to observers even the most indifferent. To me it was particularly so.—Captain Fellowes, of His Majesty's Ship Apollo, has been specially attached to this expedition by the Rear Admiral; and, in every circumstance of professional service, I beg leave to mention our grateful obligations to this officer, as well as to Captains Cocket and Watson, agents of transports, who acted under his orders.—Captain Bulkely, my Aide-de-Camp, who will have the honor of presenting this letter to you, has attended me throughout the whole of the services in the Mediterranean, and will therefore be able to give you every additional information on the subject of my present communication. I have the honor to be, &c. J. Stuart, Maj. Gen.

Return of killed and wounded of the British troops under the command of Major-General Sir John Stuart, in the battle on the Plains of St. Euphemia, near Madia, 4th July 1806.

Royal Artillery. 2 horses killed; 3 gunners wounded.—Grenadier batallion. 4 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant. 25 rank and file wounded.—Light infantry battalion. 1 officer, 7 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 1 drummer, 41 rank and file wounded.—20th foot. 1 rank and file killed; 1 drummer, 5 rank and file wounded.—27th foot, 1st batt. 6 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 46 rank and file wounded.—58th foot, 1st batt. 2 rank and file wounded.—78th foot, 2d batt. 4 rank and file killed; 7 officers, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 99 rank and file wounded.—81st foot, 1st batt. 3 serjeants, 16 rank and file killed; 2 officers, 1 serjeant, 62 rank and file wounded.—Regiment of Watteville —3 rank and file wounded.—Royal Corsican Rangers.—3 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.—Total. 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file wounded.—*Names of officers killed and wounded.*—Killed. Light infantry batt. Captain M'Leane, of 20th foot.—Wounded. Grenadier batt. Major Hammil, of Royal regiment of Malta.—Light infantry batt. Major Paulett, of 44th foot, severely.—78th foot, 2d batt. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod; Major D. Stuart; Captains D. M'Pherson and D. M'Gregor; Lieutenant James M'Kay; Ensigns Colin M'Kenzie and Peter M'Gregor.—81st foot, 1st batt. Captain Waterhouse; Lieutenant and Adjutant Ginger.——Staff. Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, of 23d light dragoons, acting Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Sir John Stuart. (Signed) R. Tomlin, Assist. Adj. Gen.

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Friday, September 5, 1806.—Sunday, September 7, 1806.—Dated Downing Street, September 6. 1806.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, was this day received by the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Hugh Elliot, Esq. late His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Sicilian Majesty.

Extract of a Dispatch from Hugh Elliott, Esq. to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, dated Palermo, 5th August, 1806.

Sir;—I enclose herewith the copy of a letter of the 3d of August, which I have received this day from Sir John Stuart.—By the surrender of Cotrone, and the retreat of both General Verdier and General Regnier from upper and lower Calabria, those provinces are now restored to their legal Sovereign.—The battle of Maida, upon the 4th of July, will long be recorded in this part of Europe as a memorable proof of the superiority of British courage and discipline.—Of the nine thousand men which General Regnier commanded in the province of Calabria Ulterior, not more than three thou-

sand are left to attempt their retreat towards Puglia; the remainder are all either killed, wounded, or made prisoners.—Every fort along the coasts, all the depots of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the attacking of Sicily, are become the prey of the victors; and, what perhaps may be considered as even of still more consequence than those advantages, an indelible impression is established of the superior bravery and discipline of the British troops—There is not perhaps to be found in the annals of military transactions, an enterprize prepared with more deliberate reflection, or executed with greater decision, promptitude, and success, than the late invasion of Calabria, by Sir John Stuart.

Extract of a Dispatch from Major General Sir John Stuart, to Hugh Elliot, Esq., dated Messina, 3d August, 1806.

Having occasion to send an express to my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Bulkely, at Palermo, I avail myself of the opportunity to acquaint you with another fortunate result of our auspicious day at Maida.—Cotrone with all its stores, magazines, &c. and six hundred troops, (now prisoners), capitulated on Wednesday evening last to the land and naval forces of his Britannic Majesty, under Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod, of the 78th regiment, and Captain Hoste of his Majesty's frigate Amphion, who were assisted in their operations against that place, and upon the adjacent coasts, by the gun-boats of his Sicilian Majesty. Three hundred prisoners, who prove to be survivors of the wounded, after the action of the 4th ultimo, are already arrived in this port.—General Regnier, who had endeavoured to hold his position, under much embarrassment for some time past, between Cotrone and Catanzaro, has retreated precipitately towards Tarento; and it was reported when the transport left Cotrone, that he had been attacked by the inasse, and had lost six or seven hundred of his flying people —I am now to congratulate you on the total evacuation of Calabria Ultra, in which single province, previous to the action of the 4th, we have every certainty that the enemy had a distributed force of at least nine thousand men; of these, when General Regnier quitted his position near Cotrone, certainly not three thousand remained. The losses of the French in Upper Calabria have also borne a proportion —A great deal of heavy ordnance, lately transported by the French to Cotrone, besides what was found mounted on the Castle, amounting in the whole to about 40 pieces, have fallen into our hands.

Downing Street, 6th September, 1806.—A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the Right Hon. William Windham, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from General the Right Hon. H. E. Fox, Commander of his Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean.

Messina, 3d August, 1806.—Sir;—I have the honour of enclosing to you the Capitulation of Cotrone, as well as Extracts of two letters received this day from Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod of the 78th Regiment, and addressed to Major General Sir John Stuart, who had detached that Officer for the purpose of giving support to the armed peasantry on the adjacent coast, and of making an attack on that place itself.—Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod appears to have conducted himself with the greatest judgment and activity in this service, and to have received the most ready co-operation and essential assistance from Captain Hoste, of his Majesty's ship Amphion, who has all along acted in conjunction with him.—I have the honour to be, &c.—(Signed) H. E. Fox—Right Hon. W. Windham, &c &c.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, to Major-General Sir John Stuart, dated Amphion Frigate, off Cotrone, 27th July, 1806.

By the letter I had the honour of addressing to you on the 24th instant, accompanying the duplicates of my letters of the preceding evening, you will be aware that it was my intention to move, in conjunction with Captain Hoste's squadron, to this place on the following day, under an impression that a feint on the enemy's rear, and this his sole remaining dépôt, would induce him to divide his force, and of course make it so much the more easy for the Chiefs of the Masse to succeed in their projected attacks on his position at Catanzaro. The fleet got under weigh accordingly at eight o'clock, *p. m.* and the following morning (although a considerable distance from the shore) I had the satisfaction to observe the French army in full retreat towards Cotrone; as their route or road appeared to run nearly parallel to, and within gun-shot of the beach, and to be bounded on the opposite side by a chain of mountains, no better opportunity could be offered, apparently, for an effectual co-operation with the masse.

To be continued.

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" E'en liberty itself is barter'd here.
" At gold's superior charms all freedom flies;
" The needy sell it, and the rich man buys."——GOLDSMITH.

TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.
LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN;

The words of the above motto contain a description of the political state of Holland about forty years ago. From such a state abject submission to a foreign power is never far distant; it never can be far distant; to which I will add, that it *ought* not to be far distant; and, so far from pitying the people of Holland, we shall, if we duly reflect, be inclined to think, that the conqueror rules them with two light and gentle a hand, and that their punishment is by no means adequate to the political crimes which have brought that punishment upon them.—— We are apt to ascribe the overthrow of states, and the subjugation of nations, to adventitious circumstances, to the fortune of war, to the ignorance or treachery of statesmen. No nation is willing to attribute its ruin to its own baseness, and the world is generally disposed to listen to accounts given by those who have been engaged in the scene. But, if we inquire diligently into the causes which have led to the subjugation of nations, we shall find, that, nine times out of ten, *the baseness of the people*, low as well as high, (as in the case of Holland) has been the principal cause.

Our country is not yet subjugated; let us hope that it never will; but, it is, by every one, confessed to be in a perilous situation; it is, by every one, confessed to be in a situation in which it cannot possibly for many years maintain its independence; and, if you see it in that light, does it not behove you, at this moment in particular, " diligently and impartially to inquire, whether all the evils we endure, and all the dangers that threaten us, are not to be ascribed to the folly and baseness of those, who have possessed, and who have so shamefully abused, their privilege of choosing members of parliament?"

These evils are, FIRST, a system of taxation so extensive as to leave to no man scarcely any thing, scarcely any species or article of property, in which the tax-gatherer does not, in one way or another, come to claim a share on the part of the government; SECOND, an universal prevalence of disguise, insincerity, suspicion, fraud, and ill-will between man and man, engendered by the system of taxation: and, THIRD, the existence of nearly a million and a half of paupers, in England and Wales only, upon a population of less than nine millions of souls.——The dangers that threaten us, are, an increase of taxes, an increase of immorality thereby engendered, an increase of paupers, and, as the natural consequence of all these, a further decrease of public spirit, and, in short, such a state of things as may finally render England what Holland now is.

The greater part, the far greater part, of the evils which we now endure, have been brought upon us by the councils and the measures of PITT. The immense sums which he squandered upon East-Indian speculators; the millions he wasted in pensions and grants of various sorts; the hundreds of millions he expended upon ill-concerted schemes of war, and upon the innumerable swarm of his friends and supporters, who profited from that expenditure: all these rendered taxes absolutely necessary; but, it was, at all times, in the power of *the House of Commons* to have prevented the minister from adopting the measures by which that necessity was created, it being the chief use of that House to watch over the expenditure of the public money, and to withhold it, unless in cases where the granting of it is evidently necessary for the public good. Yet, during the twenty years squandering of Pitt; during the whole of the time that he was more than doubling the national debt, never did the House of Commons, in any one instance, refuse him the money he asked for, however enormous the sum, and however foolish or profligate the purpose. The law required, that the formality of a vote should take place, in order to enable the minister to levy each successive tax upon the people; but, with the exception of this *form*, what was there more than the mere mandate of the minister?

The fault, then, lay in the House of Commons. That House we have to look to for all the evils we feel, and all those we apprehend. But, the House of Commons is called the *representative of the people*, and, in many cases it is so; and, if that House do wrong, it is because the people themselves have made a bad choice. I shall, perhaps, be reminded, that MR. GREY, now lord Howick, asserted in parliament, that there were 300 of the members, whose seats were the private property of noblemen and others, and who came into the House without having had any connection or acquaintance with those who were called their constituents. But, though we cannot deny this, the people have still power enough, if they had the virtue, to elect such a House of Commons as should protect them against the effects of every weak or wicked measure, on the part of a minister. There are upwards of 70 *county* members; there are 50 more sent by cities or boroughs, over the electors of which no man can have any other control than that which is given him by the folly or the baseness of the electors; and, though 120 members are but few in comparison with the whole number of which the House now consists, every one must perceive, that, against the decided will of 120 such members as might be selected, no minister would be able to carry any measure whatever; because, in the mind of the nation, those members would be estimated according to their real worth, and not merely according to their numbers. Nay, it is my opinion, that if there had been, for the last twenty years, but twenty members, chosen upon principles such as ought to prevail, we should have avoided great part, if not the whole, of our present calamities and dangers. We have, upon particular occasions, seen what only one or two members are capable of effecting; what, then, might not be effected by 20 members, entering the House with a fair resolution to do their duty, and particularly with a resolution *never to touch the public money, either by their own hands, or by those of their relatives?* This is the great *test*. All professions, short of this, I account as nothing; for, experience has proved to us, that, the moment the patriot begins to pocket the profits of a place or a pension, he changes his tone, or he becomes mute, and seems to forget every thing that has theretofore passed in his life-time.

These are truths which hardly any man will attempt to deny; but, the worst of it is, that the electors are, but in too many instances, participators in all the worst feelings of the elected. They can complain, most bitterly complain, of oppression; but, comparatively speaking, there are very few of them who will scruple to avail themselves, as often as they can, of the advantages, or imaginary advantages, to be derived from assisting those who are the cause of such oppression; and, perhaps, in their complaints against the government, none are more clamorous than those, who find themselves compelled to refund in a tax the price of their vote at an election. Such men may complain; but, who will be weak enough to pity them? A nation of such men may be subjugated, and crawl along the remainder of their days under the lash of a conqueror; but, is there any man that will not say, that those who have sold their liberty ought not be slaves? In the City of Westminster, as was observed in my last letter, there is less excuse for base conduct, than there is in almost any other body of electors; and, therefore, for you to barter your liberties, is a crime such as can be committed but by very few others.

Let no man deceive himself by the subterfuge, that it is not *money*, for which he gives his vote. To give money to all, or to half the electors of Westminster, would strain the purse, even of a Nabob, or a Contractor; but, to bribe with the hopes of gain, with the hopes of increased trade, or with the more seducing hope of causing the elector or his relations to be maintained at the expense of the government: or, in other words, of enabling them to cheat the public; to bribe in this way is easy enough; and, in this way has bribery been most successfully practised. Weak, however, must that elector be, who hopes, by a pitiful evasion, to escape from the punishment which awaits such conduct; who hopes to escape from the contempt of mankind, and from those stripes of oppression, which, by his own baseness, he has enabled others to inflict upon him. To hear such a man complaining of the weight of taxes, and to see him, with that complaint upon his lips, go to the hustings and give his vote for a man, from whom he has no reason to expect any thing but a tame acquiescence in every measure proposed by any and by every man who happens to be minister, is something too disgusting to admit of an adequate description.

That there will, upon the present occasion, be *few* such men found amongst you, it would be too much to hope; but, surely, it may reasonably be hoped, that a *majority* of you will not be found of that class. The *journeymen* who compose no small part of the electors of Westminster, appear to me to be entirely out of the reach of seduction.

They are, generally speaking, independent of the power of their employers; and, if that power be attempted to be exercised over them; if their employers attempt to deter them from voting according to their consciences, every means should be taken of exposing to public scorn and indignation the conduct of such employers. The artizans of a work-shop, led to the hustings under the command of the master, are degraded to a level with cattle, retaining all the sins of the worst description of men. The language of law, and the language of reason, is, that "elections should be freely and indifferently made;" that is, that there should be no undue influence used; no threats, no promises, to any individual elector; nothing to induce him to vote, or to abstain from voting, contrary to his own will and intention: and, every man, using such undue influence, is guilty of an outrage towards the person he attempts to seduce, and of offence against the law. That such attempts have been made with impunity, and even with success, is no justification of those who may again make them, much less is it a justification of those who leave them unresented; and, I earnestly hope, that, upon this occasion, every elector, upon whom such attempts may be made, will act like a man who retains a due sense of his rights, and who is resolved to exercise those rights solely for the good of his country.

As to the candidates, who have offered themselves to you, at this time, I could have wished, that either one or the other had explicitly pledged himself never, in his whole life, to touch, either by himself or his relations, one farthing of the public money. But, since neither of them has done this, your choice, if no new candidate offers himself, must be influenced by other considerations; and, it appears to me, that the very first consideration is, that of preventing your city from becoming, as to all practical purposes, *a mere family property*, handed over from one Lord to another Lord, just like a private estate, with all the game and deer thereon feeding and being. I beg you to reflect, only for one moment, upon the shocking degradation of being thus transferred; upon the shame, the infamy, of being bargained for, bought and sold by ATTORNIES, and of becoming the subject of a Bill and Receipt! On the extent and weight of your *example* I beseech you to reflect still more seriously. Where, if not in Westminster, shall we look for evidences of freedom in elections? Where, if Westminster become a family borough, shall we find an object of imitation, towards which to direct the attention of other places? In short, so fearful are the consequences of your becoming the slaves of a great family or two, that I scruple not to say, that upon your decision on this occasion depends infinitely more than upon any other event, which, at this day, can be regarded as within the compass of possibility. In you hands is now placed the fate of the people of England, as far as regards their political liberties; and, in the confident hope, that you will not betray your trust,

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your friend and humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 18th Sept. 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE.—The progress made by Lord Lauderdale is kept a profound secret; but, the certainty, in which we now are, with respect to the conduct of the Emperor of Russia, affords us, I think, good grounds whereon to believe, that there will be no peace at this time.——Until we are fully informed as to the *terms* of the treaty, concluded by M. D'OUBRIL, it is impossible for us to give any decided opinion upon the refusal, on the part of Russia, to ratify that treaty; but, the reasoning of those who have defended the conduct of Russia, upon this occasion, does not, to me at least, appear quite satisfactory.——That a sovereign is bound to ratify a treaty, *be the terms what they may*, which has been concluded by a plenipotentiary, cannot be maintained; for instance, no one will pretend, that, if D'OUBRIL had agreed to cede St. Petersburgh to France, the Emperor of Russia would have been bound to ratify the treaty. But, on the other hand, "*full powers*" are a mere mockery, if the ratification is to be refused under a pretence, that the plenipotentiary has deviated from the "*spirit* of his instructions."——The full powers, as will be seen in a subsequent page of this sheet, enjoined on D'OUBRIL to make such a treaty as should be conducive to the lasting peace and harmony of Russia and France and of Europe in general. The instruction was very indefinite; but, may not the refusal to ratify tend to excite a suspicion, that they were *purposely so?* I do not say, that, when the terms come to be fully known, the refusal to ratify may not admit of justification; but, I do say, that, if we were to admit the arguments that have been used, in some of our prints, in favour of the refusal, *full powers* must, for the future, be

regarded as conferring *no power at all.*—— Indeed, it is but too evident, that the arguments, here alluded to, have been suggested by convenience, and not by any sound principle of public law. A FOURTH COALITION seems to be wished for and expected; and, without a refusal to ratify D'OUBRIL's treaty, a fourth coalition is impossible.——As to the probable consequences of another coalition, I offered my opinion in the preceding sheet (page 481); but, I have not the vanity to suppose, that that opinion will have any weight with those writers, who now talk, with more confidence, I think, than ever, of "the *growing spirit* of the still "unsubjugated states of the continent." ——After all that we have seen within these twelve months; after the battle of Ulm; after the capture of Vienna; after the battle of Austerlitz; after the peace of Presburgh; after the Rhenish confederacy; after seeing a new king in Holland and another in Naples; after all this, who would expect to hear, from any human creature in his senses, language like the following:— "The cloud that has so long hung over the "affairs of the continent begins to dissi- "pate, and it is at length permitted to "look, if not to brilliant, at least to serene "prospects in that quarter. The growing "spirit of the still unsubjugated states of "the continent, affords a just and reason- "able hope, either that the power of "France may be reduced within some li- "mits by a vigorous war, or some bounds "set to its vast projects of aggrandizement "by the terms of a peace to which, under "existing circumstances, Buonaparté may "find it convenient to agree. *The prepa- "rations for war are carried on with redou- "bled vigour in every part of the continent.* "From the Black Sea to the German "Ocean, from the Baltic to the Mediterra- "nean, Europe exhibits but one uniform "scene of military movements and hostile "indications. Prussia has made conside- "rable progress in forming a northern con- "federation, as a counterpoise to the con- "federation of the Rhine, and has assumed "a formidable military attitude, with a "view to give weight to her measures, and "to prevent further encroachments in Ger- "many. In the mean time, all the powers "that are to compose this confederation, "are making uncommon efforts to place "their force on the war establishment. "Russia has made considerable augmenta- "tions to the numbers of her armies, which "are stationed in such points as are most "convenient to the probable scene of "action, in the event of any rupture in "Germany. *Austria, too, has made asto- "nishing advances in the work of repairing "the disasters of last campaign.*"——Of the sort and degree of those "*advances,*" which Austria has made, may, by the intelligent reader, be easily imagined from the tone and substance of a FINANCE PATENT, published by the Emperor, no longer ago than the 6th of last month. This document, which merits an attentive perusal, sets out with stating, that all the calamities, which have befallen the Austrian Monarchy, have not afflicted the Royal breast so much as the present necessity which compels him to lay fresh burdens upon his people, "for the "purpose of assisting the weakness of the "state, and removing the evils which "remain as the natural consequences of the "late wars. These wars," proceeds the patent, "which have succeeded each other "with little intermission, have been more "expensive than any that the Monarchy has "ever undertaken. The expense of each "campaign has far exceeded the sum total "of the usual annual revenue of the state. "——The resources of foreign loans, to "which the Emperor's ancestors had re- "course, it is remarked, were rendered "useless by the change which had taken "place in political relations; and the "operation of domestic loans were found to "be too slow, and in their issue too uncer- "tain; so that even these could not be "made to cover more than the fourth of the "expenditure of a single campaign; and "therefore to provide for the rest of the "necessary expenses merely by forced loans, "and extraordinary imposts, would have "been destructive of the well-being of the "subject, especially when a succession of "bad harvests had produced a dearth, and "when several thousands of hands had been "taken from the plough, and from the "workshops of the mechanic; and, lastly, "when the restrictions upon commerce and "the arts had imposed new limitations upon "the revenue.——In this situation nothing "remained to the government but the "increase of paper, which, with the yearly "accumulation of the interest, tended to "multiply the exigencies of the state; and "this, notwithstanding the limitations "already introduced into every branch of "the public expenditure, and other reforms "which the Monarch has in view, is still "inadequate to the competency requisite to "the support of the state.——Such a crisis, "unless met with firmness and combated "with resolution, must augment the danger "both of the Sovereign and the subject. "The Emperor, therefore, not doubting of-

" the fidelity and patriotism of his hereditary " states, expresses the same confidence in " his subjects in Transylvania and Hun- " gary."——The Emperor concludes with acknowledging the regret which he feels in consequence of being compelled to lay fresh burdens upon his faithful people; and observe, that the magnitude of the evil demands a quick and active remedy. He therefore in the first place proposes to remove the most pressing of these calamities, viz. the overflow of the Vienna Bank Bills, and to establish a fund for their recal and total annihilation. The patent afterwards proceeds to state the conditions of the new loan, and also that the new duties upon salt, tobacco, postage of letters, &c. are only to remain in force five years; the revenue arising from these duties is to be solely appropriated to the rasing a fund for the liquidation of the Vienna Bank Bills.—— The Emperor admits that he cannot yet entirely excuse the provinces from *contributions in kind for the support of the military*; however, he is willing to relieve them from that which has been the most burthensome, namely, *the contribution of corn*; a tax in lieu of this is very shortly to be brought forward. A stamp upon various kinds of ware is also agreed upon ——By the means of the present patent, and the assistance of his kingdom of Hungary and the Dukedom of Transylvania, and in consequence of his Majesty's exertions *to preserve the continuance of peace inviolate*, for the happiness of his crown and the nations entrusted to him by Providence, and of his desire of which he had lately given an irrefragable proof, his Majesty hopes, under the protection of the Almighty, to arrive at a happier state, and to witness the much wished-for period when he shall be enabled to enjoy the consolation of removing those heavy burthens from the shoulders of his subjects, which an unfortunate concurrence of untoward events has obliged him to lay upon them.——On the 1st of September an excise duty was also to be laid upon all *flesh, fowl, game*, and *wine* brought into Vienna.——And, is it of such a state that we are to hear, with patience, of the " *vigorous preparations for war!*" A state which is overflowed with a paper money, fallen a hundred-fold, probably, in value; a state that is compelled to lay a tax upon *flesh, fowl, game*, and *wine* (the produce of the fields and the gardens); a state that is compelled, even now that it is at peace, to levy *contributions in kind* for the support of its troops: is it such a state that we are to hear represented as one of the powers to compose a new and formidable coalition? Is it such a state upon the " growing spirit" of which we are called upon to rely for exertions tending to reduce the power of France within reasonable limits? ——But, is it not absurdity, bordering upon idiotism, to talk of a coalition between Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, at a moment when the two latter are engaged in a war for an object, which, the latter has declared that she will have restored, and which the former has declared, in terms equally positive, that she will not give up?——In short, a FOURTH COALITION appears to me to be impossible; and, if it should take place, I cannot help fearing, that the result will be far more disastrous than was that of the THIRD.

BUENOS AYRES.——The capture of this colony, has, it is said, " filled the commercial world with joy." I do not doubt it. *Me* it has not filled with joy; because, though I admire the promptitude and bravery which have been manifested by the commanders and the troops upon the occasion, I do not see any solid national advantages that can possibly arise from the capture; while, on the other hand, I can easily perceive, that it may be a cause of national disappointment and debility.——The shallow-brained rabble (in high life as well as in low) will see nothing but the *mines* and the *money*, waggon-loads of which latter are, it is said, already arrived. But, if you were to ask them, whether the waggon loads, that were lately captured in the Spanish Galeons, have at all tended to prevent the imposition of *new taxes*, they would be compelled to say, *no*. Not a dollar of the captured money will ever get into circulation here. Not a shilling of tax will be saved us by Buenos Ayres. Not a jot will Napoleon concede for it at the making of a peace. The capture will enrich some half dozen of persons concerned in it, and some few merchants who may trade to the colony; but, to the people of England it will bring no alleviation of their burthens in war, no safety in peace, and, as to their internal freedom, it will tend to diminish it, by throwing more patronage into the hands of the crown, and thereby giving to another portion of the people an interest different from that of the great mass.——" The *Wealth* of the Indies" is a common saying, and common sayings do much. But, this " wealth" has made us poor indeed. One *tenth part* of the taxes, which we pay this very year, we pay only because we possess the East Indies. The labour of Englishmen is taxed, cruelly taxed, to support the East India Company and their possessions; and, if we retain

Buenos Ayres, that labour will be further taxed for that purpose.——The capture, and the appointments and re-inforcements thereby occasioned, will cost about half a million; and that half million must come out of the people in taxes.——If, indeed, the capture could tend to *diminish the power of France*; if it could tend to augment the power which Great Britain has of annoying France; if it could tend to change the relative situation of the two powers, then would I hail the capture with great delight; but, I am convinced, that it cannot; I am convinced that it will only tend to disappoint and to enfeeble this kingdom, and, therefore, with me, it is no subject for rejoicing.

National Debt.——In a subsequent part of this sheet, my correspondent Decius endeavours to show, " that, if the nation be " *now* in a perilous situation, that peril " would be rather *aggravated* than dimi- " nished by its ceasing to pay interest upon " its debt." I will answer him in my next, leaving his letter to work its way in the meanwhile; but, I will, here, just ask, whether he can conceive any cause of peril equal to that pointed out, in my last sheet, (page 420) as arising solely from the existence of the national debt?

" Delicate Investigation." ——The writer of the Morning Post has written above three columns again, but, he *has answered neither of my three questions*, put to him in the preceding sheet, page 424. I have, however, to make my acknowledgements to him for the correction of an error of the press, owing to which an *m* was left out at the end of the first word, in line 8 from the top.

NATIONAL DEBT.

Sir,——Had I recollected (for I read them at the time they appeared) the arguments you had employed, to endeavour to prove the *justice* of ceasing to pay interest on the national debt, I certainly should not have contented myself with nakedly asserting, that the measure appeared to me unjust, without, at the same time, stating the reasons upon which that opinion was founded. I have since re-perused those arguments, and would now endeavour to state why I think them unsatisfactory, and insufficient to maintain the position they are adduced to support, were it not that it appears to me that all considerations as to the justice, or policy of extinguishing the national debt, would be rendered superfluous, were it to be shewn that the nation would not, to any material extent, profit by such a measure. That the nation would be a gainer by ceasing to pay its annuitants, appears to have been a proposition that has hitherto been left to be maintained by its own internal evidence, rather than by any arguments that have been adduced in proof of it. This is the most natural and obvious view of the subject: why it appears not to be the true one, I propose now, as shortly as I can, to submit to you. Should I be mistaken, I should be happy to receive correction. From the observations that have fallen from you on my last letter, it becomes necessary that I should assert, that I have no particular opinion to maintain, nor any motive, other than a love of truth, for wishing to see one side of the question prevail in preference to the other. I am no banker, no stock-holder, or stock-jobber. Not that I am anxious to disclaim any connection with these classes of men, from any success that appears to have attended the endeavours that have been made to render them infamous, and, therefore, that there is a positive merit in possessing nothing in common with them. On the contrary, it has always afforded me very sensible pain, to see a writer, who, on all other subjects, is so eminently distinguished for luminous statement, and a vigorous temperate mode of reasoning, pollute his disquisitions by the employment of abusive epithets, the use of which, no man, however great, can sanction: they add nothing to the weight of the argument, or to the legitimacy of the deductions, and when there appears an attempt to enlist the passions in the cause, one is apt to imagine, that it arises from a conscious deficiency of arguments suited to persuade the judgment.——You have, in a former part of your Register, stated your reasons for supposing that the case of the nation and its creditor, does not altogether correspond with the case of an individual and his creditor. Cases may be conceived in which this disagreement would exist, and in which it would not. If an individual, involved in debt, and whose subsequent means of support were entirely independent of his creditors, were, without any expense to himself, to become at once exonerated from his debts, his condition would clearly be the better by the amount of the sums that he thus ceased to become liable to pay. Between the case of an individual so circumstanced, and that of the nation there is evidently material difference.——Not so would it be, if you suppose that it is partly from these same creditors, and by means of the sources of supply which would thus be cut off, that the debtor derived, either directly, or, what comes to the same thing, indirectly through the medium of others, his

means of existence. If the supply ceases, so must the return that was made by it: and so must all other sources of supply which by its distribution it served to create. So would it be with the nation and its creditors. If you suddenly (and whether suddenly or gradually as to this purpose makes no material difference) ceased to supply them with that income which served them as a source of subsistence, you not only extinguish the supply in the way of taxes which they themselves directly afforded, but you also extinguish, at the same time, all those sources of supply, which, by its distribution, the money they receive, served to give birth to.—Whether the annuitant's means of subsistence be derived entirely from the annuity received from government, or partly from this, and partly from other sources, makes, as to the purpose in question, no material difference. If it be wholly derived from this source, his means of existence is altogether annihilated: if only partly from this source, by so much as he ceases to receive, by so much must his expenditure be diminished. It is so impossible to trace the course of any particular sum of money, from the pocket of the individual, in its progress among the several hands which it may come to pass through, that no specific species of commodities, or any particular class of individuals, can, with any degree of certainty, be pointed out, upon which the consequence of ceasing to pay the annuitants the income they had been accustomed to receive would ultimately fall. What, however, is certain is, that if the annuitants were no longer to receive their annuities, the demand for those articles, which the annuities had hitherto been expended in purchasing, must altogether cease, and with the demand for the articles, the means of the subsistence of those persons who were employed in the fabrication of them. In the case of that class of persons whose income consisted solely of these annuities, and the amount of what was no more than sufficient for their maintenance, the diminution in the demand would fall principally upon consumeable commodities. When the annuity was larger, the diminution in the demand would fall, both upon articles of consumption and articles of luxury: meaning by articles of luxury, such articles as are merely agreeable without being absolutely necessary to existence. When other sources of income existed besides that derived from the government annuities, the diminution in the demand would fall for the greater part, if not entirely upon luxuries. The consequence then of the government ceasing to pay the annuitants is obvious. Those who have no other source of income, in default of friends, willing and able to maintain them, go to the parish. Those who have other sources of income, would suffer no further inconvenience than the being compelled to relinquish the use of such commodities as they can best spare.—But it will of course be observed, that, if it be admitted that the capacity of the nation for yielding taxes be diminished by such an operation, yet at the same time is its demand for them also diminished, by the whole amount of what it now pays to its annuitants, and thus the non-annuitant may come to be released from the payment of those sums that are now taken from him to be given to the annuitant. Admitting, for the purpose of the argument, such a transfer of property to be called for by the circumstances of the country, yet it would be impossible to effect it, without a greater attendant disadvantage than seems to have been imagined. You cannot give to the non-annuitant *all* that you take from the annuitant. It cannot be passed, undiminished in its value, from one hand to the other. Independently of the consideration that the suffering occasioned by the loss of any given sum is always greater than the pleasure produced by the gain of it, and on this score alone would come to be made a considerable defalcation from the benefit of the measure, to the burthens already imposed on the non-annuitants, would come to be added fresh burthens imposed on other grounds. If the annuitant no longer receives his annuity for his support, he must be maintained, unless he be annihilated, by money raised in the shape of poors'-rates; and, together with the annuitant, would come to be maintained in this same way, all those classes of persons whose source of subsistence depended upon the expenditure of his annuity. And while thus the burthens came to be increased, the weight of them would also be increased, by a diminution in the number of persons among whom they would be to be divided. ——True it is, that by ceasing to pay interest on the national debt, the aggregate wealth of the nation would not, for the moment, be diminished, any more than its wealth would be diminished by the passing of an act of parliament, prohibiting, among individuals, every debtor from paying his creditor. But, to make any absolute addition to its wealth, the one of the two measures would be of equal efficacy with the other. It would be merely the making a transfer of property from hand to hand. Whatever you give to B, you must previously, and to an equal amount, have taken from A. And

advantage the non-annuitant, to surpass in virtue the annuitant, in any degree, that, for the purpose of the argument, it can be convenient to imagine,—admitting the excess of his virtue, to be so pre-eminent as to entitle him to be rewarded for it, by the whole of such property as the annuitant derives from the money he may have vested in the funds; yet, considering the great general alarm and inconvenience such transfer would be attended with, and considering, as above, the great expense that the annuitant must be put to, for the purpose of conferring a small and perhaps not perceptible benefit on the non-annuitant, there seems to require much stronger reasons than have hitherto been assigned, to justify the measure in question.—As to what increase to their present burthens the nation would be able to bear, that appears to be a question quite foreign to the present purpose: it is evident that some limit there must be, to the amount of the taxes that can be raised: but for the vainness of attempting to fix that limit, we require no further proof than to recollect how completely have failed all the predictions that have hitherto been ventured on that subject. At present, all that is meant to be maintained is, that the nation be in a perilous situation, that peril would rather be aggravated than diminished by its ceasing to pay interest on its debt.——I am, Sir, your humble servant, DECIUS.—*Sept.* 12, 1806.

P. S. I would not be understood as shrinking from the considerations as to the *justice* of the nation's ceasing to pay its annuitants; and, I may, perhaps, trouble you with another letter on that part of the subject.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

"And then for the people, it is my manner ever to look as well beyond a parliament as upon a parliament; and if they abroad shall think themselves betrayed by those that are their *deputies and attornies* here, it is true we may bind and conclude them, but it will be with such murmur and indignation as I should be loath to have [illegible] might be dissembled, and the ills left to bleed inwards; but that is not the way to cure them. And, therefore, I have searched the sore, in hope that you will endeavour the medicine." Sir F. Bacon. See his works, v. iv p. 329, ed. 1730.

SIR;——Having been, for a long period, an attentive observer of your writings, wherein with a pen of fire are traced official abuses, and state corruptions, I begin to think it time you should point to some rational means of amendment. To shock and to irritate the public mind, with instances of misgovernment and traits of profligacy, with proofs of imposition and examples of apostacy, without at the same time prescribing *the remedy*, or exciting hopes of recovery, would be to aggravate the evil, by extending the influence of despondence, and adding to the number of those who despair of the commonwealth. As a sentiment so unworthy as this can never enter your own breast, implant it not in the bosoms of others. As you have repeatedly "searched the sore," so now "endeavour the medicine."—— When the natural body is afflicted with a variety of ailments, how shall we hope for relief unless our physician understands the anatomy of the human frame, and the science of physic. So when the political frame is sinking under a complication of maladies, must we not, for the cure, look to the political anatomist who is versed in the science of civil government? If a statesman mean, by his prescriptions, to save our state, must he not direct his principal attention to that which is its most vital organ, the COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, to see if it be sound or diseased? And if there he find "the sore," must he not, for "the medicine," resort to those principles of government on which political life and health depend? After travelling, Mr. Cobbett, the whole round of misgovernment, after exposing every species of abuse, if state preservation be your object, to the vital organ you must come at last.——Are the people crushed and bent down to the earth by the pressure of innumerable taxes? Where have they a remedy, but in the justice and prudence of parliamentary "*deputies and attornies?*" Are they harrassed and humiliated by the incessant visits, the insulting carriage, and the irresistible power of the fiscal swarm? Whence, under such circumstances, can they look for relief, but under the protecting wings of "*deputies and attornies*" in parliament assembled? Is the money, intercepted by taxation from the maintenance and education of virtuous families, expended in the ostentatious revellings of harlots? Is the nation's substance consumed in pensioning the servile dependants of successive ministers? Is the Exchequer itself beggared by jobs and peculation in every department of the state? Where, in any of these cases, are there to be found powers of reformation, but in the vigilance and virtue of "*deputies and attornies*" in a Commons House of Parliament? Should all vestiges of freedom disappear, should barracks every where profane the land, and mercenary legions, domestic and foreign,

furnish proof that our government was revolutionized and despotism established; where, but in the existence and patriotism of parliamentary "*deputies and attornies*," could the nation find the means of recovering its constitution, and a shield of future protection? Should ministers of all denominations, whether Whig or Tory, or of the faction behind the throne, however hostile to one another as rivals for power, invariably agree in perverting all the natural, the constitutional, and the cheap defence of our island against invasion; in undermining the national strength, and insidiously fortifying a despotism already introduced; where would reside the means of counteraction and the sources of salvation, but in the honesty, the wisdom, the courage of real "*deputies* "*and attornies*" in parliament? Then, after all your indignant reprehension of fraud, treachery, and peculation, and all the fire of your eloquence on plundering hypocrisy, and unblushing profligacy, if the renovation of our country, if the preservation of our laws and liberties, if our continued existence as an independent state be your object, hither, I repeat it, Mr. Cobbett, you must at last come. Here, and here alone, will you find our civil, and in the arms-bearing of free citizens, our military security. In beginning with official turpitude, and personal wickedness, you may have done well; but you will not, I am sure, incur the imputation of political blindness, or the reproach of mountebank quackery, by unceasingly beating the air on topics, which, unless we can produce some reformation, are barren and disgusting.——Your penetrating mind will not rest until it have explored the true source of national good and evil; until it have learned the real condition of the heart of the state, of that organ in which pre-eminently resides political life. And, fortunate, Sir, it is, that in this case we are not liable to be misled by the use of metaphorical language. The physician of the natural body can only, from effects and external symptoms, conjecture respecting the healthful or the diseased state of the heart; but, in the state's political body, the whole anatomy is visible, the heart itself is open to our view; that is to say, we can pretty nearly ascertain in what several proportions the Commons House of Parliament is sound and healthy, or is destitute of popular feeling, or is utterly and contagiously corrupt; for we pretty well know in what proportions it respectively consists of "*deputies and at-*" *tornies*" of the people by means of true popular election; of the automatons of peers, or of the servile dependants of the court. All perhaps that is wanting towards its reformation is, to fix on that assembly the public attention; and to prevail on our countrymen to scrutinize it with a constitutional eye, and to try it by the test of the principles of our free government. In such an investigation we must be cautious to avoid all unwarrantable licenses of speech, and to drop all figurative descriptions of this part of our government; a language so frequently and so insidiously indulged in by politicians unfriendly to our liberties. We ought even to abstain from such metaphors as I myself have just used, in calling the House a vital organ, the heart of the state, and so forth; and closely to adhere to plain literal English, expressive of the true intendment of our law and constitution; as the great Bacon has done, in calling the members the "*deputies* "*and attornies*" of the people.——Now, Mr. Cobbett, with great submission to persons better instructed in the science of civil government and our English polity than myself, I must observe, that if there be one criterion more to be depended on than another, for shewing whether our laws and liberties are safe or in peril, are truly possessed or really lost, it will be determined by the degree in which the members of the House of Commons are independent or dependent; the true "*deputies and attornies*" of the people, or something else unknown to the constitution. Here, then, is an inquiry as worthy of your industry, as a faithful report will be of your pen. And, if I mistake not, the time is near at hand, when the labourers in this field shall gather a noble harvest. That, abating only a short truce, we owe fourteen years of war, all its calamities, and all the consequences yet to be apprehended to the shocking, the monstrous policy, of *preventing a reformation* in this part of our government, is a conviction of observant men, a conviction which not all the eloquence of a Pitt could ever shake, which the florid declamations about jacobinism, of that quondam reformer, only served to root more deeply in their minds, and a conviction which must keep pace with inquiry, and spread with the spread of truth. Look back, Sir, over the disastrous space of time to which I have referred you; review in conjunction the professed principles and the actual measures, the preachings and the practices, of those who opposed parliamentary reform. The measure of their wisdom and their virtue it is *now* easy to understand. Even their former inconsiderate partisans, having paid dear enough for instruction, begin rightly to appreciate the merits of the jugglers, who, by means of their phantas-

magoria of terrific visions, duped them at once out of both liberty and property. What *internal enemies* had the state at the time alluded to, but ITS OWN CORRUPTIONS? What *external vigour* did it want, but AN INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENT and AN ARMED PEOPLE? Are not these at all times our means, if we want either prosperity or preservation? Could these have ever failed us in preserving the peace of all *Europe*, at a time when, as we now of a certainty know, *France*, prior to the breach between her and *Austric*, was a humble suitor to our King, for averting the threatened war by his mediation, and on the terms he should think fit to prescribe? But, the consequence of peace, Sir, at a season when the spirit of parliamentary reformation was prevalent, was full of danger to the Borough dominion. And, were not, think you, the Borough-sovereigns of *England*, as jealous of their dominion, and as ready to plunge into a war for its defence, as other sovereigns? Or were they not as prompt to sieze on new territories, and to deal out to their dependants gratuities and indemnities out of any spoils they could lay their hands on, as any partitioners of *Poland*, or any dethroner or creator of new kings whatever? Or would, in the nature of things, these sovereign lords of the Boroughs be less disposed than any brother sovereign, to the policy of carrying on a war *at an invaded people's expense*. In this masterly generalship, not a Napoleon himself has outdone them, either in the hypocrisy of pretending friendship and protection, or in the practice of atrocious pillage: while with one hand they have levied the heaviest contributions, with the other, they have widely extended the limits of their empire. But the odious despotism they have erected having its foundations *rotten*, even to a proverb, 'tis doomed, we may trust, to an early dissolution. Having, as we may say, its existence in the general ignorance, general discussion must produce its annihilation.——Duped, Sir, as we have been, by the fraudful proprietors and patrons of the boroughs, or, in other words, the monopolizers of corruption, and by the shallow pratings of the partisans of their despotism, to carry on a war of delusion and folly upon our own property and freedom, let us now, undeceived, retrace our misguided steps, let us review the work of our advisers, and let us contemplate our own present condition! How terrible, in particular, the magnitude of our debt! How frightful and portentous, the immense increase in the number of our paupers! Do we not feel the Exchequer to have become sole proprietor of every man's estate, himself degraded to a bailiff for the management? If such be our internal situation, are our external relations much more gratifying? Almost totally bereft of alliances, our ancient rival, and fourteen years ago our suppliant, is lord of the Continent, and master of those shores, the possession of which hath more than twice over doubled the danger of invasion; our own coast, vast as the navy we maintain, not thought secure without Martillo towers, and disgraceful entrenchments, and acts of parliament for reviving the long dormant doctrine of a right in the King to call for "*the military services of all his liege* "*subjects!*" But with what fidelity to their country ministers have received this doctrine we have seen, by their care that all volunteer exertions, as well as all the armed services of the people, shall uniformly be at *the will and option* of the crown, IN DIRECT CONTEMPT OF THE CONSTITUTION, as may be abundantly seen by consulting *England's Ægis*, referring to the index under the head of "*arms-bearing, a duty.*"——Although Mr. Windham, in debate upon his training act, (46 G. 3. c. 90) rejected in a lofty tone the proposed clause of Mr. Yorke, copied from his own General Defence Act, empowering the crown to *suspend* at its pleasure the act then under discussion, he (Mr. Windham) nevertheless, took especial care to render the entire operation of the statute subject to the royal *discretion*; for in respect of calling for the military services of his lieges, his Majesty is thereby empowered to direct the apportionment of "*any* number "of men, not exceeding two hundred thou"sand;" so that in fact, whether, in the now relative situations of *England* and *France*, we are to have trained to arms for our defence two hundred thousand of the people, or two thousand, or two hundred, or two score, is solely to depend upon the *discretion* of the King, or, in other words, the *discretion* of ministers; while we see all ministers alike vying with each other in building up a gigantic standing army that is to overshadow the land, and which, if not outnumbered in a four-fold proportion by the armed people, must at once impoverish and enslave our country. How, Mr. Cobbett, are we to account for the sudden conversion of every new ministry, whig or tory, reformers or anti-reformers, to the maxims of arbitrary government? And, still more, how are we to account for the most arbitrary acts of the most arbitrary ministers, finding uniform support among those who ought to have no other office or character, than that of "DEPUTIES AND ATTORNIES" of the people? And their shewing on all occasions peculiar alacrity when the vote is for money or for soldiers? I beg pardon, Sir, for my inat-

tention. I had for a moment forgot that I was speaking of sovereigns; with whom, of course, revenues and armies are the objects of first consideration. To return, however, from this short digression, I would remark, that it is in the solution of the questions I have just put to you, we must read either the salvation, or the ruin of our country. For this very reason, I will not desire your immediate thoughts upon the subject. Let it first sink deep into your mind: bestow on it frequent meditation: make it, both by reading and reflection, the familiar inmate of your bosom: duly contemplate its nature, and its importance, and then, Sir, your pen shall achieve glorious things in the cause of reformation.——Meanwhile, as a dissolution of the present parliament is talked of, I wish, Sir, to ask you a few questions. 1st. Have you heard any better reason assigned for such a dissolution, than that the Treasury Boroughs may not continue to give seats in the House to those who have left the Treasury Bench? 2dly. As you, and every friend of his country, must wish to see in the next parliament, *honest men who are qualified in estate and knowledge, who hold sacred the constitution, who are incapable of violating the laws against bribery, and are equally incapable of acting a dependent part*; can you inform the public by what possible means even an individual man of this description can obtain a seat in the next parliament? And, 3dly. Have you any conception that we have a single peer, or other borough-holder, who is sufficiently intelligent of his country's real condition, and sufficiently virtuous to cause such men only as I have described to be returned for his boroughs at the next election? If, Mr. Cobbett, you can neither point out such means, nor such a peer, must we not read in your silence the unhappy destiny of our country, unless a parliamentary reformation shall introduce a new order of things? As probably the storm of war will be soon weathered for the present, and as the tide of *alarm* running counter to reformation appears to be well nigh spent, it behoves every honest pilot to bestir himself, for getting the shattered vessel of the constitution into safety, before a fresh storm begins to rage. But *France! France! France!* the vultures of corruption will again scream in our ears. Well! *France!* What then! When *France*, shaking off her antient despotism, and its inveterate corruptions, set about a change of regimen, *accident* threw her into a violent fever; from which, however, she soon rose with tenfold strength and vigour. Shall, then, the advocates of despotism and corruption, shall the politicians of revenues and armies, fellows of the vulgar politics of the longest sword, shall such logicians hold up to us, in terrorem, this *France*, that has attained to incredible empire by the road of *reformation?* Whatever may be at this moment the condition of *France*, in respect of *political liberty*, she has as much of it at least as she had before she started, and, except naval superiority, she has every thing else which her wildest ambition or vanity can well covet. But, let it not be overlooked, that it was the shaking off of her old worn-out despotism, and the actual taste of *political liberty*, which *gave* her the energies that have brought the Continent to her feet. A government of talent, although it hath suspended the liberty, has preserved the energy; and, to the contemplative mind, it appears highly probable the liberty will revive and flourish.——Between the case of *England* and that of *France* there never was more similitude than between Fluellius Macedon and Monmouth. All the parallels that were drawn by our planet-struck alarmists, played upon by the crafty masters of the wires, were almost too ludicrous for serious refutation. Such was the case of *France*, while her king was on his throne, that, as it should seem, nothing but a friendly support of her new limited government on the part of *England*, for averting external attack, could possibly prevent convulsion, until her freedom got consolidated with mitigated monarchy. That support was sullenly refused; the French King lost his life; convulsions followed. But still *France* at this moment, covered with military renown, sits arbitress of the fate of surrounding nations; and that very *Talleyrand*, who, as a secret functionary of Louis XVI. could not (as I understand) even obtain an audience of Lord *Grenville*, to sue for an English mediation to save the new-born liberties of his country, but who certainly did not obtain the mediation, is now the public minister of his Imperial master, whose smiles are coveted by the ambassadors of all *Europe!*—From this state of things in *France*, a state contemplated by English statesmen with no small envy, how shall our borough sovereigns conjure up a new bugbear to terrify us from the thoughts of parliamentary reformation? *They*, of all men, will not surely remind us, that *Napoleon* is no great respecter of liberty and property! *They*, surely, of all men, will not draw parallels between French representation and English representation, French taxation and English taxation! It is the very burthen of the perpetual song of these gentlemen, that we live under a government of king, lords, and commons; and that this is the best and soundest of all possible constitutions. And

these gentlemen, who detest all theoretic principles of government, make it their continual encomium of our constitution, that it is a government of practice and experience; and, drawing comparisons between past and present times, they tell us that this constitution has been regularly advancing to its present perfection, by improvement upon improvement; that is to say, if I understand them aright, by reformation upon reformation; and I particularly remember a proclamation, in the administration of Mr. Pitt, and, as I think at the season of alarm in the year 1792, in which high praise was given to the "glorious revolution" of 1688; in which event reformation was a conspicuous feature; although, on the two points which make the principal subjects of this letter, it was, to the unspeakable injury of our country, lamentably deficient. But let me ask such of our borough-champions as are conversant with all the money departments of our government, if decay and corruption are so absolutely at an end, that reformation of government can never more be wanting? Or if our stock of reformation have been so completely exhausted by Mr. Pitt, Mr Rose, and Lord Melville, Lord Henry Petty, Gen. Fitzpatrick, and Mr Windham, that the wit of man cannot carry it one step further? And I shall conclude this long letter with saying, that if Mr. Pitt were in the habit of observing, that representation was the grand principle of the English constitution, I may perhaps be allowed to remark, that that which of all things in nature, is most congenial with its spirit, is REFORMATION.——

ALURED.—*September* 15, 1806.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS,

SIR ——From the date of the letter of your correspondent on the Catholic Claims, which appeared in your last week's Register, I should apprehend that you have had so many communications upon the subject, that it is in your opinion pretty nearly *worn* out, and ceases to afford that rich variety of argument that is generally so conspicuous in every subject with which you favour the admirers of sound, logical, reasoning. Should there, however, be a chasm left, you may indulge me with the insertion of a few words upon the subject.——I apprehend, Sir, that the Catholic Claim can admit of support but upon one of these two grounds; either that the Catholics have a *right* to the participation of the offices of the state, and a division of the *political spoils*; or that it is the policy of the state, and the interest of the country at large, that this participation should be admitted. That it is essential to the well-being of every state that there should be a *national religion*, will admit of but little controversy; that a state has a *right* to legislate and point out of what persuasion this national religion shall be composed, will also be conceded; and these two propositions being established, it will be pretty evident, that when any state has so legislated and established a national religion, that every distinct sect or persuasion can only exist in virtue of the liberality of the laws of such state, which by their tolerating principle allows of their existence, and protects them in the exercise of their different tenets. The question of right, therefore, sinks before the hopes of the most sanguine Catholic coadjutor, and upon the ground of POLICY must the success of the question stand or fall. Now, Sir, upon the question of policy, I think it will be conceded, that in every corporate body, whether a state or an inferior compact, the union of the members who compose it, is the first great and important principle that is to be attended to; and that in proportion that faction more or less exists, is this fundamental principle of union destroyed. Now, Sir, without swelling this subject with quotations from history, or the pamphleteering disputations which have existed in all ages, and at all times, between the disciples of different religious sects, it will, I am persuaded, be admitted, that no *factions* ever arrived to so *deplorable* a height, that no *contentions* were ever so *lamentable* in their *consequences*, as those which *derived* their birth from *religious* disputes. The voracious appetite for place of an *half-starved* politician, is an *emblem of forbearance*, compared with the *thirst* for power which has been too often evinced by the bigots in all religions: is it not then the imperious duty of every state to prevent such vicious and mischievous consequences; and how can this be done, if you make *a Turk a premier, a Catholic a secretary of state*, and *a Protestant a first lord of the admiralty?* Oh! certainly it may be done, says your correspondent; for these men of different persuasions, however contentious they may be upon subjects of *spiritual*, will never differ *upon that of a temporal* nature; but, Mr. Cobbett, I will content myself with an appeal to your knowledge of human nature, whether it is not almost a *lusus naturæ*, a prodigy, to find two men *differing* upon the fundamental principles of religion, and in *perfect harmony upon all other subjects*. Sir, in the nature of things this cannot be: you see different sects in religion, like the different species in the animal kingdom, each associating with its own kind, and avoiding the society of the other: this is the direct *instinctive faculty*,

if I may so call it, of the human mind. Why, then, what is the evident consequence? Ambition is the ruling passion of man: if a man be a sectary, the *current* of his ambition runs *with his sect*; in preferring them he *exalts* himself; and the same principle of aggrandizement pervades every persuasion, as it arises from the quality of human nature itself. If then this be so, Mr. Cobbett, is it not perceptible that a cabinet of *discordant spiritual opinions* will run considerable danger of being *discordant* in the *temporal* ones also, should this danger be incurred? Can it be contended to be good policy to permit it? Will the hardiest advocate to this MORE than toleration, insist there would be LESS of GOOD-NATURE than *gross* and *unpardonable folly* in such a measure; and if this be the candid and true result of what would ensue from a compliance with the Catholic claims, I am sure that that Catholic *ceases* to *evidence* any Christian-like virtues, who is desirous a state should be so undeservedly situated.—W. F. S.

——*Lincoln's Inn, Sept.* 15, 1806.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.

The following article is taken from the French Official Paper, the MONITEUR, *of the 5th instant. It is very important, as communicating to us what is said by the French Government upon Russia's refusal to ratify the Treaty, lately concluded at Paris by Monsieur D'Oubril, whose full powers are subjoined.*

The Peace of Presburg, the Treaty of Alliance between Prussia and France, and above all, the moral, political, and military consequences of the battle of Austerlitz, took away entirely from Russia the power of disturbing the peace of the Continent. This was all that concerned France.—We were waiting with as much uncertainty as patience, to ascertain what part the Court of Russia would act, when M. D'Oubril arrived at Vienna. This Minister went to M. de la Rochefoucault, and demanded passports for Paris.—M. de la Rochefoucault waited for authority to grant them. He informed his Court of the demand of the Russian Minister, and received orders to give passports immediately to M. D'Oubril, because, although the Emperor never intended to tolerate on the part of Russia an imperious intermeddling in interests which are placed out of the sphere of her power, or in discussions foreign to her localities, yet he nevertheless desired a reconciliation beneficial to both powers.—M. D'Oubril arrived at Paris on the 9th of July, he proceeded to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and after some conversation, he exhibited full powers, which authorised him in the most complete and comprehensive manner, to negociate, conclude, and sign a peace between the two Powers.—On a report to this effect being made to the Emperor, his Majesty appointed as his Minister Plenipotentiary, General Clarke, Counsellor of State, and Secretary to the Cabinet, whom he authorised to negociate, conclude, and sign, by virtue of powers similar to those of M. D'Oubril, a Peace with the Emperor of Russia.—The Plenipotentiaries gave themselves up with a constant and uninterrupted attention to the labours of the mission with which they were charged, and at length, after a great number of conferences, a Peace was signed on the 20th of July. When the Treaty is known, all Europe will be opinion that this Peace was equally honourable to both Powers.—Hostilities were to cease immediately, and they did cease on the part of France. The ratifications were to be exchanged on the 15th of August, and it was not doubted that this exchange would take place, it being known that the negociators had been for a long time in the confidence of their respective Sovereigns; they having also negociated, according to precise instructions: and lastly, they having acted by virtue of complete and positive powers, and not, as it happens, in some negociations, in which negociators are uncertain whether they have sufficient powers, under the clause *sub spe-rati*.—M. Ruffin, however, Chancellor of the French Consulate in Russia, arrived on Wednesday from Petersburgh, and brought intelligence that in consequence of a change of Ministers the result of the new principles of the Russian Government, and of the extraordinary ascendancy which the English party have obtained in consequence of this circumstance in the new Cabinet, the treaty of the 20th July has not been ratified.—Thus hostilities between France and Russia must recommence. The men who preside over the quarrels of nations, and who make it their sport to prolong or to multiply the fatal periods of war, and the overthrow of States, are quite mad. The conquerors of Ulm and of Austerlitz are still assembled under their colours, and near the field of their triumphs, more numerous and more formidable than ever; from the nature of that organization which cannot be equalled, and which will never be surpassed, they wait with impatient hope for the impetus of the great soul which animates them, *Mens agitat molem, &c.*—At the same time nothing can yet give reason to presume the renewal of the Continental war. The destiny of States is the secret of Providence. Their happiness and their glory depend upon the wisdom of

their rulers.—In every event, the Emperor as well as the people of France, are prepared for all chances, and the armies of his Imperial Majesty will be found, wherever it is necessary to combat, in order to consolidate tranquillity and a lasting and glorious peace.

Full Powers of M. D'Oubril.

"We, Alexander I. Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c. (through all the titles of his Majesty) being actuated by a solicitude for the preservation of Europe in a state of calm and tranquillity, and animated by a sincere desire to put an end to misunderstanding, and re-establish peace with France on solid bases, we have considered it proper to commit this task to a person enjoying our confidence. For that purpose we have nominated, appointed, and authorized our trusty and well-beloved Pierre Oubril, Counsellor of State, and Knight of the Orders of St. Wolodimir, of the third class, of St. Anne of the Second, and of St. John of Jerusalem, whom we do nominate, appoint and authorize by these presents, for the purpose and to the intent of entering into conference with the person or persons who shall be properly authorized on the part of the French Government, and of concluding and signing with them an act of convention upon bases proper for the settlement of the peace which is to be established between Russia and France, and to lay the foundation of peace between the other belligerent Powers of Europe.—We promise on our Imperial word, to take for granted, and to execute faithfully, all that shall be agreed upon and signed by our said Plenipotentiary, and also to give our Imperial ratification within the time which shall be agreed upon.—In testimony of which we have signed these full powers, and have affixed thereto the seal of our Empire.—Given at St. Petersburgh, the 30th of April, 1806, and in the 6th year of our reign.—ALEXANDER. — (Countersigned) PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI.—(Certified to be translated conformably to the Original)—PIERRE D'OUBRIL."

BUONAPARTÉ AND THE JEWS.——*Letter writ en to the Emperor Napoleon, by M. Jacobson, Agent of Finances to the Court of Brunswick*

SIRE,——Penetrated with sentiments of the most profound veneration, and filled with that admiration which these extraordinary men always excite, who, at different periods, are chosen by the Eternal to ennoble the human race, I approach your Majesty's throne with all that confidence the great actions with which you have caused the astonished world to resound, are calculated to inspire.——I have not the happiness to be numbered among the people for whose advantage you sacrifice all the moments of your life. I belong not to that happy country, to which you have called back peace. I am one of the unfortunate Jewish people against whom ignorance and superstition have leagued, in order to degrade them and render them the opprobrium of every other nation; but the Lord of Hosts has chosen you to give happiness to the world, and the Jews are a part of that world. I belong to that people whose misery has for more than 1000 years in vain implored the compassion and the humanity of sovereigns; to that people who expected in you their saviour, and who in you, Sire, have found him!—I have constantly endeavoured to promote the happiness of my countrymen by civilizing them; and my efforts have been crowned with the happiest success. I have at last been able to interest several German Princes in favour of the Jewish people. I have obtained for my unfortunate brethren the abolition of an infamous tax. I have established, at my own expense, an institution for the instruction of Jewish children, and in which there are at present more than twenty Christian children. Now, however, I place no limits to my hopes, since I have the happiness to raise my suppliant voice to the throne of your Majesty.—Deign, Sire, to extend your beneficent views to the Jews who inhabit the countries adjoining to your vast empire. If you confine your benefits to that part of my brethren who are among your Majesty's subjects, how much will still remain to be desired! How will it be possible to surmount the obstacles which the difference of the French administration and that of other states, will place between them and us?—The commercial relations of France and Germany require a constant intercourse between the Jews of these countries, but what Jew, inhabiting your states, would degrade the title of French citizen, by the humiliations and vexations which the system of administration in Germany would make him experience? Would he choose his spouse among a people rendered infamous by the laws of the country they inhabit?——How great and sublime is the enterprise of breaking the chains of a people unjustly oppressed! Who but a God can hearken to their complaints and deliver them from an insupportable bondage!——The Princes of Germany do not oppose the accomplishment of this grand work: on the contrary, it is the object of their wishes. They are anxious to ameliorate our condition. We groan under

the operation of ancient laws dictated by barbarism, and which prejudice only could have maintained until the present day.—— The German Jew would be happy where he permitted to earn his bread honestly, to enjoy the common right of protection which governments owe to their subjects; and were there given to his worship a practical form, which, without deviating from his own law, would accord with the exercise of all the duties of citizenship.—But to attain this object it would be necessary, 1. To establish a Sovereign Jewish Council, presided by a patriarch residing in France. 2. To class all the persons professing the Jewish faith according to the districts they inhabit, with a synod to each, which, under the superintendance of the French government and the Sovereign Jewish council, should decide on all affairs connected with worship, and should appoint the Rabbis. 3. To authorise the said sovereign council to supply each Jew with the necessary expenses for enabling him to fulfil the duties of a citizen in every country.—These means, Sire, appear equally certain and indispensable. Only break the political and ecclesiastical chains which confine the Jews to a state of slavery, and you will soon see them aspire to the dignified character of other nations. Then shall we emulate our ancestors, who changed the barren rocks of Palestine into delightful gardens, and covered them with the richest harvests. Then shall we be worthy of bearing the same name as those heroes who planted their victorious standards on the banks of the river Jordan, with the same hands with which they guided the plough and shuttle.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Friday, September 5, 1806.—Sunday, September 7, 1806.—Dated Downing Street, September 6. 1806.

(Concluded from p. 448.)

With this view Captain Hoste made a prompt disposition of his frigate and small craft, while the transports were directed to make sail towards a point considerably in front of the enemy's column, and to make a demonstration of landing there; this appearance occasioned in the first instance a halt of the enemy's column, and in the next a change of its direction towards the mountains; Captain Hoste was enabled, however, to open a brisk cannonade on his centre and rear, which appeared to be immediately affected by it, and in an hour's time occasioned those parts of his column to break and disperse in the mountains. The enemy's loss in this affair amounted to about fifty or sixty wounded, who were brought in waggons to Cotrone this morning. After the dispersion of the enemy in the mountains, the fleet made sail towards this place, his supposed destination, where the frigate and transports came to an anchor, after exchanging a few shot with the citadel, at eight o'clock in the evening. In the morning we discovered that the enemy's army had not yet arrived, but under an anxious expectation for their appearance, a disposition was made with the transports and men of war to give him every possible annoyance; and accordingly, having permitted him quietly to take up his position within gun-shot, the frigate's broadside was brought to bear upon him, and in the space of half an hour completely dislodged and obliged him to take up a new position without the range of her guns, in the mountains.

Amphion Frigate, off Cotrone, 6 p. m. 29th July, 1806.——Sir,—Several appearances in the French encampment, concurring with other information I had received on the evening of the 27th, that the enemy meditated a move, I thought it proper to detain a communication I had prepared for you on that day, until I could convey more decided intelligence on this important subject. I have now the utmost satisfaction in acquainting you that the greatest part of the French army retreated, in a northerly direction from Cotrone, just before day-light on the morning of the 28th ult.—Immediately on obtaining this information, I dispatched expresses to the different chiefs of the masse, requiring them to concert arrangements for a close pursuit, and pointed out the many advantages they must consequently have over a flying and dispirited enemy in their mountains. I have, however, not yet been able, through any source, to discover satisfactorily by which of the routes to the northward he has retired. Some state it to be in the direction of Tarentum, to join a small force in that province; others as positively assert, that he is endeavouring to pass by the mountains to Cosenza, and by that route to Cassano. Such is the imperfect intelligence I have on this point, that I have not yet been able to determine so important a question.—The enemy's route from this city has been marked by circumstances of the most cruel devastation. The village of Strongoli, with several others within our view, which he considered hostile to his cause, have been ransacked, and burnt to the ground.—Our information of yesterday stated, that one thousand men had been left to garrison the town and city of Cotrone. But several deserters, who joined us this morning, having

mentioned that the greatest part of this force had marched to join their army in the course of the night, Captain Hoste agreed with myself in the propriety of summoning the town and citadel to surrender to the force under our orders, conceiving that the immediate possession of what we understood to be the enemy's sole dépôt, and his *dernière resort* in Lower Calabria, in point of position, together with the removal of his stores, &c. might contribute to prevent his attempt to re-enter the province.—I have now the pleasure to inclose copies of the summons, and of the terms of capitulation finally agreed upon between us. I trust our judgment in this proceeding will be confirmed by your approbation.—I shall find it, however, necessary to disembark a considerable part of my battalion this day, to cover the evacuation of the town and citadel, and to superintend the completion of the other articles of the capitulation; after which I shall immediately re-embark, and propose to make the best of my way to Messina on the 2d or 3d of August, unless previously I may receive such information as may alter my opinion, that the French have completely evacuated Lower Calabria for the present.—I am sorry to say that a good deal of sickness has prevailed in the 78th since it sailed, in consequence of their previous fatigues, and that it has lost eight men. The disease is, however, not spreading; and having appointed an hospital ship, I trust in progress will be completely checked. This unpleasant circumstance will hasten my return to Messina, unless I receive contrary instructions.—The number of prisoners and deserters now with this fleet amount to about five hundred, of which number one half and upwards are sick and wounded.——The enemy being, I believe, now completely driven from the Lower, if not both Calabrias, I cannot resist this opportunity of offering my congratulations on so brilliant a result to the expedition undertaken by the army under your immediate command, which cannot fail to be recorded in the British annals as an achievement of the first order.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) P. M'Leod. Major-Gen. Sir John Stuart, &c. &c.

I have just received intelligence which I can rely upon, that the route which the enemy pursued yesterday was by Strongoli and Cino, and I am to conclude he will pursue that route coastways to Cassano.

Copy of the Summons to the French Garrison of Cotrone.

The officers commanding the naval and land forces of his Britannic Majesty hereby summon you to surrender the town and citadel of Cotrone to the British force now before it.—The officers who deliver this summons to you are directed to lay before you such articles of capitulation as we are disposed to grant, and to wait one hour for your answer.——Being perfectly aware of your present circumstances, you may believe that this summons is dictated under mature deliberation, and with a view of saving that effusion of blood which must be the consequence of a resistance on your part.—— (Signed) W. Hoste, commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron.——P. M'Leod, commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.

Terms of Capitulation finally agreed upon between the Officers commanding the British Sea and Land Forces, and those commanding the French Troops in the Citadel of Cotrone

Art. I. The French troops are to march out of the citadel of Cotrone at ten o'clock a. m. the 30th July, 1806, with the honours of war, to that part of the beach where the flag of truce was this day received, and there deposit their arms, and immediately after embark on board of transports, to be sent to Messina, where they are to be considered prisoners of war till regularly exchanged.——Art. II. The sick and wounded are, in a similar manner to be sent to Messina, attended by their own surgeons and assistants, and are afterwards to be considered and exchanged as prisoners of war. —Art. III. Officers are permitted to wear their swords, and are to be considered as prisoners of war until exchanged.——Art. IV. The troops of his Britannic Majesty will preserve order and tranquillity in the city.— Art. V. All private property which belongs, *bonâ fide*, to either officers or soldiers, will be respected.—Art. VI. All public property that there may be is to be delivered over, with a proper inventory, to the officer who takes possession of the place.——Art. VII. The surgeons will attend their own sick and wounded, as mentioned in Article II. but all Civilians who have attended the French army will be considered as prisoners of war, in consequence of the principle established by the French government during the present war.——Art. VIII. The British troops will take possession of the gates of the town of Cotrone between eight and ten o'clock tomorrow morning; the French garrison will march out of the citadel at ten o'clock, a. m. precisely, and be immediately embarked for Messina, agreeably to Art. I. (Signed) W. Hoste, commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron.——P. M'Leod, Lieut. Col. commanding 2d 78th reg.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" . . . . . And when transferr'd
" From one to t'other, like a flock or herd,
" The crowd, with senseless shout, the contract seal."——DRYDEN.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER III.

GENTLEMEN;

When, in my last letter, I was endeavouring to warn you against the effects of being handed to and fro, like a family borough, I had been informed, that Mr. SHERIDAN meant to offer himself to you, as the successor of Mr. Fox; and, though I should greatly have preferred an independent man, though I should have preferred a man unplaced to Mr. SHERIDAN, who and whose son together receive about £7,000 a year out of our taxes, yet, Mr. SHERIDAN, even with all his recent conduct before me, with all his tergiversation and abandonments, with all his shrinking from the tasks to which he was solemnly pledged, and with all his silence upon the subject of the bills, which he denominated acts of unbearable tyranny, upon the subject of *parliamentary reform*, and many others; even Mr. SHERIDAN, with all this his conduct before me, appeared to me greatly preferable to the *Lord* that had been offered to you; because, by the choosing of that Lord, it seemed very clear, that Westminster would, in fact, place itself upon a level with OLD SARUM, or GATTON, or any such borough. But, with all my suspicions, as to the motives and conduct of Mr. SHERIDAN; with all my doubts of his ever acting but from some motive closely connected with self; with all my experience as to his twisting and turning, I really was deceived, and I had not the least suspicion, that, when, at his instigation, you had been called together, the purpose was to transfer you to the Lord, against whose becoming your representative he had at a meeting privately called by himself, said all that his mind could suggest, and that his eloquence could express. This meeting was, as I understand, held at his quarters in Somerset place, on Sunday, the 14th instant. He there called together all those persons most likely to be able to aid him in a contest for Westminster, and particularly, several gentlemen connected with *the press*. The mischiefs to be apprehended from suffering Westminster to sink into a family borough were dwelt upon, and it was resolved to call a public meeting of the electors to agree upon the nomination of a proper person; or, in other words, of *some other person* than the Lord, and, that other person, it was clearly understood, was Mr. SHERIDAN himself. With these sentiments in their minds, and with this object before them, the meeting adjourned to Thursday, the 18th instant, then to become, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, a public meeting of the Electors. How, at this meeting, he amused some of you, and melted others, with his pathetic descriptions; how he drew your attention from the object of your assembling; how he first divested you of your public feelings in order to lead you to an abandonment of your public duty, his speech, imperfect as the report of it must necessarily be, will explain. But, yet, I must confess, that I was grievously mortified at the apparent want of indignation in you, when, upon the mere paltry pretext of fulfilling what would have been the wish of his deceased friend, in not " disturbing the peace " of the city," he had the boldness to propose to you as a proper representative, the very Lord, for the professed purpose of opposing whom, he himself had caused you to be convened! You did, indeed, reject, and decidedly reject, the proposition; and, I am inclined to believe, that the resolution in compliment of Mr. SHERIDAN was smuggled up amongst some half-dozen of his friends; but, what I would have fain heard from you, what was necessary to your reputation, was, a resolution expressive of your indignation at such a barefaced attempt to treat you like a transferrable property. ——Now, GENTLEMEN, as to his pretended reason for declining the contest, how came he to suppose, that Mr. Fox, if he had been consulted previous to his death, would have recommended an acquiescence in any thing, rather than " *disturb the peace, " of the city?*" What does he mean by " disturbing the peace?" Is it to disturb the peace to hold an election? If so, we had better have no more elections. It would

be better for the ministers to nominate all the members, at once, without any reference to the choice of the people. But, Gentlemen, this is now a fashionable phrase; and, that we may have nothing left to wonder at, the *Whigs* are the first to make use of it.——Yet, how came Mr. SHERIDAN to suppose, that Mr. Fox would have been averse from a disturbance of the city's peace? Mr. Fox, who had been a disturber (if we must go on with the notion) of that peace all his political life-time? Or, did Mr. SHERIDAN mean to infer, that six months of office and salary had operated upon the mind of Mr. Fox a conviction of the errors of the former twenty years of his life?——But, after all, if we were foolish enough; if we were idiots enough to believe, that this was the real motive from which Mr. SHERIDAN gave way to the Lord, may we not ask how this motive came to have no influence with him previous to the calling of the meeting at his quarters at Somerset House? The Lord had already been announced as acandidate. The Lord was the same then that he was on the next Thursday. And, how did it come to pass, that Mr. SHERIDAN did not, *at that time*, discover, that it would have been the wish of his deceased friend, that the peace of the city should not be disturbed? He was, at that time, fully apprized of the intentions of the Lord, with *whose father's Steward he is in close intimacy*; in fact, the Lord's intentions and pretensions were the subject of discussion at Somerset House, where it was agreed to support Mr. SHERIDAN against him; and, therefore, to some other motive than the unmeaning one, held out at the meeting, you must ascribe his attempt (and I am afraid, successful one) to transfer you to the Lord.——There was, indeed, a threat thrown out in a ministerial paper, that Mr. SHERIDAN should *lose his place* if he opposed the Lord; and, I am of opinion, that such would have been the case; but, if a fear of losing his place had been the sole object before him, that fear would have operated with him previous to the meeting at Somerset House as well as afterwards; and, upon a view of the whole of the transaction, it appears clear to me, that, from the beginning, he was in concert with the Lord and his Steward; that the meeting at Somerset House, and the advertisement for a public meeting, were for the purpose of preventing any other candidate from coming forward against the Lord, and for keeping the Electors in a state of suspense, until it should be too late for them to fix upon a proper person to represent them.——This is the only interpretation of which his conduct admits. What is to be his *reward*, I shall not pretend to predict; but, you may have the satisfaction to assure yourselves, that you will have to contribute towards it, whatever it may be.——His scheme has not, however, completely succeeded; for, besides, that you seem not satisfied with his nomination, the Lord does not appear to treat it with any great degree of respect, another meeting having been called, where the Lord has again been nominated by Mr. WHITBREAD, as if the first had been something clandestine, a sort of Gretna-Green union between you and the Lord, and as if the bridegroom was rather ashamed of the priest and doubted of the efficacy of his functions. ——But, it is for you, Gentlemen, and for your country, that the deep mortification and disgrace is reserved, unless you instantly bestir yourselves; unless you instantly fix upon some man, some commoner of real independence, as your representative. Let me hope, that your conduct will be such as to prove that you abhor being transferred from hand to hand like a family borough; let me hope, that you will not, like the crowd described by the poet, in the words taken for my motto, seal the contract with shouts of applause. If you must submit, let it, for God's sake, be with every mark of reluctance; with a firm resolution to retrieve your honor as soon as possible; and, above all things, with a solemn vow, never again to be made tools in the hands of Mr. SHERIDAN.——With the hope, that there are some at least, amongst you, who will not reject this advice, I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your humble and obedient servant,

Botley, 25th Sept. 1806. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NATIONAL DEBT.——My able correspondent, DECIUS, in page 463 of the preceding sheet, made use of arguments with the view, as he states, of maintaining the position, that, "*if the nation be now in a perilous situation, that peril would rather be aggravated than diminished by its ceasing to pay interest on its debt.*"——If this position can be maintained, I agree with him, that "all considerations as to the justice of "stopping such payment would, in a great "degree become superfluous." But, my opinion is, that it cannot be maintained, as I think, it will appear, from an examination of the arguments, which he has made use of for the purpose.——First, however, I must notice what he says upon the subject of employing what he calls abusive terms towards

those who live by fund-dealing. He was aware that I had the sanction of the great Lord Chatham for all the terms I had used; and, therefore, he observes, that no name, however great, can sanction such use. I stand corrected; and will, in future, take care, when I shall have occasion to speak of toads, adders, efts, weasles, and rats, to bear in mind, that these animals are what God created them; that, at the same time that they were created, appropriate prey was created for them; that they have a right to pursue that prey; and that to call them loathsome, poisonous, or mischievous animals, is to be guilty of gross abuse and injustice. Agreed, that the use of what he calls abusive language adds nothing to the force of the argument; agreed also, that when disputants have recourse to language really personally abusive, "it betrays a conscious deficiency in point of argument." But, has there been from me, with regard to the fund-dealers, any thing like personal abuse heard? It is the *occupation*; it is the *calling*; it is the cause of mischief which is the object of abhorrence; but, in describing the effects of that cause, it is next to impossible to separate the act from the agent; and, though an argument gains nothing from the use of *abusive* terms and epithets, yet it gains much from the use of such as are strongly and truly descriptive of the act or the thing spoken of.——As leading to the general and concluding position above-stated, DECIUS lays down, by inference at least, the following ones: 1. That, as the fund-holders, or *annuitants*, make part of the nation, and as they would be reduced to poverty by the ceasing to pay their annuities, they would, by the same measure, be rendered incapable of *paying taxes*, and that, therefore, *upon the whole, the nation would not be a gainer*, though those who are not fund-holders, or, to use his own term, who are *non-annuitants* would be gainers.——If we take this question in a point of view merely pecuniary, and if we regard it as a matter of no importance whether a considerable portion of the people be paupers and slaves, or whether they be comfortable and comparatively independent; if we regard the nation as containing a mass of wealth, from the *distribution* of which no injury or inconvenience can arise, the only object being to take care that the sum *total be not diminished*; if we were to enter upon the question with admitting this, then, indeed, it would be absurd to talk about evils arising from the weight of taxation; for, in that case, taxation could never produce any evil at all. *Fifty thousand pounds* in annuities (I believe, that is about the sum) have this year, for instance, been added to the incomes of certain branches of the Royal Family, and this sum must, of course, be annually paid by the people in taxes. But, "what of that?" will DECIUS say. What of that; this £50,000 still remains in England; and what is the difference to the nation, whether the people enjoy it themselves, or whether it be enjoyed by the Royal Family? Cut off this addition to the taxes, will he say, and what do you do? Why you cut off from the Royal Family the capacity of paying £5,000 a year in *tax upon income!* The greater the annuity, the greater the amount of the tax; and, of course, all our notions about the injurious effects of sinecure places and pensions are grossly erroneous. We have been groping in the dark all this while; all our ideas about private property have been engendered by a sickly imagination; and the nation of OUDE, where the people never can acquire any property at all; where the tax-gatherer leaves the people just enough sustenance to keep body and soul together, is, after all, in as good a state as we are, seeing that it would be *no gainer* if the fruit of the people's labour remained with them, instead of being squeezed from them by the Zemindars and the Aumils. Remove the Zemindars and the Aumils; annihilate them, and what do you thereby effect? says Decius. Why, you render them incapable of paying taxes to the government; they being so rendered incapable, the taxes must come directly from the people to the government; and, therefore, upon the whole, the *nation* would not be a gainer. There is no medium. The argument to be good for any thing, must go the whole length. If it be true, that a nation can, without any injury to it, pay annuities to the amount of £30,000,000 a year out of its labour and produce, it can pay, without injury, annuities to the amount of the *whole* of its labour and produce. Nor is it of any consequence to this argument, whether the annuitants be many or few in number, or whether there be only *one* annuitant; for, the whole of the wealth still remains in the nation; the one annuitant is part of the nation; and, as he would, by the taking away of his annuity, be rendered incapable of paying the taxes, the taxes would fall upon the people, and the nation would not be a gainer! A most comfortable doctrine for the people of OUDE!——II. But, from the ceasing to pay the annuities of the fund-holders and others (for there is no difference as to the effect), there would, DECIUS says, arise a positive injury even to the pecuniary concerns of the nation; for that (and

I beg the reader to mark the reason) many of the annuitants together with the persons who gain their livelihood by furnishing annuitants with luxuries, would come *to be maintained by the parish*, which would cause an *immense addition to the parish rates.*—— Now, supposing, for the mere sake of the argument, that the poor laws would remain entirely unaffected by the annihilation of the national debt, and granting that some of the annuitants would naturally fall immediately upon the parish, though my opinion is that the number would be very small indeed, supposing this to be the case, does DECIUS imagine, that every one must not perceive, that, of those who are *now* paupers, a great part would, by the annihilation of the national debt, be restored to liberty and property? It may be convenient for his argument to overlook the power which taxation (as was, I think, clearly shewn in page 232 of the present volume) has of *creating paupers*; it may be convenient for him to overlook the fact, that the paupers of England have gone on increasing with its debt; it may be convenient for him to suppose, that, the cause having been removed, the effect will continue; but, I imagine, that all those who consider what are the natural and inevitable effects of £30,000,000 a year being raised in this country; who considers how much idleness, luxury, and vice it must produce on the one hand; how much hardship and misery it must produce on the other; and how all these tend to the creating of paupers: all those who thus consider, will, I am persuaded, see in the annihilation of the national debt the means, and the only means, of putting a stop to the increase of paupers.

——But, in supposing, that an addition to the number of paupers will be made, by the throwing-out of employment all those persons who gain a livelihood by furnishing the annuitants with luxuries, DECIUS seems to have forgotten, that poverty and opulence exist merely by comparison; that where there are no rich there are no poor; that it is contrary to all experience not to allow, that misery follows luxury as the shadow follows the substance; and that, of course, if you, in whatever degree, lessen the quantity of luxury, you, in that same degree, lessen the quantity of misery, or, at least, of that description of misery which tends to the degrading and pauperising of the people. True as this is, however, upon a general view, I do not deny (and I have more than once allowed it), that of the persons who now gain their livelihood by furnishing the annuitants with luxuries, *some* would fall from comfort, and even from opulence, to misery, and would, in all probability, become paupers. But, I am by no means prepared to allow, that the number would be great; for, in the first place, the sum total of the wealth in the nation would remain what it was before; and though the 30 millions a year, now paid to the annuitants, would, when remaining in the hands of the non-annuitants, certainly not be expended in luxuries to the extent that it now is, some of it would still be expended in that way. And, in what law of nature or of reason is it that DECIUS has discovered, that those who have once been employed in furnishing forth luxuries, in administering to the pleasures and vices of men, are incapable of being converted to different uses? Where has he discovered that the footman, who came from the plough tail, has not the power to return to it? Where has he discovered, that the maker of silk shoes is under the necessity of starving, rather than work upon leather? That bawds and pimps and the subjects of the commerce, that parasites and place-venders and hired-writers, would become paupers I allow, and I also allow that French-footmen and Jews and Italian singers would be obliged to flee the country; but, as to all those persons who gain a livelihood, that may be called honest, by furnishing luxuries to the annuitants, no obstacle at all can I see to their being converted to the gaining of a livelihood by other means. That a slight temporary inconvenience may be experienced, from a sudden change of the sort now contemplated, I do not deny; but, upon the supposition of the total destruction of some branches of manufactures (and that is supposing a great deal), there is the *land*; there are the fields of England, already far too extensive for the hands that are to be found for their culture, and too scanty in produce (owing to a want of cultivation) for the mouths that are to be fed from them. There are the labours of the field, always inviting the labourer, always easily learnt, and always sure to afford a compensation, as well to the nation at large as to the individual.—But, DECIUS, if I understand him rightly, seems to think, that the annihilation of the national debt would occasion a falling off in the demand even for the *necessaries of life*. "In the case," says he, "of that class of "annuitants whose income consisted solely "of annuities, and the amount of what was "no more than sufficient for their maintenance, the diminution in the demand "would fall principally upon *consumeable* "*commodities*." Does he really think, then, that they would cease to *eat* and *drink?* This is a strange opinion; for, they

must eat and drink, though, according to his own supposition, they become paupers; or, away goes his other argument, that the poor-rates would be increased by the necessity of maintaining them. He will say this is cavilling, and that it is evident, that he could only mean, that they would consume *less* than they did before. By which, I presume, he must mean, that they would consume less of *dainties*; for, as to a sufficiency of food, that they would still have. But, the *consequence* pointed at is, that people would be thrown out of employment by this decrease in demand. And, does DECIUS really think; does a man, apparently so reflecting think, that there ever will be *more meat than mouths?* Less dainties will certainly fall to their share; but, can DECIUS imagine any great national evil that is likely to arise from the little-farmer, who is now nothing more than a caterer to the annuitants, once or twice a month eating a fowl or a goose with his family? Can he imagine any great national evil that is likely to arise from the labourer, who now lives upon bread alone, once or twice a week having a piece of bacon for his dinner? Can he imagine any great national evil that is likely to arise from a change, which would diminish the waste of the pampered footman, the very orts of whose plate the tillers of the land would now devour with voracity? The truth is, and it is a truth that needs no argument to establish it, that the quantity of food produced would be what it now is, with whatever addition might arise from the turning of footmen and stock-jobbers, and other persons now uselessly employed, into labourers; and, as to the consumers, all the difference would consist in a more equal and just distribution of the things they would have to consume.——III. DECIUS, though rather confused in his ideas upon the subject, seems to think, that, by the annihilation of the national debt, there would be, upon the whole, *something lost*. In one place he says (p. 462), "you cannot give to the "non-annuitant *all* that you take from the "annuitant. It cannot pass, *undiminished* "in its value, from one hand to another." And yet, a little further on, he says, that it "would be a mere transfer of property from "hand to hand." And, then, again, in page 463, he says, that, "considering the "*great expense* that the annuitant must be "put to, for the purpose of conferring a "*small*, and, perhaps, *miserable* benefit on "the non-annuitant, there seems to require "much stronger reasons than have hitherto "been assigned, to justify the measure in "question." As to the reasons which have been assigned for the annihilation of the national debt, they have been so often stated by me, that I will not now repeat them; but, I should be glad to hear how DECIUS would attempt to show, that as much, full as much, would not fall into the hands of the non-annuitant as was taken from the annuitant. If you pay £10 a year towards the 30 millions that are annually raised on account of the national debt, does not the £10 remain with you, if the debt be annihilated; and is not the gain of the whole of the non-annuitants equal to the loss of the whole of the annuitants? But, DECIUS will say, perhaps, that the non-annuitants are far greater in number than the annuitants, and that, therefore, the little benefit that each of the former would derive from the measure would be nothing when compared to the great injury which each of the latter would sustain. The non-annuitants are as yet, certainly superior in number; but, the gain of each would not be *little* when compared to his means; besides, the mass of good, amongst howsoever many persons it may be divided, does not thereby suffer a diminution; and, DECIUS always leaves out of sight, too, the important consideration, that the poor, that all those who do not pay in appearance, who do not directly count down the money to the taxgatherer for the annuitant, make indirect payments to him, and are, many of them, from this cause, reduced from poverty to pauperism. ——It is convenient for the argument of DECIUS, to assume, that the number of persons of property would *decrease*, in consequence of the annihilation of the debt, though there never has yet appeared a writer, who has not been ready to acknowledge, that the funding system has caused a great decrease in the number of persons of property. "While," says he, "the poor-"rates would be increased, the weight of "them would also be increased, by a dimi-"nution in the number of persons amongst "whom they would be to be divided." I have already shewn, that taxation and its accompanying luxury and oppression produce paupers, and must necessarily produce paupers; and, of course, that, the cause being removed, the effect would cease. It was not necessary to show, that the annuitants, as *such*, pay nothing *now* towards the poor-rates, that being a fact which every one must be acquainted with. The poor-rates are assessed upon the *houses* and the *land*; and, does DECIUS think in good earnest, that the houses and the land, or any part of them, would disappear? But, admitting that the poor-rates were assessed upon all property,

how is the relative weight of them to be increased, if, according to his own acknowledgement, the total of the property of the nation is not diminished? And, accounting as nothing these objections to his position, does he imagine, that, if the 30 millions a year, now taken from the non-annuitants, on account of the national debt, remained amongst them, that it would not there *create new persons of property?* Does he imagine, that the effect of it would not be felt? Does he not perceive, that the necessary effect would be, to raise, from one rank to another, great numbers of the non-annuitants? Is it possible that he can deny this, in the very same breath that he himself states, that the measure proposed would be a transfer of property from hand to hand?——IV. DECIUS acknowledges, that *some limit* there *must be* to the amount of the taxes that can be raised. If he mean the *nominal* amount, there can be no other necessity for a limit than that which would arise from a deficiency in the power of words and of figures to express the sum. But, if he mean the *real* amount; if he mean *the proportion of the fruit of the people's labour*, taken from those who toil to be enjoyed by those who live in idleness; if this be what he means, then, indeed, "there must be some limit;" though, it is very hard, I think, to reconcile this opinion with the position which forms the chief ground of DECIUS's argument, namely, that the nation will be *no gainer* by abolishing 30 millions of perpetual taxes; because, says he, by such abolition, you take away from those who receive the taxes, the means of contributing towards the support of the state. If this doctrine be sound, where is the necessity of any *limit* to taxation? Why does he tell us, after this, that "there *must* be *some limit?*" There can, in such case, need no limit; or, at least, no other limit than that within which the Aumils and Zemindars of OUDE confine their exactions, when they take all the produce of the people's labour, except just enough to keep the labourer alive and in *working condition*.——V. In contemplating the good expected from the annihilation of the national debt, DECIUS overlooks every thing but the mere *pecuniary gain* of those who now possess real property and have no possessions in the funds; and, in setting against this gain, the "great general *alarm* and *inconvenience* that would arise from the measure," he comes to a conclusion, that it would be best to leave things as they are. But, in the first place, if he be mistaken in his previously stated opinions about the effect of the measure, there would be no inconvenience; or at least no inconvenience other than that which may be put upon a level with the fighting of a battle in order to prevent an enemy from conquering the country; and, as to the "great general *alarm*," what could it be for? The measure once resolved on and executed, the thing which only a few, comparatively speaking, would wish to preserve, is destroyed, and along with it, the very possibility of alarm. Already has the alarm begun; but, how few, when compared with the whole population of the kingdom; how very few are there, who participate, or who, as it spreads, ever will participate, in that alarm? Besides, the death of the debt will, I think, be much quieter, than DECIUS seems to apprehend. It is a thing, which, if we be not excessively unwise, cannot expose us to a popular convulsion. So naturally will it come of itself, and so gradual will be its approach, that it will require no small degree of folly or of wickedness in the government to render it a public calamity, even for a month. Those who are, some for one reason and some for another, bent upon maintaining the system of funding, always choose to argue, as if it was admitted by their opponents, that almost every fund-holder has the *whole* of his property in the funds; and, it would seem from their representations of the consequences of annihilating the debt, that they take it for granted, that the funds would be annihilated in an hour, and that hour while the fund-holders were asleep. But, is it not in the nature of things, that the annihilation should come by degrees? The worth of the stock depends solely upon public opinion; as that opinion changes with respect to it, it will change; and, before any measure can be adopted for the annihilation of the debt, the stock will have fallen in value more than one half. Those who had their all in the funds some very few years ago, have, many of them at least, already taken care to vest a part in real property. It is evident, that, in whatever proportion, mens dependence for subsistence is upon the funds, they will be alive to causes of suspicion; and, it is to fly in the face of nature as well as of reason to argue upon the supposition, that, when the final annihilation takes place (except produced by sudden invasion), there will be any considerable number of annuitants, who will thereby be reduced to misery.——Supposing, however, for argument's sake, that, first or last, there will be a "great general alarm," we shall not admit, that there is no promised benefit beyond the mere *pecuniary gain* of the non-annuitant. We, who are for the annihilation of the debt, see in that

measure, the converting of 150 thousand of tax-gatherers into useful labourers and artisans; we see the houses of Englishmen once more their castles; we see the abolition of hundreds of revenue oaths, the great cause of moral depravity in the nation; we see wealth and importance once more reserved for the brave, the wise, the ingenious, and the industrious, and not almost solely to be looked for from that species of gambling called speculation; we see the minister, be he who he may, compelled to listen to the voice of the better part of the people, having no longer the means of carrying into effect any measure contrary to that voice; we see annihilated a far greater part of the means of peculation, and especially peculation of that sort which is most destructive of the interests and honour of a state; we see coin, we see something of real value, once more circulating amongst us as money; we see property once more assuming a visible and tangible substance that cannot be affected by a breath, that cannot be raised or lowered in value by rumours of war or of peace; and, we see the people, the owners of that solid property, looking, in the measures of war or of peace, not to their own immediate gambling gains, but to the general interest and honour of their country. These are what we look for, as the benefits arising from the annihilation of the national debt; and for these benefits we are willing to meet all the *alarm* of which DECIUS's imagination can possibly furnish him with an idea; and, much more than all the *inconvenience*, supposing it to happen, which he has been able to point out.——VI. In conclusion, DECIUS observes, that, "for the vainness of "attempting to fix a limit to the extent of "taxation, we require no further proof "than to recollect how completely have "failed *all the predictions* that have hither-"to been ventured upon that subject." As to the extent of taxation, I do not know that any one has ever predicted, in precise terms, the point at which it must stop. But, with respect to the national debt, and its effects upon *the liberties* and *relative power* and *safety* of the nation, *all* the predictions have been *fulfilled*, particularly those of SWIFT and of HUME. In 1791, PAINE predicted that the debt would be annihilated almost instantly; unless *a tax was imposed upon the funds*; in 1795, he predicted that the Bank of England, whose capital is now a part of the debt, would stop payment, and would be obliged to issue notes of one pound, and finally, of one shilling, which latter part of the prediction is not indeed, *as yet*, accomplished. Let us not be told, then that all those, who have ventured predictions with respect to the national debt, have been dreamers. The general prediction has been, that the funding system, from its natural tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, to produce oppression and consequent lukewarmness, and levelling every power and privilege before the influence of the crown, would *ruin* the nation; and, though it is not very clear what DECIUS would regard as a situation worthy of the name of *ruin*, it is not difficult to suppose, that, if SWIFT or HUME had been told, that the day would come, when France should have overrun the Continent of Europe; should have placed a king of her own reigning family in Holland, another in Naples, incorporated the rest of Italy with herself together with all that part of Europe to the West of the Rhine, raised new kings upon the almost total annihilation of the House of Austria, after having captured Vienna, being, at the same time, absolute mistress of Spain and Portugal; if they had been told this, and had, in prophecy, heard described the revenue laws of PITT, and the tax-papers now sent round to the people, together with all the swarms of commissioners and assessors and surveyors and inspectors and supervisors and excisemen that now exist, and all their functions and authority, and all the attendance and dependence and humiliation and subjection of the people; if this had been foretold to SWIFT and HUME, and if they could have seen, in prospect, the effacing of the *Lillies* from the arms of England for fear of offending France by retaining that memorial of the bravery of our fathers; if they could have known what are the national feelings with regard to the present negociation, from which men hope for peace, without the slightest hope of honour or of future safety; if they had been told this, if this state of things they could have foreseen, would they not have said, without waiting for the ultimate consequences, when this takes place, then, indeed, will England be *ruined*?——To trace this ruin to the national debt, as its efficient cause, is not incumbent upon me, as a defender of the predictions of SWIFT and of HUME, because they foretold, that such would be the effects of that debt; and, it remains for DECIUS to show, that the state of ruin above described has arisen from other causes, that is to say, if he still be disposed to maintain that all the predictions of those, who have foreboded evil from the national debt, have been dreams. In the early stages of the debt, its effects were clearly foreseen and as clearly pointed out; but, it was impossible for any

man to foresee, or to believe, that it would endure, until the day when Englishmen should be brought to render to the tax-gatherer an account of their property, their dealings, and their affairs, not excepting those of the most private and even most secret nature. That it has so endured is no proof of a want of wisdom in those who ventured the predictions, alluded to by DECIUS; but, it is a proof of the power of a national debt in changing the character, in subduing the spirit of a people. I predict now, that, if the present war continue, the funding system, without further great deductions from the dividends, cannot last another *four years*; but, if the character of the people were to sink still lower; if the government were, for instance, to take the *whole* of the people's property into its own hands, and to dole out to each man what it might think sufficient for his maintenance; if, under such a change, the thing now called the national debt were to endure for fifty years to come, I should not think my prediction had *failed*. There is no farm, which does not already pay in taxes twice as much as it yields to its owner in rent. Whether things will go on, until the whole of the revenue is taken away in taxes, is more than I can say; but, this I am sure of, that they must go on steadily and rapidly towards that point, unless the debt be annihilated; or, at least, unless further great deductions from the dividends are made.——I have great satisfaction in having, by way of conclusion, to observe, that, though DECIUS differs so widely from me in opinion, as to the effect of annihilating the debt, he has not been either foolish or mean enough to hold out any hopes from the operation of the *Sinking Fund*, as we quaintly denominate that part of the taxes, which is laid out annually for the purpose of buoying up the funding system. I have also to make my acknowledgements to him for not having attempted to puzzle his readers with the unmeaning talk about *capital created by the funds*; about the facilities which they afford to trade; and about the inconvenience that people would experience from not having a safe place to deposit their money. All these tricks, worthy only of dealers in humbug, he has scorned to have recourse to, and has brought the question forward to be decided upon the acknowledged principles of political economy. For this I thank him, and however irreconcileable our opinions may be, I am not without hope, that the controversy, before it be ended, will have, in some degree, contributed to the discovery of truth, upon a subject with respect to which there have been palmed upon the world falsehoods and frauds without end.

WHIGGISM.——In a subsequent page of this sheet will be found a letter from an *angry Whig*. I expected, that, when he took up the pen again, he would have made an effort to *prove*, that the faction, calling themselves Whigs, had really been, at some time or other, the friends of the liberties of the people. He has not even made such an effort; and, it will require something more than he has said, I think, to convince the public, that his former argument had not in it all the meanness, which he evidently feels to have been detected and exposed in the short remark or two, made by me, in page 391 of the present volume. He evidently feels, that there is no advantage arising to him for having taken shelter under the ermine of the royal robes. He is evidently ashamed of having taken shelter there, especially now that he perceives, that, though pinned down as he imagined me to be, I was not to be caught by him; that I was not, by such a device, to be forced into any acknowledgement unfavourable to the main ground of my argument.——He wonders, that his brother Whig does not answer me. But, let him cease to wonder at that, until he has answered his brother Whig, who, at the same moment the former is representing the present happy reign *as the effect of Whigism*, represents it as a reign of *Toryism*. Let them come to a reconciliation upon this point, and then I will meet them both together.——There is a curious distinction made by both these gentlemen between the *principles* and the *practice* of Whigism. But, if they will answer, with a simple *yea*, or *nay*, this question: *are Messrs.* SHERIDAN *and* GREY *Whigs?* Then shall I be able to understand them. This question once unequivocally answered, there will be something for us to reason from; and, I beg this my angry correspondent to observe, that, if he decline to answer, I shall take the liberty to conclude, that he feels a consciousness of the weakness of his cause.——There are, and, I think, every day's experience proves it, no parties in England now, answering at all to the description of Whigs and Tories. The motives of such parties have ceased to exist; the very elements for forming them are no more. No man calls himself a Tory; and, if there are some few, who call themselves Whigs, it is because they are dupes, or deceivers. Nothing, to be sure, could be more satisfactory, as illustrative of the true principles of Whigism, than the well-known fact, that the meetings of the Whig-Club, which had dwindled down to 20 or 30

members previous to the change of ministry arose, immediately upon the change, to upwards of 400! "Where the carcass is, there "will the crows be gathered together;" and, upon the occasion referred to, a fine flock of them there was.——In short, the people are not now, to any considerable extent, to be amused by watch-words of party, and vague, though high-sounding professions. "Will you promise never, in your "whole life, to pocket a sixpence of the "public money?" That is the question to put to public men; and not, "are you a "Whig or a Tory," which may mean one thing, or another thing, or nothing at all, just as it happens to suit the interest or humour of the professor.

BUENOS AYRES.——I expected, that my short remarks upon the capture of this colony (see page 458) would draw down upon me the wrath of the foolish, and I have not been disappointed. I am well aware, that it is in vain to reason against the sound and sight of money. The waggon-loads of dollars, sent up from Portsmouth, would silence forty such writers as I am:

"Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore;
"And shouting folly hails them from her shore."

These verses were quoted upon the occasion of the capture of the galeons; and then, as now, to quote them was of no use. Nevertheless, the Spanish war has *added to our taxes*; and, so will the capture of Buenos Ayres. Not one jot of relief, not one drop of comfort, not one ray of well-grounded hope, will the people of England derive from this capture. It will make an addition to the taxes; it will add a little more to the power of the minister, and take a little more from the weight of the people's voice; and these, in a national point of view, are all the effects it will produce.——But, why check the delusion? Why attempt to check it? Because delusion never yet led to good; and because, in the present case, it must do harm. Because, whatever hope is founded upon this capture, as a means of obtaining for us better terms of peace, or advantages in conducting the war, will be disappointed; and, because, after disappointment, men are worse off than if they never had hoped. But, above all other considerations, because, to excite any hope of national deliverance, or relief, from the capture of colonies, must tend to withdraw the attention of the people from the means of working out their own political salvation, until it be too late for the employment of those means.——The capture has now been known at Paris for several days; and, I venture to predict, that, whenever the fact shall be ascertained, it will appear, that Napoleon has *risen* in his demands in consequence of it; and, if the event has caused him to *lower* his tone, I will consent to have my judgment put upon a level with that of Hiley Addington or Lord Hawkesbury.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——From the following article, which appeared in the Morning Post news-paper of the 19th inst., it would appear, that the sagacious person, who, to the great comfort, no doubt, of "the fashionable world," conducts that print, expects a *garbled* account of the much-talked-of *report* to be published.—— "Though," says he, "it is evident to the "world, that the Morning Post is not re"sponsible for the delay of the publication "of the report of the important investiga"tion which has so long occupied so much "of the public attention, we are, and al"ways have been, anxious to give our rea"ders all possible information on this in"resting subject. We heard some time "since, and our information is corrobora"ted by a publication which has just made "its appearance, that the delay has been "occasioned by the doubt entertained by "the illustrious Princess, of the *authority* "of the report, owing to the extraordinary "manner in which it had been transmitted "to her.——On sending it to His Majesty, "however, her Royal Highness became "satisfied that it was a correct copy; and "*at her particular desire*, it is now pre"paring for publication, as we have al"ready stated, *by two eminent barristers*. "We are also informed, that the disre"spectful manner in which the report was "transmitted to her Royal Highness has "induced a reprimand from the highest "quarter. We thank a correspondent for "his liberal suggestion on this subject; and "attached as we inviolably are to the prin"ciples of justice and the cause of truth, "we trust he will not find himself disap"pointed in the expectations he forms of "the salutary effects of our exposure of the "designs of a rude writer, who, in the "baseness of his nature, has become the "ready advocate of the calumniators of a "virtuous and much injured Princess, and "the rankest enemy of royalty itself."—— This is the clumsiest advocate that ever cause was cursed with. Angelic purity would hardly escape untarnished from his defence. He has been exhorted, over and over again, to forbear. He has been exposed, defeated, laughed at, till one would think it impossible that he should ever again hold up his head. He seems determined to fulfil the proverb: "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a

"mortar, still will he come out a fool." What else (supposing him really well-disposed towards the Princess) could have induced him to state to the world (falsely, no doubt) that her Royal Highness had set *two barristers* to work, to *prepare* the report for publication? A report, observe, drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer! Why not send it at once to the press? Why employ lawyers to prepare that which is already finished? If we had been told, that two barristers had been employed to comment upon it; to explain certain parts of it; to send it forth bolstered up at head and foot with remarks; that indeed, we could have understood; but, that two barristers should be employed to prepare for mere *publication*, a report, made under such authority, is altogether incomprehensible. The fact must be false; for, if it were not, is there any man foolish enough to believe; is the editor of the Morning Post, though that, indeed, is a strong instance; but is even he foolish enough to believe, that such a publication would not be the laughing-stock of the world?——No, no. We shall, I trust, have the *whole* of the report, and the whole of the *evidence* too; for, I will speak for myself, nothing short of that will satisfy me.——There are, I am informed by the advertisements in the news-papers, no less than three *pamphlets*, either published, or about to be published, with the view, as the writers of them pretend, to defend the Princess of Wales against what they are pleased to term my attacks; upon which I shall, for the present, only say, God send her Royal Highness a safe deliverance from such defenders!

Hampshire Election.—On Thursday, the 25th instant, a meeting took place at Winchester, in consquence of a public advertisement, stating, that, in consequence of a communication, made by *Lord Temple* to Sir William Heathcote, the latter wished to put his friends and the friends of the independence of the county, in possession of what related to that communication.—— Amongst the resolutions that were passed, by one of the most respectable meetings that ever took place in any county in England, was one, ordering to be printed, and circulated to every freeholder in the county, a narrative (written by Sir William Heathcote) of what passed between him and Lord Temple; and also a letter of Lord Temple, explaining the communication made by him to Sir William. The information derived from these papers was, that Lord Temple had, on the part of the ministry, communicated to Sir William Heathcote, their wish to suffer him to retain his seat, he *not having opposed them in parliament*; and, their resolution to set up a member against *Mr. Chute, who had opposed them in parliament*. ——The meeting, upon receiving this information, came to an unanimous resolution, to support Mr. Chute at the next election, expressing, at the same time, their indignation at the arrogance of Lord Temple, in daring thus to threaten the county, to reduce it, in effect, to the situation of a ministerial borough. This resolution was introduced by an excellent speech from Sir Henry Mildmay, who, in most appropriate terms, described the insult offered to the county, and who, in speaking of Mr. Chute, stated, that though this was the third parliament of which that gentleman had been a member, *he never had, during the whole time, asked, or received, of any minister, any one favour either for himself, or any of his relations.*——The ministry having put up two members, namely, *the third son of Lord Caernarvon*, and Mr. Thistlethwaite of Southwick, the next object of the meeting was to fix upon a colleague for Mr. Chute (Sir William Heathcote having expressed his intention not to stand again); and, after a few minutes consideration, Sir Henry Mildmay was called for. There was not time for a final determination; but, a second resolution was unanimously passed, that Sir Henry Mildmay should be requested to join Mr. Chute, and that a canvass should be immediately set on foot in their behalf.——The language and conduct of Mr Chute were what we would naturally have expected from his appearance, which was that of a plain, honest, sensible, country gentleman. Both the language and conduct of Sir William Heathcote were, I am sorry to say it, of a very different description. Hesitating, faultering, inconsistent, and, indeed, just what it ought not to have been. Owing to his age, the gentleness of his character, and his acknowledged infirmities, there was a very general inclination to excuse him; but, fully to justify him was impossible. It was a truly shocking exit!——The meeting seemed to be animated with a spirit that would not have disgraced former times and better days. The power of the ministers in the Dock-yards has had great weight in destroying the freedom of the county of Hants; but, this intolerable dictation from such a man as Lord Temple, seems to have rouzed men from their lethargy; it seems to have opened their eyes, and made them look back and perceive the fearful height from which they have insensibly fallen.

WHIGGISM.

SIR;——I was much disappointed in not seeing in your last number, a few remarks on your sentiments respecting the principles of Whiggism, which, if your able correspondent, who signs himself a Friend to Freedom had condescended to answer, I am sure he would most satisfactorily have *proved* that to those principles *alone* are Englishmen indebted for the establishment of that liberty, which they now so fully enjoy.—— Before I attempt to notice any of your remarks, I cannot refrain from expressing my astonishment at the very extraordinary and most curious logical deduction, which you attribute to me, on that part of my letter in which I asked, whether the principles that produced the glorious revolution, and placed the present King on the throne as the guardian of the people's rights and liberties, were principles to be combatted by you.——Such logic, Mr. Cobbett, is very far above my capacity, I must, therefore, resign the honour of it to you; and, I do think, that more appropriate epithets cannot be bestowed on its author, than those assigned by yourself, when you say, *admirable logician! Candid*, and above all things *manly* disputant. *Candid* and *manly* in the highest degree are your endeavours to pervert the plain meaning of my words, and how you can possibly say that neither of your correspondents attempt to *prove* that any real Whigs *ever* existed, *after I had stated* as a decided fact *recorded in history*, that to the exertion of *the Whigs* at the revolution, we were indebted for all the blessings we now enjoy.—Now, Sir, I will ask you after a re-perusal of my former letter, whether agreeably to the plain construction of it, instead of your *excellent* logical deduction, any thing more could be intended to be expressed, than that the *Whigs* at that *great event* established our liberties on a solid foundation, by the expulsion of the tyrannical race of the Stuarts, and placing other persons on the throne, who were not in the immediate succession, and among them our *present King*, as the defenders of the people's rights and liberties.—To real genuine Whig principles, I should suppose all your readers will attribute the Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus Act. If not to *Whig principles*, are you of opinion, that we are indebted to the Tories for them? The establishment of the national debt considering the circumstances of the times, as it increased the security of the new government, was in my humble opinion a master-piece of policy, and had a great effect in preserving our liberties: and, I cannot believe, that by entertaining this opinion, I am precluded from reprobating the great increase of it by extravagant and wicked ministers. No House of Commons since the revolution, has, perhaps, ever refused to vote the money required by the different ministers, but have they suffered any king to raise it without their consent; nor, do I ever recollect that any parliament had the infamous disgrace attached to it, of voting the King's proclamation to have the force of law, which, I believe, was the case before that event took place. I have no doubt, Sir, of your recollecting, that during the *very short* administration of Lord Rockingham and *his Whig friends*, the expenditure of the civil list was regulated, that many useless offices were abolished, contractors were excluded from seats in parliament, and revenue officers from voting at elections. These, Sir, appear to me to be the *actions* of *real Whigs*, and that they have taken place not quite *seventy years* ago is pretty certain.—— I cannot compliment you upon your great discernment, when you suppose that one of your correspondents is a Whig in place, and the other out of place; as for myself, I can only say, that so far from being in place, I know my inability disqualifies me for it, and I can assure you that my principles would prevent my ever accepting, from any minister whatever, any emolument, that should disgrace me by adding to the burthens of the people. Your great abilities are sufficient to make the bad appear the better cause, but I would wish to ask you whether the *revolution, which, I think, you admit to be the work of the Whigs*, has *benefited this country* or *not*, or, whether you prefer the conduct of the king and parliament before that event, to that of those since. Highly and sincerely as I venerate the principles of Whiggism, I have the honour to subscribe myself with great sincerity.——Your most obedient servant,——A WHIG.—*Sept.* 17, 1806.

SINKING FUND.

SIR;—There are, no doubt, many ways in which the sinking fund may be viewed; but as your correspondent J. T. had pointed out one particular way by which its advantages and disadvantages were to be discovered and estimated, I thought proper in my last to confine myself to the refutation of that particular proposition, viz. that the Sinking Fund established in this country for the redemption of its national debt as such was completely ineffective; and that money borrowed in the usual way by loans, would cost the government as much as the sinking fund would produce in a given time; that is, if

ten millions are borrowed annually for 14 years, that a sinking fund having at its command 10 millions annually for the same time, will do no more than liquidate such debt. Now this is an assertion so wild, that I am surprised it ever could have been made by such a man as J. T. particularly as he does not write for the information of such minds and such men as Mr. Fox; no, such men must at the very first view see its absurdity; but it is for men who are not gifted with that wonderful penetration and acumen, that such men as J. T. and Mr. Fox are supposed to be in possession of, that he writes, and this accounts for the extreme trouble he appears to have given himself to elucidate the subject he writes upon. He says, in his letter of the 2d of July, "I demand in the name of common sense, wha real difference can exist between borrowing 10 millions without repurchasing, or twenty millions of which the commissioners are to purchase half the amount?" That there is a real difference I hope I shall be able to show, and I think even upon his own ground of argument; and the method I shall adopt to shew this, will be to consider the nation in the same point of view, I would consider an individual; for, if I do not very much mistake this writer, that is the way in which he has considered the subject; but there are many reasons, I conceive, why the nation ought not to be considered on this particular subject, and one very prominent, is, that money received in the way of taxes by a government, is not received as money to be returned, but as money, for which those who pay it have received a valuable consideration, in the being protected in their, liberties, lives, and property; (some people no doubt may be inclined to laugh at this, but let me beg of them to keep their risibility within due bounds, for we must suppose, in this case, that the money has been so employed) it is the price of protection, and may not be considered unlike the money we pay to insure our property in case of fire: as such it appears to me an evident and clear distinction; but, independent of any such distinction, the advantages arising from money employed at compound over that of simple interest, are of a magnitude sufficient to render it incredible to those who have not given themselves the trouble to prove it by figures; I will therefore endeavour to shew what would be the result of an individual borrowing 20 millions annually for 14 years, 10 millions of which I will suppose he expends in the common and necessary concerns of his estate, and the remaining 10 millions he annually places out at compound interest; and I will farther suppose that he is likewise obliged to borrow the money to pay the interest upon the 20 millions he annually receives. And though this might possibly be the case with an individual, I do not conceive that it can with any the least propriety be applied to a nation, and therefore a nation can borrow money under more favourable circumstances, than is possible for an individual to do; but as some of your correspondents on this subject have given in the Register some very elaborate discussions upon the action and reaction of money borrowed in this way by a nation, and conceiving that it may in some measure be an answer to many arguments that have been advanced on this subject, I shall carry it to a point beyond which, I think, it cannot be carried as a matter of fact, but must be vague and uncertain conjecture. A. agrees to let B. have 20 millions of money annually for 14 years, for which B. is to pay an interest of 5 per cent. per annum, but the time arrives when B. is to pay the interest on the first 20 millions; to do this he is obliged to apply to a third person, say C. for the loan of one million to pay the interest, and for which he is to pay 5 per cent. per annum, the second time of payment arrives when B. is obliged to have recourse to the same means, and he must then have two millions, and so on increasing one million every year 'till at the end of the 14 years, at which time he will find himself in debt to the amount of 390,200,000 as will appear by the figures below.

	£.	Money borrowed.	£.		£.
1st year	20,000,000	interest on do for 1st	1,000,000	do 2d year	10,000
2d do	20,000,000	1st and 2d do	2,000,000	2d do	100,000
3d do	20,000,000	do 3d	3,000,000	do	150,000
4th do	20,000,000	do 4th	4,000,000	do	200,000
5th do	20,000,000	do 5th	5,000,000	do	250,000
6th do	20,000,000	do 6th	6,000,000	do	300,000
7th do	20,000,000	do 7th	7,000,000	do	350,000
8th do	20,000,000	do 8th	8,000,000	do	400,000
9th do	20,000,000	do 9th	9,000,000	do	450,000
10th do	20,000,000	do 10th	10,000,000	do	500,000

11th year	20,000,000	interest 11th year	11,000,000	do	550,000
12th do	20,000,000	do 12th	12,000,000	do	600,000
13th do	20,000,000	do 13th	13,000,000	do	650,000
14th do	20,000,000	do 14th	14,000,000	do	700,000
	280,000,000		105,000,000		5,250,000
	105,000,000	first interest			
	5,250,000	second do.			
	390,250,000				

The above is the whole principal and interest of 20 millions for 14 years, 10 millions of which may be considered as sunk and gone, and the remaining 10 millions to have been employed at compound interest, the amount of which, will be found to be about 205,700,000, and which, deducted from 390,250,000, leaves a balance against B. 184,550,000. Now if only 10 millions annually have been borrowed instead of 20, B. would have had a debt of 195,125,000 and therefore by the operation of compound interest, he would in the 14 years have gained the difference between 184,550,000 and 195,125,000, which is 10,575,000 But continue this system for 28 years more, making from its commencement 42 years; let us see what would be the result.

The operation of the first 14 years brought forward.

	£.		£.		£.
Receipt of 14 years	280,000,000	first interest on do	105,000,000	second do	5,250,000
15th do	20,000,000	do 15th year	15,000,000	do	750,000
16th do	20,000,000	do 16th	16,000,000	do	800,000
17th do	20,000,000	do 17th	17,000,000	do	850,000
18th do	20,000,000	do 18th	18,000,000	do	900,000
19th do	20,000,000	do 19th	19,000,000	do	950,000
20th do	20,000,000	do 20th	20,000,000	do	1,000,000
21st do	20,000,000	do 21st	21,000,000	do	1,050,000
22d do	20,000,000	do 22d	22,000,000	do	1,100,000
23d do	20,000,000	do 23d	23,000,000	do	1,150,000
24th do	20,000,000	do 24th	24,000,000	do	1,200,000
25th do	20,000,000	do 25th	25,000,000	do	1,250,000
26th do	20,000,000	do 26th	26,000,000	do	1,300,000
27th do	20,000,000	do 27th	27,000,000	do	1,350,000
28th do	20,000,000	do 28th	28,000,000	do	1,400,000
	560,000,000		406,000,000		19,300,000
29th do	20,000,000		29,000,000	do	1,450,000
30th do	20,000,000		30,000,000	do	1,500,000
31st do	20,000,000		31,000,000	do	1,550,000
32d do	20,000,000		32,000,000	do	1,600,000
33d do	20,000,000		33,000,000	do	1,650,000
34th do	20,000,000		34,000,000	do	1,700,000
35th do	20,000,000		35,000,000	do	1,750,000
36th do	20,000,000		36,000,000	do	1,800,000
37th do	20,000,000		37,000,000	do	1,850,000
38th do	20,000,000		38,000,000	do	1,900,000
39th do	20,000,000		39,000,000	do	1,950,000
40th do	20,000,000		40,000,000	do	2,000,000
41st do	20,000,000		41,000,000	do	2,050,000
42d do	20,000,000		42,000,000	do	2,100,000
	840,000,000		903,000,000		43,150,000
	903,000,000	1st interest			
	43,150,000	2d do			

Making a sum of 1786,150,000; and this is the whole of the debt and incumberance B. has brought upon his estate, (as to the expenses of management, &c. that is a

subject quite foreign to a calculation like this) and the only thing to which he can look for relief, is the money that has been employed at compound interest; at the end of the first 14 years that had produced the sum of 205,700,000, which in the second 14 years would double itself, bearing 411,400,000; and the second 40 millions, being employed as the first 10 millions were, would produce in the 14 years, 205,700,000 making an aggregate sum of 617,100,000: and this sum is to be placed against the sum of 985,300,000, leaving B. in debt to the amount of 386,200,000. But to shew the advantage of employing money in this way, it may be necessary to repeat merely what has been said above upon the first 14 years: the amount, then, of B's. debt, if he had only borrowed 10 millions annually instead of 20, would have the exact half of the aggregate sum of 985,300,000, and which is 492,650,000. But it will be found to be *only* 386,200,000. Being a balance in favour of B. of 106,500,000, arising solely from having adopted the above mode.—Thus it will be seen in the first 14 years, the gain is only one-twentieth of the debt that has been contracted: in the second 14 years, the increase in favor of the debtor is wonderful, being one-ninth of what he owes. But what shall we say to the operation of the third 14 years, which increases the fund at compound interest to within one-fifth of the whole debt, and which is a clear gain of 546 millions in the 42 years.—But it may be as necessary to shew, how by the operation of the third 14 years, this is accomplished as it was to shew how the advantages from the two preceding periods of 14 years each arose.—It will be seen by a reference to the figures, that 20 millions borrowed annually for 42 years, will amount to 840 millions; and the interest on that sum, so borrowed, will amount to 903,000,000 in that period, and the second interest arising from a supposition, that the money, to pay the interest on the different loans must likewise be borrowed.—My reasons for including that interest, I have previously stated, and though it might not be improperly included in the calculation of an individual, I think it quite inapplicable to a money transaction wherein the nation is the borrower.—If therefore that sum which arises from the second interest (and which is 43,150,000), were left out of the calculation, the advantages from employing money in the way above stated, would be still greater; at the end, then, of 42 years the account would stand in the following manner.

Aggregate of loans for 42 years at 20 millions annually	£840,000,000
Interest on do. at 5 per cent. do.	903,000,000
Second interest - - - -	43,000,000
	1786,150,000
Supposing 10 instead of 20 millions as above stated had been borrowed, the aggregate of debt then would have been only - - -	893,075,000
But by the application of 10 millions at compound interest, and which has produced the sum of 1439,900,000; the difference between this sum and the sum of 1786,150,000 in what B. is in debt at the end of the 42 years, and which is 347 millions - -	347,000,000
Now, if no money had been employed at compound interest, and 10 millions had been borrowed annually for 42 years, B's. debt would then be as stated above, viz. 890 millions; and, therefore, the difference between these two sums is what has been gained and which is -	546,075,000

It may not be unimportant to state in round numbers, what would be the effect of extending this system to a period of 14 years beyond the above, making in the whole a term of 56 years. By which it would be found that the debt contracted, in the 56 years would be 2,793,700,000, and the annual 10 millions at compound interest, would in the 56 years produce the sum of 3,085,500,000, leaving a balance in favour of 13 after liquidating all the debt, the sum of 291,800,000. Such is the benefit arising from money employed at compound interest, and another very singular advantage is, it requires no capital to begin with, it begins a borrower and so it continues until it has paid back all it received, its principal requisite is audit, and so far, and particularly so to any extent, it is inapplicable to any but a nation. Referring to the figures, at the period of 42 years it will be found, 44 millions annually will be required to keep this machine in motion. 42 millions for the first, and 2 millions for the second interest, and though the preceding years would not require so much, still it may be said the annual supply it would require is more than any nation could bear, and that being the case, it is an absurdity to propose

a scheme, knowing and acknowledging at the same time, you have not the means nor the power to carry it into effect. But, to answer this objection, it is the principle that is sought after in the above calculation, taken at any intermediate point, its operation will be equally conclusive; suppose, for instance, one twentieth part, say one million instead of 20. Divide the sums by 20, the principle will be found to have the same effect, differing only in magnitude, adopting then this mode of reduction, it will be found instead of having a gross sum of 1786 millions at the end of 42 years, it would be only 87 millions, and the annual interest upon that sum is about 4 millions; and in a similar manner would the money at compound interest be reduced from 1400 millions to 71 millions, and leave a balance of real debt of only 15 millions, take 5 millions and employ it in the same way, its effect will be found to bear in every part alike proportion. If this system had been adopted at the commencement of borrowing money for national purposes, the debt of this country, would not, as it does at this day appear to many such a hideous spectre. But the question is, not what would have been the situation of the country, if such, and such means had been adopted; but what the country is now with respect to this part of its concerns, and here we find it has a debt of about 600 millions, and all it has got to discharge the debt is about 200 millions, and therefore, the main question turns upon this point, whether it is better to continue to owe the 600 millions and pay the simple interest upon that sum, or to give up all the advantages arising from the 200 millions being employed as they are at compound interest. The advantages of keeping this 200 millions so employed, is what I have been endeavouring to shew, whether I have shewn any thing like this I must leave to others to determine. Thus, Sir, I have been induced to trouble you at this length, by way of proving what I advanced before on this subject in a former letter, not that I think it absolutely necessary to convince you or many of your readers, for I am convinced if the mind is at all directed to the subject, nothing can be more easy. But, because I think it necessary that something more than mere assertion should me a subject like this.——I am, Sir, yours, &c.——X. T.——*London, Sept.* 11, 1806.

P. S. It may not be improper to observe that this letter was begun before the decease of Mr. Fox.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 13th, 1806.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have this day been received at the office of the Right Hon. William Windham, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Major General Beresford, commanding a detachment of His Majesty's troops in South America.

Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 2, 1806.

Sir; I had the honor to communicate to you, by my letter dated the 30th April, the circumstances of my arrival at St. Helena, and the result of the application to the hon. the Governor of that place for troops.—The fleet sailed thence the 2d of May, and after a most unexpected long passage made Cape St. Mary on the 8th of June: His Majesty's ship Narcissus had been dispatched from the fleet on the 27th of May, and Sir Home Popham thought it right to proceed in her for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, that no delay might occur in proceeding immediately on the arrival of the troops to such place as our information should induce us first to attack. I had sent captain Kennet of the Royal Engineers (not liking myself to leave the troops) in the Narcissus, to make such reconnoitring of the enemy's places on the river, as circumstances would admit: and to collect every possible information concerning them, and the strength of the enemy at the several places.—From fogs and baffling winds we did not meet the Narcissus until the sixth day after our arrival in the river, and I had there the satisfaction to see in company with her the Ocean transport, which had parted from us previous to our going to St. Helena. Sir Home Popham and myself immediately consulted whether it would be better first to attack the town of St. Philip of Monte-Video, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the provinces; and after much reasoning, we determined to proceed against Buenos Ayres, which made it necesary to remove from the line of battle ships, the troops and marines, and such seamen as were incorporated with the latter, and others that had been practised to arms during the passage, into the transports, and His Majesty's ship Narcissus, which was effected on the 16th ult. and though then only about ninety miles from Buenos Ayres; still though to his skill Sir Home Popham added the most persevering zeal and assiduity, yet from fogs, the intricacy of the navigation, and continual opposing winds, it was not until the 24th, at night, that reached opposite to it. We found ourselves the next morning, about eight miles from the Point of Quilmes, where I proposed landing.

having been informed by an Englishman, who was pilot for the river, and who had been taken by the Narcissus out of a Portuguese vessel, that it was an excellent place, and an easy access from it into the country. As soon as the wind would permit, on the 25th Sir Home Popham took the shipping as near as it was possible for them to go; and at a convenient distance for disembarking, which was effected in the course of the afternoon and night, and without any opposition: the enemy remaining at the village of Reduction, on a height about two miles from us in our front: the whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, being a perfect flat; but my guide informed me that though in winter it was impassable, it was then very practicable, and easy for guns to pass.—It was eleven o'clock in the morning of the 26th, before I could move off my ground, and the enemy could, from his position, have counted every man I had; the numbers as per margin*. He was drawn up along the brow of a hill, on which was the village of Reduction, which covered his right flank, and his force consisted principally of cavalry, (I have been since informed two thousand,) with eight field pieces. The nature of the ground was such, that I was under the necessity of going directly to his front; and to make my line, as much as I could, equal to his, I formed all the troops into one line, except the St. Helena infantry of one hundred and fifty men, which I formed one hundred and twenty yards in the rear, with two field pieces, with orders to make face to the right or left, as either of our flanks should be threatened by his cavalry. I had two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of the first line. In this order, I advanced against the enemy, and after we had got within range of his guns, a tongue of swamp crossed our front, and obliged me to halt whilst the guns took a small circuit to cross, and which was scarcely performed when the enemy opened their field pieces on us, at first well pointed, but as we advanced at a very quick rate, in spite of the boggy ground that very soon obliged us to leave all our guns behind, his fire did us but little injury. The 71st regiment reaching the bottom of the heights in a pretty good line, seconded by the marine battalion, the enemy would not wait their nearer approach, but retired from the brow of the hill, which our troops gaining, and commencing a fire of small arms, he fled with precipitation, leaving to us four field-pieces and one tumbril, and we saw nothing more of him that day.—I halted two hours on the field to rest the troops, and to make arrangements for taking with us the enemy's guns and our own, which had now, by the exertions of Captain Donnelly, of his Majesty's ship Narcissus, been extricated from the bog. He had accidently landed, and accompanied the troops on seeing them advance to the enemy, and I am much indebted to him for his voluntary assistance.——I then marched in hopes of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the Rio Chuelo, a river at this season of the year not fordable, and which lay between us and the city; distant from it about three miles, and eight from our then situation; and though I used every diligence, I had the mortification to see it in flames long before I could reach it. I halted the troops for the night a mile from it, and pushed on three companies of the 71st, under Lieutenant Colonel Pack, with two howitzers, to the bridge, to endeavour to prevent its total destruction. I accompanied this detachment, but on reaching the bridge found it entirely consumed; and as the enemy during the night was heard bringing down guns, I withdrew the detachment before light, as their position was thought too open and exposed to the enemy's fire, who had at nine o'clock, on hearing some of our soldiers go to the river to get water, opened a fire from their guns, and a considerable line of infantry.—As soon as it was light I sent Captain Kennet of the engineers to reconnoitre the sides of the river, and found that on our side we had little or no cover to protect us, whilst the enemy were drawn up behind hedges, houses, and in the shipping on the opposite bank, the river not thirty yards wide. As our situation and circumstances could not admit of the least delay, I determined to force the passage, and for that purpose ordered down the field pieces, which, with the addition of those taken from the enemy the day before, were eleven (one I had spiked and left, not being able to bring it off), to the water's edge, and ordered the infantry to remain in the rear, under cover, except the light company and grenadiers of the 71st. As our guns approached, the enemy opened a very ill directed fire from great guns and musquetry; the former soon ceased after our fire opened, the latter was kept up for more than half an hour, but though close to us, did us but little or no injury, so ill was it directed. [*To be continued.*

* See the "actual state of the troops, &c." at the end of this letter.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"You" [Mr. Sheridan] "have always had your own selfish purposes in view. You have, at times, lost "sight of every thing else; but never have lost sight of self. How much longer you will be able to delude "the soft-brained people with your professions about liberty and humanity I know not; but, of this I am "certain, that, until they shall be proof against your delusions, there can be no rational hope of their acting "in such a way as shall be conducive to the happiness and the honour of their country."——MR. COBBETT'S LETTER TO MR. SHERIDAN.

ELECTIONS.

The attempts which are now making to destroy the last remains of the real freedom of election, have attracted the attention of every man; and, I am sorry to have to add, that, comparatively speaking, they have awakened the indignation of but very few. Nevertheless, they should be put upon record. The history of them, together with the names and acts of the principal parties concerned should be put in the possession of the public, and in such a form that will prevent them from being soon forgotten. Thus thinking, I shall, in the present number, insert what appears to me to be necessary relating to the elections, or ensuing elections, of WESTMINSTER and HAMPSHIRE.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The three letters, which will be found in the preceding sheets of the Register, addressed to the Electors of Wesminster, may serve as an introduction to the observations and documents that I am now about to insert. ——By a reference to the preceding sheet, page 481, the reader will find mention made of the meeting, called by MR. SHERIDAN at Somerset House, on Sunday, the 14th ultimo, and of the subsequent meeting of the electors, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Thursday, the 18th instant; at which latter meeting Mr. Sheridan declined in favour of Lord Percy; but, the electors, after having unanimously rejected Lord Percy, appointed a committee to select a proper person to become their representative, and adjourned to Friday the 26th ultimo. On that day the electors re-assembled at the Crown and Anchor, and, the first thing they discovered was, that they had been duped by their committee, which was composed, for the greater part of Mr. Sheridan's creatures, and these creatures, instead of fixing upon a proper person to become the representative of the city, continued to drawl away several days, at the end of which, a packed part of them, concluded their labours with a resolution to support that very Lord Percy, whom the meeting had unanimously rejected. But, let us take an account of the proceedings of this famous junto as we find it in the speech made by Mr. GIBBONS (one of the committee), to the meeting on Friday the 26th ultimo. ——"He had been," he said, "one of the "committee, and the object of the last "meeting being frustrated, he rose to ex- "press his indignation at the juggle. Sorry "he was to perform a task so painful, but "he could not shrink from his duty. He "would explain the underhanded and for- "midable confederacy which had been en- "tered into to trip up every object of the "meeting. At the first meeting of the "committee, he had been called to the "chair, and it was resolved that an appli- "cation should be made to Mr. Whitbread, "requesting him to come forward, and "give the electors of Westminster an op- "portunity to shew that they would not be "the tools and vassals of any administra- "tion.—This application was accordingly "made, and Mr. Whithread's answer was, "'That, considering he himself had been "'returned three times, and some of his fa- "'mily four times, by his present consti- "'tuents, this circumstance, as well as some "'other reasons, both public and private, "'prevented him from doing himself the "'honour of availing himself of this "'flattering invitation to stand as candi- "'date for Westminster."—A letter was "then addressed to the committee from "Mr. Maddox, of Lincoln's-Inn, stating "that if no one else would give the electors "an opportunity of vindicating their inde- "pendence, he would. The committee "accordingly returned thanks to Mr. Mad- "dox, and thought his offer worthy the "most serious consideration.— Another "meeting was appointed to be held at seven "o'clock in the evening; and when he "(Mr. Gibbons) came there about half-past, "he found that the chair had been taken by "another gentleman, *and that the legal*

" *adviser of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Burgess, who was one the committee, was acting as secretary to the committee*—A resolution was moved and approved of by that gentleman particularly, for making an application to Sir Francis Burdett; for as Mr. Burgess assured him (Mr. Gibbons) '*they wished to come forth and oppose the boy.*' Mr. Burgess seconded the motion about Sir Francis Burdett, and proffered his services to go with others of the committee to Sir Francis Burdett's house. They did go, and as I was forced to go out of town they left the result at my house, which was (and a person at my house took it down in writing) ' That they had applied at the house of Sir Francis, and were answered that he was inaccessible, that he was out of town, and had ordered no letters to be sent to him, for that he declined coming forward against Lord Percy.' My suspicions, continued Mr. Gibbons, which had been roused before, were increased, and I went myself to Sir Francis's house. Sir Francis's address was given me very readily; he was only thirty miles from town, and this was on Tuesday. Was this tripping up the object of the meeting or not? I now come to the *felo de se* of the subsequent meeting: it was fixed for eight. I arrived at half past, and I was told that a resolution had been already passed, stating that the committee had applied themselves *diligently* to find a proper person, but not being able, *they were unanimously of opinion, out of regard to the tranquillity of Westminster, as well as for the reasons urged by Mr. Sheridan, and for other important reasons, to join in support of Earl Percy.* And, gentlemen, I found that this resolution was *prepared by this very Mr. Burgess*, and was *corrected by Mr. Sheridan.* At this very committee, which passed a resolution so contrary to the views and to the intentions of the meeting who delegated them, I saw a number of strange faces, persons who neither attended the first nor the second meeting of the committee, yet came upon this occasion to vote for the resolution so drawn up by Mr. Burgess, *and corrected by Mr. Sheridan.* Notwithstanding that they thus came to a resolution, recommending to you to support the man, who, by your unanimous vote, was declared not to be a fit person; yet when I expressed my surprise at their strange resolution, most of them answered me, ' what are we to do, Mr. Gibbons? you see nobody will stand!' The very proposer of the resolution said to me, ' if any man will stand against Lord Percy, or if you will stand against him, by G— I'll support you.' I am, gentlemen, an humble individual amongst you, and never entertained the presumptuous thought of being a candidate for Westminster. This circumstance, however, will shew you upon what principles, or rather upon what want of all principle, the majority of the committee proceeded. At the same time that they are telling the Electors of Westminster that Lord Percy is a fit and proper person to represent them, they tell me, in the committee room, that if any man could be got to oppose him, if I myself would start against him, they would then support me or any other person in opposition to him. You therefore see into what inconsistencies and absurdities they have fallen, who, after entirely departing from your instructions, take upon themselves now to recommend Lord PERCY. As for that nobleman, I have very little to say: he is a young man unknown to me, as I believe he is to the greater part of the electors of this great city. The committee, however, although they at first resolved that Mr. MADDOX's letter was deserving the most serious consideration, afterwards appeared to have paid no manner of attention to it. As for myself, I should much prefer Mr. MADDOX to Lord PERCY, if it were only for this one reason: Supposing we return Mr. MADDOX, and afterwards disapprove of his conduct, we can get rid of him upon another election: but if once we shall return Lord PERCY, we shall never be able to shake him off.—Mr. GIBBONS concluded by informing the meeting that he understood a candidate would be proposed for their nomination. The principal object of his rising was to free himself from the charge which he thought the majority of the committee had incurred, by departing entirely from the duty and the trust that were reposed in them."——

After several other persons had spoken, it was agreed, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT first, and next MR. CURRAN, should be invited to stand. They have both declined, and we will here insert their letters, together with the letter of MR. WHITBREAD, reserving any remarks that we may have to make, until the reader has perused those letters with the attention that they merit.

Mr. Whitbread's Letter to the Chairman

of the Committee at the Rainbow Coffee-House.

"Sir; I have received the resolutions "which you have been so good as to trans-"mit to me, by the direction of the com-"mittee of the electors of Westminster, "appointed by the meeting held at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern. It is my "first duty to express my grateful acknow-"ledgments for the high honour conferred "upon me, as a person worthy to be put "first in nomination to succeed that truly "great man, who has been just taken from "amongst us, to the deep and lasting afflic-"tion of his friends, to the irreparable loss "of the country and the world. But, Sir, "very sensible of the consequence which "the representation of the city of West-"minster must give to any man who shall "be so fortunate as to obtain it (most espe-"cially after the manner in which it has "been filled for so many years) there are "motives of a private nature, which would "induce me to decline the honour you pro-"posed to me; were there not others of a "public nature also, which preclude the "possibility of my appearing as a candidate "for the seat unhappily vacant. I am so "firmly attached to that independent and "respectable body of constituents who have "returned me to parliament at three suc-"cessive elections, and who have four "times previously distinguished my family "by the same token of confidence and ap-"probation, that the representation of the "city of Westminster itself could not tempt "me from their service, so long as they "shall be pleased to consider me as worthy "to represent them. Further, *having duly "weighed all the circumstances of the pre-"sent crisis*, as it relates more particularly "to your situation, and my own, as one of "your body, *I had determined to give my "vote to Lord Percy*; and it is with great "concern I find that any part of the West-"minster electors have resolved that he is "not a fit person to represent this great "city in Parliament. I am perfectly cer-"tain that neither I, nor any of those per-"sons who have acted in unison with your "late illustrious member, during the whole "of our political lives, should support Lord "Percy, could we for a moment suppose "that by that support we were instrumental "in making *either you or ourselves the "tools of party, or the subservient vassals* "of any administration. The electors of "Westminster, in their choice of Mr. Fox, "triumphed over all the tools of party, and "all the vassals of power; and such is the "veneration and love in which his memory "is held, that *could his wishes have been "consulted, I am sure they would decide "your present choice.*—Under *the convic-"tion* then, that, if his valuable life had "been spared in a state of health to have "prevented his again offering himself to "you, *he would have recommended Lord "Percy as his successor*, I, and I believe "most of Mr. Fox's immediate and person-"al friends, *feel bound to support his cause*; "to which, however, nothing could urge "us, were we not impressed with the be-"lief, that in Lord Percy will be found a "young man of principles as independent "as the name he bears is noble and great, "and one who is desirous of treading in "the political paths of Mr. Fox. I have "the honour to be, Sir, your obliged and "obedient servant, SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

"*Dover Street, Sept.* 21."

Sir Francis Burdett's Letter, to Mr. Paull,

"I beg you, Sir, to express to the Gen-"tlemen whom you represent, the grate-"ful sense I shall ever entertain of the "honour I receive by this declaration of "their good opinion of me; and to assure "them, that I hold a seat in Parliament by "the uninfluenced choice of a free people "beyond any office or honour which the "Crown or its Ministers can bestow; and "that I value the opinion of the people "much beyond any seat.—It is, however "impossible for me to be a Candidate upon "the present occasion; for I did very early "declare to numerous applications that I "would not be a candidate; and, after-"wards as a single and private elector, I "did declare that I would give my vote for "Lord Percy, and I did so, because, I had "heard of no other candidates, but such as "had recently accepted of very lucrative "offices under the crown; and I cannot "think that such gentlemen, however fit-"ted for those offices, and however other-"wise estimable, can at any time, become "the fit representatives of a free, uncorrupt "and independent people.—I am, besides, "bound in gratitude and honour to the In-"dependent freeholders of Middlesex, and "I never will on any personal account for-"sake them. But for any advantage to be "derived from it to the public, I would "cheerfully relinquish all my pretensions "to-morrow. Nor would I ever have pre-"sumed to be a candidate for the county, "but that I am persuaded, that, in order "to rescue this country from its present ca-"lamitous and disgraceful thraldom, we

"stand more in need of integrity than of talents. That integrity must not expect the countenance of any administration: for though a single individual or many individuals in Parliament can do no more than speak the plain truth, Ministers cannot bear with patience to be plainly told, some of them what they have done, and some of them what they have not done. I remain, Sir, Your most obliged, &c.——FRANCIS BURDETT."

Mr Curran's Letter to Mr Paull.

"Dear Sir;—That those Gentlemen, whose wish you have so obligingly communicated, should at the moment of so severe a calamity, and at so arduous a crisis as the present, consider me not unworthy to represent their city, is an honour which I feel beyond the power of any words to express: have the goodness to assure them that I am deeply and respectfully gratified for it. I should feel infinite pain in declining the high favour of their support if I did not reflect, that in the great assemblage of qualities which formed the illustrious being that has been lost to them and to the world by the death of Mr Fox, they must, even if their choice had fallen upon me as his successor, have remained unrepresented. In one only point should I not have been utterly unworthy of their confidence: I am conscious I should have been faithful to the trust reposed in me. But I am aware that their partiality to me could not be carried into effect without a contest, of which the trouble could not be compensated even by the ultimate success. They will permit me, therefore, to rest contented with the high honour of having been thought of by them at the same time with their distinguished countryman Sir Francis Burdett; and in this last circumstance I have a pleasure beyond any merely personal consideration; because in their willingness to place so sacred a confidence in me, they give a proof how superior they are to those local and narrow prejudices, that, wherever they exist, must be fatal to that community of interest and affection which is the only sure foundation of prosperity and independence.—I am, my dear Sir, with the strongest sense of the honour you have done me on this occasion, your obliged and faithful servant,——JOHN P. CURRAN."

Thus, as far as appears at present, is the city left to LORD PERCY.——The letter of MR. WHITBREAD is nothing more than a part of Mr. Sheridan's speech at the Crown and Anchor. He, too, had, forsooth, discovered, that if Mr. Fox had been consulted, previous to his death, he would have recommended Lord Percy as his successor. "Here goes," said a drunken fellow at a country burial, "and if Uncle could set "up in his coffin, he'd pledge me." I dare say, that Samuel Whitbread, if he had been hard pushed, would have said that his beer-barrels had made the same discovery. I have never liked this man since I heard him in Westminster Hall, relate the history of these beer-barrels, and especially since I observed his unconquerable silence upon the subject of the charges preferred against *Lord Wellesley*, the close connection of Lord Grenville.——Two things, however, Samuel Whitbread seems to have forgotten to tell the Committee; 1st, how it came to pass, that Mr. Sheridan, from whose speech his letter is copied almost word for word, came not to have discovered the wish of Mr. Fox before the meeting was called at Somerset House; and, 2d, that he, Samuel Whitbread, was upon the point of receiving, out of the public money, a salary of three thousand pounds a year, as successor to the Spartan General, who, being full as a tick, I suppose, has dropped off.——But it is Mr. Sheridan; it is the famous patriot and parliamentary reformer, Sheridan; this is the man that comes out, at last, in his true colours! I wonder what he is now able to say! I should really like to hear what trick he has left in his budget. I am much mortified to see the city of Westminster and all its industrious and public-spirited inhabitants thus duped; thus handed to and fro' like a family borough; but, my satisfaction, at seeing Mr. Sheridan and the Whig faction unveiled so completely, does certainly overbalance that mortification; because, I am sure, that it will ultimately be productive of more good to the country than could have been produced by the election of the most independent and most able representative. Too long has that *professing* faction, supported by the invention of a Club, deluded and duped the people, the well-meaning and even many well-informed people. They succeeded in making many persons believe, that there only wanted a transfer of the power into their hands, to produce every thing wished for. But, no sooner did a share of the power come within their reach, than they grasped at the emoluments with both hands, and with eyes staring as if fixed in their heads, leaving all their pledges and

professions to the winds. Not only have they abandoned, without scruple, every thing like principle; but, they have stooped to meanness, of which men had heretofore no adequate idea. They have, from the mere love of emolument, become the slaves of their former rivals for power. The little "*New Opposition*," which was once the object of their sarcasm, now treat them as underlings. The Grenvilles may be proud and arrogant (and some of them are); but, they are not politically *mean*. They have something of what is called *character* about them; and every man will say, that they are preferable to the mean, paltry, shuffling, sneaking *Whigs*, a fair sample of which faction we have in the person and conduct of Mr. Sheridan, who, and whose son now receive about £7,000 a year of the public money.

Hampshire Election.

In the last No. at p. 449, this subject was introduced, in a short account of what took place, at the meeting, which was held at Winchester, on Thursday, the 25th ultimo. ——The full account of those proceedings, as since published by authority, I shall here insert; and, when I have so done, I shall submit to the reader, such observations as suggest themselves to me relating to this most daring attempt that ever was made against the right of electors and of members of parliament.

"*Narrative, documents, and resolutions, published by order of the Meeting, held at Winchester on Thursday the 25th of Sept. 1806.*

"Previously to the business being entered on, for which this meeting was called, the chairman, who had been consulted, submitted the propriety of putting every gentleman present in possession of all that had passed respecting the county having been disturbed by a canvass, as Mr. Herbert and Mr. Thistlethwayte, in their first address to the freeholders of the 11th of this month, alledged as the motive for their declaring themselves candidates, that premature measures had been taken on the subject. Sir John Pollen accordingly made the following statement; from whence it will appear, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the county having been disturbed by a canvass on the part of the opposing candidates, when four sessions only of a parliament had expired, arose exclusively from a direct interposition of Earl Temple, before any step was taken for the protection of the sitting members.—About the middle of last month, Sir William Heathcote communicated to Mr. Chute, and to two or three other friends, the following narrative, in his own writing, of the substance of a conversation that passed between Earl Temple and him, that those friends might have an opportunity of considering it before the anniversary of the county club, which was to be held on the 27th of that month, when Sir William Heathcote, intended to communicate the same to the members.——This narrative, it will be observed, is penned by Sir William Heathcote in the *first* person, *being a minute of the conversation made by him immediately after it took place.*——"On the 11th of August, "Lord Temple called on me, and after "making some general compliments of "respect, &c. &c. he said he was commissioned by Lord Grenville to say, *that government was determined to bring forward a gentleman to oppose Mr. Chute, who had decidedly joined the opposition*, "but he was not authorised to mention his "name; that *government* had no wish to "oppose me; but at the same time desired "to know *how far I felt myself disposed to "support the present administration.* To "this I answered, that I had a great opinion of Lord Grenville, but would not "pledge myself to support any party, but "should act, if I was again member for "this county, (as I thought every county "member ought to do) freely and independently: he then said *government* had no "wish to disturb me, but repeated that *they "were determined to oppose Mr. Chute*, and "desired to know if I felt myself under an "obligation to act in conjunction with him. "I said I could not answer that question; "and his lordship must well know, that a "county member could not with propriety "or prudence do it without collecting the "sentiments and inclination of his friends: "he then said, *if my friends determined to "support Mr. Chute, they must in their own "defence bring forward two candidates*, but "that they wished not to disturb the peace "of the county by a contested election, and "begged to have an answer as soon as I had "consulted my friends; I told him he "should hear from me in a fortnight. He "once or twice *recurred to the question of "supporting government*, to which I as often repeated I should not pledge myself "to vote with any party, but should act as I "thought right."——On this paper having been read at the county club, Sir William Heathcote said, that he was not quite certain whether, in the application to him from

Lord Temple, his lordship stated himself to have been authorised to make it by *Lord Grenville*, or generally by *government*; but on being asked whether he was clear in his recollection as to Lord Grenville's name having been made use of by Lord Temple in the course of what he said, Sir William answered he was quite sure his lordship had *frequently* done so. The attendance at the club was numerous; and on full consideration of the narrative, and of the doubt expressed by Sir William Heathcote, it was unanimously agreed to recommend to him to transmit the following paper to Lord Temple, as containing the sentiments of himself and his friends, on what had been communicated to him by his lordship:—— "Sir William Heathcote having stated to the "meeting, the substance of a communication made to him by Lord Temple, *respecting the determination of his Majesty's government, to bring forward a gentleman to oppose Mr. Chute* as one of the "members for this county, on account of "his conduct in the last session of parliament, and another candidate to oppose "him (Sir William) in the event of his "making common cause with his colleague; "and Sir William having called upon his "friends present, for their advice, as to the "course he should pursue, observing at the "same time that Lord Temple repeatedly "called upon him to know what his own "future conduct in parliament would be, it "is recommended to him to say (what the "gentlemen are persuaded would be dictated to him, as well by his judgment as "by his feelings) that to a communication "of so new, so dangerous, and so unconstitutional a nature, he could give no answer whatever." Which paper was accordingly transmitted by Sir William Heathcote to Lord Temple in the following letter:——Hursley, Aug. 28, 1806.——My Lord, "I had yesterday the honour to communicate to my friends, at the county club, the "conversation that passed between your "lordship and myself on the 11th inst. As "I am not perfectly certain whether your "lordship said that you had authority from "*Lord Grenville*, or only that you were "authorised to say that *government* were "determined to oppose Mr. Chute, you "will much oblige me by setting me right "*in that particular*. I am directed by the "gentlemen who attended the meeting to "send to your lordship the enclosed resolution.——I have the honour to be, &c. "&c.——Wm. Heathcote."——To that letter and paper Earl Temple returned the following answer:——"Exmouth, Aug. "31, 1806.——Dear Sir, I was yesterday "honoured with your letter of the 28th instant, inclosing a resolution of the county "club of Hampshire, which you say you are "directed to send me by the gentlemen who "attended the meeting. It is most unpleasant to observe the very entire misconception "under which you have consulted your "friends, both of the motives and the particulars of the *private* and *confidential* conversation which took place between us—a "conversation, part of which, I understood "from you, was to be communicated to "your friends; at the same time that I did "not understand from you that it was to be "made matter of discussion at the county "club. I am sure the misconception was "perfectly unintentional on your part; as "it has, however, taken place, I have only "to request you will not lose a moment in "communicating to the same friends with "whom you before consulted, this letter; "for although I have no personal interest of "any sort or kind in the subject of this discussion, or any object of any description "either to lose or gain by the result, let it "be what it may, of any election which "may now, or at any time take place in "Hampshire, I am anxious to set myself "right in the opinions of gentlemen to "whom I certainly have not the honour to "be personally known, but by whom I "should be very sorry to be thought capable of the motive, or the conduct they appear to attribute to me. I called upon "you at Hursley to let you know, *that the "friends of government connected with "Hampshire had been pressed by several "persons to declare what their wishes were "in case of a general election*, as several "gentlemen had been named as likely in "that case to start for the county; that "I am amongst the rest who had been applied to upon the subject, and being extremely anxious that you should have the "support of the friends of government, I "wished to communicate with you before "I or those I had conversed with upon the "subject gave any answer. I stated to you "my own individual wish, and that, as far "as I could collect them, of our friends, "that you should receive, at the ensuing "election every support that we could give "you consistently with our desire and intention of supporting his Majesty's government. I thought it fair to tell you, "that it was impossible *for the connections "of government*, "*in case of a contest*," to "give any support to Mr. Chute, *as his sys-*

" *tematic opposition to government* had " proved that he did not look for the assist- " ance of any of its friends; but that I " should be very sorry indeed, if a determi- " nation on the part of your friends at all " events to support Mr. Chute, should " make it more difficult for the friends of " government to give you that cordial as- " sistance they so much wished you should " receive. I told you further, that from " having heard the names of several gentle- " men mentioned, I thought it possible " there would be a contest whenever the " general electinn took place, and that the " object of my visit was, in the first place, " to prevent a contest, if that could be " done; if not, to do every thing in my " power to prevent its affecting you. I " said, that as I spoke not from myself only, " but *on the part of the friends of govern- " ment connected with Hampshire, it would " remove many difficulties which might oc- " cur, if I was authorised by you to say that " your wishes were to support administra- " tion.* You will be so good as to recollect " that I distinctly said, that in asking that " question I never could think of asking for " a distinct pledge of general support; that " I had no right to make such a request; " and that if I could be capable of making " it, you could not be justified in making " such a concession to any man breathing; " but that, as you had not latterly much at- " tended parliament, your sentiments were " not known, and an expression of general " good wishes, on your part, would give me " great pleasure to convey, and would, I " thought, tend much to remove difficulties " which I knew existed. After many ex- " pressions of regard, very flattering per- " sonally to me, for the characters of some " of the persons connected with and form- " ing a part of his Majesty's government, " you distinctly authorised me to express " general good wishes and an inclination to " support; and a determination " not to " go with opposition;" guarding, at the " same time, your declaration with another " (in the propriety of which, you will re- " collect, I perfectly agreed with you), that " you would bind yourself to no pledge to " support blindly any set of men; and that " even if Mr. Pitt was alive, that you would " give no such pledge even to him. I re- " peated to you that such a pledge never " could be asked; and if asked, never could " be given by you. I then asked you, whe- " ther you felt yourself warranted in pro- " mising your support to any other candi- " date, in case any other started, whom the " county would not disapprove of? or whe- " ther you conceived yourself bound to sup- " port Mr. Chute under all circumstances? " As, in the latter case, no one could ask " you to break your engagements, however " the friends of government with whom I " had conversed might regret that you were " bound to make common cause with a " gentleman whose systematic opposition to " government would, of course, prevent " them from giving him their support. You " readily answered, that as to the latter part " of the question, you was not engaged to " Mr. Chute, or to any soul breathing; " that as to the former part of it, you could " give no answer until you had consulted " your friends, for whom you could not an- " swer, or pretend to pledge yourself, and " whose wishes would of course be binding " on your conduct. The result of that in- " quiry you promised to communicate to " me.——I have now stated all that occurs " to me as important to the question before " us, in the conversation which passed be- " tween us; but I beg leave, in the most " positive, distinct, and unequivocal terms, " to deny ever having stated that it was the " " determination of his Majesty's govern- " ment to bring forward a gentleman to op- " pose Mr. Chute, on account of his con- " duct at the last session of parliament; and " another candidate to oppose you (Sir Wil- " liam Heathcote) in the event of your " making common cause with your col- " league." Such a declaration I never " could have been authorised to make; and " if I had made it, I certainly agree you " could have given no answer to it. I re- " peatedly told you, that *my only object* in " communicating with you upon the subject " was to enable me to concert with you the " means of securing to you all the support " which I knew the friends of government " wished to give you; but which, I thought " the result of the conversation might ren- " der more satisfactory and easy.——I have " now only to beg you will let me know, " whether the paper you enclosed to me is " the final answer which, upon communi- " cation with your friends, you mean to " make to the question you were good " enough to allow me to ask you, and to " promise you would communicate with me " upon; and that you will further have the " goodness to let me know when you have " communicated this letter to them. On " this latter point you cannot wonder that I " feel anxious, as my only object in again " reverting to the subject of our conversa- " tion is, that the motives and the particu-

"ters of it should be explained; both of "which have been so widely and unac-"countably mistaken by yourself and your "friends.——I have the honour to be, Dear "Sir, your very obedient humble servant, "——CHANDOS TEMPLE."——This explanatory letter of Lord Temple's was communicated by Sir William Heathcote to Mr. Chute, and three or four other friends who, at his desire, met him at Winchester on the 9th of Sept. to whom it appeared that the subject involved in it the independence of the county, as well as the seats of the present members; the gentlemen present, therefore, did not think themselves warranted in offering further advice to Sir William Heathcote, but recommended such a meeting being called as might be likely to bring together a sufficient number of gentlemen to give weight to any opinion that may be expressed on a matter of such high importance, and so deeply interesting to the county. It was accordingly agreed upon that an address should be inserted in all the county papers, and in some of the evening papers in London, in substance as follows:——"A communica-"tion having been made by Earl Temple to "Sir William Heathcote, respecting the "future representation of this county, the "friends of the present members, and of "the independence of the county, are re-"quested to meet at St. John's House, in "Winchester, on Thursday the 25th inst." ——All the foregoing papers having been read to the meeting, Sir William Heathcote, thus addressed them:——"The first paper, "which you have heard, was the impression "that was left on my mind of the conver-"sation that passed between Lord Temple "and myself; since which his lordship has "sent me the letter just read. It is very "possible, as my hearing is imperfect, I "may not clearly have understood him. "And as it is impossible for me to suppose, "for one moment, that Lord Temple "would explain himself in writing contrary "to what he meant and did say, I conclude "I must have so misunderstood him; I "therefore beg that his lordship's explana-"tion, conveyed in his letter, may be taken "as the conversation that did pass between "us.——It would have afforded me the "highest satisfaction to have been the "means of preserving the peace and inde-"pendence of the county; but as a contest "must take place, and I cannot expect, at "my time of life, to be much longer able to "bear the fatigue of a strict attendance on "my duty in parliament, I must beg leave "to decline engaging in it; but I shall re-"tire, deeply impressed with a sense of "gratitude for the many favours I have re-"ceived from you, and ready at all times, "in a private station, to render all the ser-"vice in my power to the county, and to "every individual."——Sir William Heathcote, with a view of endeavouring to preserve the peace of the county, suggested the propriety of offering a compromise, by agreeing, that on a vacancy happening, Mr. Thistlethwayte should succeed him as the colleague of Mr. Chute; this measure afterwards formed part of a resolution, moved by Sir H. Mildmay, but was found to be impossible, upon some gentlemen present producing a hand bill, with the names of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Thistlethwayte, expressly avowing their determination not to listen to any terms of compromise.——The resolutions that follow were then entered into,—Signed on the behalf, and at the request of the meeting, to ascertain the authenticity of the above narrative,—JOHN POLLEN, *Chairman.*——At a very numerous meeting of the freeholders of this county, the friends of the present members, and of the independence of the county, holden at St. John's House, Winchester, on Thursday, the 25th day of September, 1806;——Sir John Pollen, Bart. in the chair:——"RESOLVED UNA-"NIMOUSLY,——That this meeting, very "highly approving of the disinterested and "independent conduct invariably pursued "by Mr. Chute, during the whole period in "which he has represented the county, will "take the most effectual measures for se-"curing his re-election.——RESOLVED "UNANIMOUSLY,——That the narrative of "the communication made to Sir William "Heathcote by Lord Temple, and deliver-"ed by him at the last meeting of the "county club, with their resolutions there-"on, Sir William Heathcote's letter to "Lord Temple therewith, and his lordship's "answer, be printed for the consideration "of the freeholders.——RESOLVED UNA-"NIMOUSLY,——That Sir Henry Paulet, "St John Mildmay, Bart. be requested to "join Mr. Chute as a candidate for the re-"presentation of the county, and that an "immediate canvass be set on foot on be-"half of both these gentlemen."——There was another resolution, called unanimous, for thanking Sir William Heathcote for his *past* conduct *in parliament;* but the unanimity was gathered merely from their appearing no open opposition to the motion, for the *affirmative* of which not six hands, out of four hundred, were raised.

Now, the question, which first presents

itself for our consideration is, which is the *true* account of the conversation between LORD TEMPLE and SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, that which was given by the latter, immediately after the conversation took place; or, that which is given by the former, at the distance of three weeks, and with the knowledge of the evil effect which the conversation was likely to produce. Sir William Heathcote, observe, retires from the interview with Lord Temple, and writes down, immediately, the substance of the conversation. This he communicates to many others; it gets abroad; and Lord Temple, whose arrogance had, apparently, blinded him before, perceives the consequences likely to ensue from the conversation, as reported by Sir William Heathcote, and, with those consequences before him, he writes the explanatory letter. We shall see, by and by, that, as to the main point, there is quite enough, even in Lord Temple's acknowledgement, to excite the highest degree of indignation in those freeholders of the county who are not, in fact, slaves; but, it appears to me, that, in weighing one account against the other, and in taking into view all the circumstances, there is not the least ground whereon to suppose, that Sir William Heathcote's account is *not true*; and, of course, that Lord Temple's, inasmuch as it differs from the other, is *not false*. A doubt, it is evident, would never have existed upon the subject, had not Sir William Heathcote, read his *recantation*; but, in the drawing up of this recantation, the Baronet seems not to have duly considered the nature of the faculty of *hearing*. Upon the supposition, that his hearing is full as imperfect as he would now wish it to be thought, he may, indeed, have missed, he may have *not heard*, part of what Lord Temple *did say*; but, if what Lord Temple says be true, the Baronet has put down in writing what Lord Temple *did not say*. And, therefore, Sir William appears to me to be reduced to this dilemma: either he must make the world believe, that the defect in his hearing faculty is of that peculiar cast that it leads him to miss what is said, and to take up what is not said, to him; or, he must confess, that he has wilfully and deliberately stated a falsehood in his report of the conversation. One of these seems absolutely necessary, before we can possibly comply with his request, "to take the letter of Lord Temple" as the *true account* of what really did pass between them. But, Sir William Heathcote's defect of hearing must, one would think, have been known to him at the time when he first drew up the report of the conversation; how comes it, then, that he, who was so scrupulous as to whether the communication was made expressly in the name of *Lord Grenville*, or of *the government*; how comes it, that he, who was so very scrupulous upon this little point, and so unaccountably candid afterwards, did not mention to his friends, or to the County Club, to whom he made the report of the conversation; how comes it, that he never did, to any of these persons, mention, or hint at, the famous defect in his hearing? If he had told the County Club what he has since said at the meeting, whose proceedings are above recorded, the Club would scarcely have passed a resolution such as they did pass; and, they have, I think, good reason to complain, that Sir William Heathcote did not exercise towards them a little of that candour, which, with respect to Lord Temple, he has shown us that he has a store so abundant. It seemed, too, rather odd, to many persons at the Meeting, that this imperfection in the Baronet's hearing should, to all appearance, at least, have gone off upon that occasion; seeing, that he *there* evidently heard every thing that was heard by the company. During a long altercation upon the subject of printing his report and Lord Temple's letter, he, several times, answered to questions that were put to him in a colloquial tone of voice, and from persons on the opposite side of a pretty broad table; he, in no one instance, asked any one to repeat what he had said; and, in fact, an appeal to all those who stood near him will prove, that he appeared to be as perfect in his hearing as any man in the room. This leads, I may be told, to an inference not very advantageous to the Baronet's veracity as to his faculty of hearing; and, that, of course, the same disadvantage will apply to the report of the conversation. But, there is this great difference, that the report was written before there had been sufficient time to reflect upon the consequences; and, let it be observed, that, though the County Club and the independent Freeholders appear to be very indignant at the proposition for turning out Mr. Chute, Sir William Heathcote has, *in no stage of the business, expressed any indignation at all at the proposition*; but, on the contrary, he seems, as well from his own report as from Lord Temple's letter, to have consulted his friends and the County Club, with the hope, if not the expectation, that they would consent to the proposition of Lord Temple, and agree to turn out Mr. Chute; which supposition becomes, indeed, almost an evident fact, when we find Sir William Heathcote

(who, *before*, said not a word of *declining*) decline the moment he finds his former supporters resolved still to support Mr. Chute. Until he found this; until he found, that, if he had the support of his former friends, it could only be at the expense of a contest for the sake of maintaining the independence of the county, in the person of Mr. Chute; until he made this discovery, he does not appear to have perceived any of those infirmities, which, as he alledged at the meeting, induced him to decline. In short, when he made the minute of the conversation between him and Lord Temple, and until he had communicated it to the County Club, and could not recal it, he clearly appears to have had no dislike to the proposition of Lord Temple; it clearly appears, from his declining to stand again as soon as he found the proposition rejected by his former supporters, that he would have stood along with a member put up by the ministry; and, therefore, he could, at the time when he drew up and when he made the report of the conversation, have been under no temptation to deviate from the truth; whereas, Lord Temple, with the immediate effects, and with all the further consequences of his arrogance before him, not forgetting the displeasure of the cabinet, was under the strongest temptations so to deviate. As an answer to all this, however, Sir William Heathcote, in his written speech at the meeting, says: "As it is *impossible* for me "to suppose, for one moment, that Lord "Temple would explain himself in writing "contrary to what he meant and did say, "I conclude, I must have misunderstood "him." But, my good candid gentleman, if it be impossible for you, who have three sons looking up for promotion, to entertain such a supposition, it is not impossible for me to entertain it. I, and I may say every man present at the meeting, did evidently entertain the supposition; and, I will declare for myself, that I believe him to have written upon this occasion not only what was not true, but what he knew to be false; and I regard his letter as a rare specimen of bungling prevarication. You, good and candid and modest and generous Sir William, may read and re-read your recantation; you may forswear your hearing and even your sanity, as readily as you have declined a contest in company with your colleague; but, neither your candour nor your modesty nor your generosity nor any defects in your organs or your faculties, shall make me believe that you made an exaggerated statement of a proposition to which you evidently had no objection yourself; and, of course, nothing that you can say, or do, will ever persuade me, that the Letter of Lord Temple, inasmuch as it differs from your statement, is true.—But, though Lord Temple has made bold attempts at denial, he has not gone so far as to deny, that he had a conversation of some sort or other with Sir William Heathcote; this he could not venture to do, unless it had been intimated to him, that the good Sir William was a little dim-sighted as well as hard of hearing; and, therefore, he has confessed, that he did wait upon Sir William Heathcote at Hursley. Well, then, *what did he wait upon him for?* Not out of mere personal kindness to inquire after his health, for, as it was stated at the meeting, he had never before spoken to Sir William in his life. Those who know the parties, will scarcely believe that he went to Hursley Lodge for *a dinner*, or even for a *luncheon*. His lordship says, that his *only* object was, to concert measures for the ensuring of Sir William's re-election, which is very odd, when we consider, that he had never spoken to him before, and that, at the County meeting in the spring of 1805, he had so loudly expressed his disapprobation of Sir William's conduct with regard to Lord Melville. But, there was *some talk* about Mr. Chute? Yes, and Lord Temple does not appear to think, that Sir William's defect in hearing is sufficient to enable him to deny, that he did complain of Mr. Chute's *opposition* to the ministers, and that it was proposed by "*the friends of government connected with Hampshire*" to set up a member against Mr. Chute. This is a softened sentence; but, Sir William Heathcote, being asked, at the meeting, whether the *name* of *Lord Grenville* was mentioned by Lord Temple, in the course of the conversation, he answered (notwithstanding his newly proclaimed consciousness of defective hearing) that he was "*quite sure*" that the name of Lord Grenville had been mentioned by Lorp Temple *several times*; though, observe, Lord Temple, in his letter, seems to recollect nothing at all of this, and talks as if he had gone to Sir William with no other authority than that of "the *friends of government* connected with Hampshire." It does, however, appear, even from Lord Temple's acknowledgement, 1st, that he went to Sir William Heathcote; 2d, that he asked him whether he would support the ministry; 3d, having obtained a silent acquiescence to that question, whether he would join a candidate set up by the friends of government; 4th, that he complained of Mr. Chute's vo-

ting against the ministry; 5th, that he told Sir William, that "the friends of government" were resolved to set up a member against Mr. Chute, at any rate; and, 6th, that he told him, that if he, Sir William Heathcote, persisted in adhering to Mr. Chute, "the friends of government" were resolved to set up two members against them. These are facts, acknowledged by Lord Temple himself; these are facts that could not be denied without necessarily accusing Sir William Heathcote of deliberately fabricating and promulgating a string of falsehoods; and, than these facts what do we want more to prove the intolerable arrogance of Lord Temple, and the unconstitutional conduct of those who deputed him thus to menace a member of parliament with ejection from his seat, *because he had voted against the king's servants?*——As to the persons, who have, upon the insolent pretention here described, been set up by the ministry, as candidates for the county of Hants, the first is the son of a *placeman Lord*, and is himself *a sinecure placeman*. That he will not vote against the ministers is, I think pretty certain. The second is a young man of most respectable and independent parents, and, what the ministry have not overlooked, of *fortune* just become ripe and convertible, and sufficiently large to meet the exigencies of a contested county-election, without rendering him a dependant, until after that election shall be over, and shall have either secured them his vote in the House of Commons, or shall have so crippled him as to prevent his fortune or his character from being formidable to them if used in the way of opposition; so that, whatever may be the result of the contest, they are sure to gain, and he is sure to lose. For this I am very sorry. His fortune; the fair reputation of his father, who was long a member for the county; his legitimate and natural connection with Hampshire; his retaining of large means in the hands of Commoners; all these made it desireable that he should not become an instrument in the hands of placemen, to strip the county of the last rag of its independence and its honour; but, such an instrument he has become, and the consequences he will clearly perceive when it will be too late to avoid them.——The important fact arising from these proceedings; the fact, for the nation at large to dwell upon, is, that this is (as far as I have ever observed) the very first instance, in which the Treasury has had the boldness to say to *a county*, "your representative has voted against us, has voted against the *King's servants*, and you shall not, therefore, have him for a representative any longer." With *boroughs* this has long been practised, as a matter of course; but, the present is, I believe, the first instance of its being, openly, at least, attempted in a *county*; and, this attempt has been made by a ministry, in great part composed of men who have, for twenty years past, been pledging themselves never to cease their endeavours, until they had effected a complete reform of the representation of the people in the House of Commons, the main object of which reform was, to render the members of that House independent of the ministers appointed and kept in place by the sole power and pleasure of the king!——As to the result of the election, supposing things and men to continue what they now are, until that election takes place, it is of much less importance than that a people feeling should *now* be awakened and manifested upon the subject. Time flies very swift with a nation situated as we are. Two years may, and must, bring events, in the contemplating of which the threat of Lord Temple will be forgotten. If the Freeholders were, indeed, *now*, in county-meeting assembled, to send to the foot of the throne and to the bar of the parliament, an expression of their indignation at that threat; then, indeed, I should see some ground to hope, that there were yet remaining the means of preserving what yet is left, and of restoring a part, at least, of what is lost; but, I see stirring no spirit commensurate with such a purpose; I see little beyond the scope of party rivalship, animosity, and intrigues; little besides narrow, not to say partial, views; little, or nothing, proceeding from a sincere and disinterested desire to promote the general happiness and honour of the country; and, *while this is the case*, though my wish will be, that the result may be on the side of Mr. Chute particularly, I shall experience very little mortification, and no disappointment at all, if it should be otherwise.——*Botley, 2d Oct.* 1806.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 13th,* 1806.

(Continued from p. 512.)

We then found means, by boats and rafts, to cross a few men over the Rio Chuelo, and on ordering all fire

to cease, the little of them that remained ceased also ——The troops which opposed us during these two days appear to have been almost entirely provincial, with a considerable proportion of veteran officers. The numbers that were assembled to dispute our passage of the river, I have been since informed were about two thousand infantry. I had no reason from their fire to suppose their numbers so great, the opposition was very feeble; the only difficulty was in crossing the river to get at them.—I cannot omit reporting to you that I had the most just cause to be satisfied with the conduct of every officer, and all the troops under my command: to Lieutenant Colonel Pack of the 71st every praise is due, as well as to that excellent regiment. The battalion of marines, commanded by Captain King of the royal navy, not only behaved with the utmost good conduct, but with a discipline in the field much beyond what could have been expected, though every exertion to effect it had been used by Commodore Sir H. Popham, and every officer of the royal navy during the passage.——A corps of seamen, who had been drilled to small arms, were also landed; they were between eighty and ninety in number, and I was under the necessity of attaching them to draw the guns, which they did with a cheerfulness and zeal that did them great credit: and I was under great obligation to Captain King for his activity in preparing rafts, boats, &c. to pass the Rio-Chuelo.—Lieutenant Colonel Lane, and the St. Helena troops, also merit my thanks for their good conduct; as does Captain Ogilvie, commanding the artillery, for the manner in which the guns were conducted and served. Captain Kennett of the royal engineers, was particularly serviceable by his intelligence and zeal; as were the Honourable Major Deane, my Brigade Major, and the Honourable Ensign Gordon of the 3d guards, my aide-de-camp.——By eleven o'clock A. M. I had got some guns and the greatest part of the troops across the river, and seeing no symptoms of further opposition, and learning that the troops in general had deserted the city, motives of humanity induced me to send, by the Honourable Ensign Gordon, a summons to the governor to deliver to me the city and fortress, that the excesses and calamities which would most probably occur if the troops entered in a hostile manner might be avoided; informing him that the British character would insure to them the exercise of their religion, and protection to their persons and all private property. He returned to me an officer to ask some hours to draw up conditions: but could not consent to delay my march, which I commenced as soon as the whole had crossed the Rio Chuelo; and, on arriving near the city, an officer from the governor again met me with a number of conditions to which I had not then time to attend; but said I would confirm by writing what I had promised, when in possession of the city, and the terms granted and signed by Sir Home Popham and myself I have the honour to annex.—I also transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, 26th and 27th June, as well as the return of the ordnance taken.—I cannot conclude without assuring you of the unwearied zeal and assiduity of Commodore Sir Home Popham, in whatever could contribute to the success of this expedition, and of the cordial co-operation and great assistance which I have received from him.——I have the honour to be, &c.——(Signed) W. C. Beresford, Maj. Gen.

Maj. Gen. Sir D. Baird, Commanding in Chief, &c. &c.

State of the Troops under the Command of Major General Beresford, at the Point de Quilmes, 26th June, 1806.

1 Major-Gen.; 1 Major of Brig; 1 Aide-de-Camp; 1 Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen.; 1 Assist Commissary; 1 Surgeon and 1 Assist. (of the staff); 1 Capt.; 3 Lieuts.; 4 Midshipmen; (Royal Navy); 2 Lieut. Cols.; 2 Majors; 15 Capts.; 20 Lieuts.; 7 Ensigns; 1 Paymaster; 1 Adjutant; 1 Quart. Mast.; 2 Surgeons; 4 Assist. Surg.; 72 Serjeants, 27 Drummers; 1466 effective rank and file; 16 effective horses; 1 wheeler, 1 collar maker, 4 artificers, 2 five inch howitzers, 4 light 6 pounders, and 2 light 3 pounders.——Terms granted to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies by the commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, by land and sea.——Art. I. The troops belonging to his Catholic Majesty, who were in the town at the time of the entry of the British troops, shall be allowed to meet in the fortress of Buenos Ayres, march out of the fort with all the honours of war, and shall then lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war, but such officers as are natives of South America, or married with natives of the country, or regularly domiciliated, shall be at liberty to continue here, so long as they behave themselves as becometh good subjects and citizens, taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, or proceed to Great Britain with regular passports, having previously passed the pa-

role of honour, not to serve until they are regularly exchanged.——II. All bonâ fide private property, whether belonging to the civil or military servants of the late government, to the magistrates, burghers, and inhabitants of the town of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, to the illustrious the bishop, the clergy, to the churches, monasteries, colleges, foundations, and other public institutions of that kind, shall remain free and unmolested.—III. All persons of every description belonging to this city and its dependencies, shall receive every protection from the British government, and they shall not be obliged to bear arms against his Catholic Majesty; nor shall any person whatever in the city or its dependencies take up arms, or otherwise act inimically to his Majesty's troops or government.—IV. The cabildo, magistrates, burghers, and inhabitants, shall preserve all their rights and privileges which they have enjoyed hitherto, and shall continue in full and free exercise of their legal functions, both civil and criminal, under all the respect and protection that can be afforded them by his Majesty's government until his Majesty's pleasure is known.——V. The public archives of the town shall receive every protection from his Britannic Majesty's government.—VI. The different taxes and duties levied by the magistrates to remain for the present, and to be collected by them in the same manner, and applied to the same purpose as heretofore, for the general good of the city, until his Majesty's pleasure is known.—VII. Every protection shall be given to the full and free exercise of the Holy Catholic religion, and all respect shewn to the most illustrious the bishop and all the holy clergy.—VIII. The ecclesiastical court shall continue in the full and free exercise of all its functions, to be precisely on the same footing as it was heretofore.—IX. The coasting vessels in the river will be given up to their owners, according to a proclamation issued the 30th ult.—X. All public property of every description belonging to the enemies of his Britannic Majesty shall be faithfully delivered up to the captors; and as the commanders in chief bind themselves to see the fulfilment of all the preceding articles for the benefit of South America, so do the cabildo and the magistrates bind themselves to see that this last article is faithfully and honourably complied with.——Given under our hands and seals, in the Fortress of Buenos Ayres, July 2, 1806.——(Signed) W. C. Beresford, Maj. Gen. Home Popham, Commodore, commanding in chief.—Jos. Ign. de la Quintana, Gov. and Brigadier of Dragoons.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Arms captured at Buenos Ayres, and its Dependencies.

Iron Ordnance.——7 18-pounders, 1 12-pounder, 8 9-pounders, 15 6-pounders, 6 4-pounders, 8 3-pounders.——Brass Ordnance.—1 32-pounder, 2 12-pounders, 2 9-pounders, 2 6-pounders, 6 4-pounders, 3 3-pounders, 10 2-pounders, 4 1-pounders, 1 9 and half inch mortar, 3 5 and half inch mortars, 1 6-inch howitzer.—550 whole barrels of powder; 2004 muskets with bayonets; 616 carbines, 4079 pistols, 31 musketoons, 1208 swords.—Since the above return was sent to Major Gen. Sir D. Baird, the following guns, left by the Viceroy in his flight, have been taken, and arms, &c. received:—Brass Ordnance.—3 4-pounders, 3 2-pounders, and 1 6-inch howitzer; 139 muskets with bayonets, 71 muskets without bayonets, 85 pouches, 39 swords.

Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the 26th and 27th June.

1 Killed, 12 wounded, and missing.——Names of officers.—Capt. Le Blanc, 71st reg. shot in the leg; since amputated above the knee.——Assist. Surgeon Halliday, St. Helena regiment, missing.

Extract of a Letter from Major General Beresford to the Rt. Hon. Lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, 11th July, 1806.

I trust the conduct adopted towards the people here has had its full effect, in impressing upon their minds, the honour, generosity, and humanity of the British character. His Majesty's ministers will see by the detail of our proceedings that, after the army had passed the Rio Chuelo, the City of Buenos Ayres remained at our mercy, and that, in fact, the only conditions on which I entered were such as I pleased to offer, and which humanity and a regard to our national character would naturally induce me to give under any circumstances. However, to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, we not only consented to put in writing my promises, but acceded to many conditions not expected by them; and, contrary to direct stipulation, gave up to the proprietors all the coasting vessels captured, with their cargoes, and of which I annex a return *, and the value of

* It has been found difficult to procure the return of vessels here alluded to, at least the names of all. They are of various classes, from one hundred and fifty tons downwards, and amount in the whole to one hundred and eighty in number.

which amounted to one million and a half of dollars, and, which being done with the views already exposed, will, I trust, meet with his Majesty's approbation.—I have the honour to inform his Majesty's ministers, that I had detached Captain Arbuthnot of the 20th light dragoons, on the 3d instant, with a party consisting of 7 dragoons, and 20 infantry, (the whole mounted) to a place called Luxan, 50 miles distant. My principal object was to have the country reconnoitred, and to see what were the dispositions of the inhabitants; but with the avowed object of escorting back some of the treasure which had been taken from here, and to prevent its following the Viceroy, which I had reason to suspect was intended, though it was said to be all private property; and, in which case, we had declared, if brought back, it should be given to its owners, if of this city. Captain Arbuthnot returned last night; and I am glad to say with information of a pleasing nature; for your lordship will see, by this detachment passing so easily through the country, that whatever their present inclinations may be, there is no very great danger from any hostile intentions against us: and Captain Arbuthnot reports rather favourably of the general dispositions of the people. The country to Luxan, as I have already represented, in general the whole of it, is a perfect flat, and the view of the horizon obstructed by nothing but the immense herds of horses and cattle, but principally horned cattle.—Luxan is situated on a river of the same name, and where there is a bridge over it, and the route leading to all the interior provinces, and I rather think it will be adviseable on many accounts that I possess myself of it, which I can do by a small detachment. Much of the treasure was caught actually going to Cordova, and the rest, but for the opportune arrival of the party would have been pillaged.—The waggons conveying this treasure may be expected here to-morrow. Those with the Royal Treasure, and that of the Phillippine Company, arrived some time since, and is already embarked.—The Hon. Major Deane, who is the bearer of these dispatches, will give any further information to his Majesty's ministers that they may desire; and I beg to recommend him as an officer deserving of any mark of favour that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow on him.

Proclamation by Major General Beresford.

The town of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies being now subject to his Britannic Majesty by the energy of his Majesty's arms, the Major General with a view of establishing a perfect confidence in the liberality and justice of his Majesty's government, and quieting the minds of all the inhabitants who are now in the city, or who from the apprehension of the general casualties of war may have quitted it, thinks it necessary to proclaim without a moment's loss of time, that it is his Majesty's most gracious intention, that the people of Buenos Ayres, and such other provinces in the Rio de la Plata, as may eventually come under his protection, shall enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion, and that every respect shall be shewn to its holy ministers.—That the courts of justice shall continue the exercise of their functions in all cases of civil or criminal procedure, with such references to the Major General as were had to the Viceroy on former occasions, and the Major General pledges himself, that as far as depends on him every thing shall be done to bring those processes to an immediate and just issue.—All private property of every description shall receive the most ample protection, and whatever may be required by the troops, either of provisions or other articles, shall be immediately paid for at such prices as may be fixed on by the cabildo.——The Major General therefore calls upon the most illustrious bishop, his coadjutors, and all ecclesiastical orders, foundations, colleges, heads of corporate bodies, mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, to explain to the inhabitants in general that they are ever to be protected in their religion and property; and until the pleasure of his Britannic Majesty is known, they are to be governed by their own municipal laws.——The Major General thinks it necessary to acquaint the general and commercial interest of the country, that it is his Majesty's most gracious intention that a free trade shall be opened and permitted to South America, similar to that enjoyed by all others of his Majesty's colonies, particularly the Island of Trinidada, whose inhabitants have felt peculiar benefit from being under the government of a sovereign powerful enough to protect them from any insult, and generous enough to give them such commercial advantages as they could not enjoy under the administration of any other country.—With the promise of such rigid protection to the established religion of the country, and the exercise of its civil laws, the Major General trusts that all good citizens will unite with him in their exertions to keep the town quiet and peaceable, as they may now enjoy a free trade, and all the ad-

vantages of a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, where no oppression exists, and which he understands has been the only thing wanting by the rich provinces of Buenos Ayres, and the inhabitants of South America in general, to make it the most prosperous country in the world.——The Major General has now only to call upon the magistrates to send to the different farmers in the country, and induce them to bring into the markets provisions and vegetables of every description, for which they shall be immediately paid, and any complaints which may be made shall be redressed without delay.—It having been represented to the Major General that some of the existing duties bear too hard on the enterprise of commerce, he has determined to take the earliest opportunity of informing himself on that subject, from the best commercial authorities, and he will then make such reductions in the overbearing duties as may seem most conducive to the interest of the country, until the pleasure of his Britannic Majesty is known. —W. C. Beresford. Maj. Gen. and Lieut. Gov.

Proclamation by the Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces by Land and Sea.

Although the laws of war give all ships, barges, vessels, boats, and craft of every description in harbours, rivers, and creeks, to the captors, yet the Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces by land and sea feeling that such captures will distress the owners of small vessels, as they may be the only means by which they gain their livelihood, and anxiously wishing to give every encouragement to real industry, and every accommodation to the inhabitants of South America, do by this proclamation give up all such small vessels as shall appear to be really vessels carrying on the coasting trade of the river. And they at the same time call upon the owners of those vessels, and the inhabitants in general, to see that no imposition is practised on the captors, by the vessels claiming this act of grace, that are not intitled to it. The captors trust they merit this attention from their liberal conduct to the inhabitants of South America, and their desire to do every thing in their power to promote the happiness of the country.——The description of vessels included in this proclamation, are to be named by Capt. Lajunor, and Capt. Thompson, Captain of the port.——W. C. Beresford. Home Popham.

Extract of a Dispatch from Maj. Gen. Beresford, July 16, 1806.

I am now able to transmit nearly an account of the money which has been received as prize under the terms of my agreement with the acting governor of the place, previous to my entering the town. The statement shews the various departments and public bodies whence the sums forming the total have been derived, the sum of 1,080,208 dollars is going home in his Majesty's ship Narcissus, and Sir Home Popham and myself have thought it right to reserve here for the exigencies of the army and navy a considerable sum; and for the purpose of keeping down the exchange on bills drawn by the respective services and which would otherwise bring the dollar to an enormous price.——It is estimated that the merchandise in the King's stores, principally Jesuit's Bark and Quicksilver, and which is in the Phillippine Company's stores, with the little that is retained of floating property, will amount, if it can be disposed of, to between 2 and 3,000,000 dollars. Of the bullion delivered in, some is claimed as private property, and which shall be delivered in the same spirit of liberality with which, we trust, it will be considered we have acted here. The 61,790 dollars were yesterday delivered to the consulada, on their assurance only that it belonged to the people of this town, and they have a claim upon 40 or 50,000 more, which will be settled this day.

Embarked on Board his Majesty's Ship Narcissus.

	Dollars.
Royal Treasure; by Mr. Casamajor	208,519
Phillippine Company, ditto	108,000
Post Office; ditto	50,872
Tobacco Administration; ditto	94,323
Custom House; ditto	57,000
Agent of Phillippine Company	100,000
114 Skins, each 3000 dollars; brought back from Luxan by Capt. Arbuthnot's party	342,000
2 Boxes; ditto	5,932
Gold Bar; ditto	562
71 Ingots of silver; ditto	113,000
	1,086,208

Remains in the Treasury.

Agent of Phillippine Company	30,000
Consulada; brought back from Luxan by Capt. Arbuthnot's Party	61,790
32½ Linen Bags; ditto	32,500
38 Boxes; brought back from Luxan by Capt. Arbuthnot	76,000
Box found in the house of a priest	4,825
	205,115

Embarked on board the Narcissus - - - - -	1,086,208
Remains in the Treasury -	205,115
Total	1,291,323

Admiralty Office, September 13, 1806.

Captain Donnelly, of his Majesty's ship Narcissus, arrived last night at this office with a dispatch from Commodore Sir Home Popham, Knt. addressed to William Marsden, Esq. of which the following is a copy :

Narcissus, off Buenos Ayres, July 6, 1806.

Sir ; In the letter which I had the honour to address you from St. Helena, April 30, I fully explained, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the motives that induced me to press so strongly the urgency and expediency of undertaking an expedition against the enemy's settlements in the Rio de la Plata.—I have therefore only to give you a short detail of the proceedings of the squadron; previously congratulating their lordships on his Majesty's forces being in full possession of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies; the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America.—To the commerce of Great Britain it exhibits peculiar advantages, as well as to the active industry of her manufacturing towns. And when I venture in addition to assure their lordshigs of the extreme healthiness of the climate, I trust I only hold out a consolatson that the friends of every person employed on this expedition are justly entitled to, and which I am satisfied will be equally gratifying to the feelings of every British subject. —

—As I considered it an object of material consequence to obtain the earliest local information in the river, I placed the squadron under the direction of Capt. Rowley, May 27, and preceded it in the Narcissus for that purpose.—On the 8th ult. we anchored near the island of Flores; and after passing Monte Video the following day, we detained a Portuguese schooner, by whom the intelligence we had formerly received was generally confirmed. On the 11th we fell in with the Encounter and Ocean Transport near the south coast of the river; and on the 13th we joined the squadron.—It was immediately determined to attack the capital, and no time was lost in removing the marine battalion to the Narcissus, the Encounter and the transports, for the purpose of proceeding to Buenos Ayres, while the Diadem blockaded the port of Monte Video, and the Raisonable and Diomede, by way of demonstration, cruized near Maldonaldo and other assailable points.—Our progress up the river was very much retarded by the shoalness of the water, adverse winds and currents, continual fogs, and the great inaccuracy of the charts, but, by the unremitting and laborious exertions of the officers and men I had the honour to command, these difficulties were surmounted, and the squadron anchored on the afternoon of the 25th off point Quelmes à Pouchin, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres.—As it was impossible for the Narcissus to approach the shore on account of the shoalness of the water, the Encounter was run in so close as to take the ground, the more effectually to cover the debarkation of the army in case of necessity; the whole, however, was landed in the course of the evening without the least opposition ; consisting of the detachment of His Majesty's troops, from the Cape, and that from St. Helena with the marine battalion under the orders of Capt. King, of his Majesty's ship Diadem, which was composed of the marines of the squadron augmented by the incorporation of some seamen, and three companies of royal blues from the same source of enterprize, which had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform.—The enemy was posted at the village of Reduction, which was on an eminence about two miles from the beach, with the appearance of a fine plain between the two armies, which however proved on the following morning to be only a morass in a high state of verdure.—This in some measure checked our advance; nor did the enemy open his train till the troops were nearly in the middle of the swamp, from whence he thought it was impossible for them to be extricated.—The able and excellent disposition of Gen. Beresford, and the intrepidity of his army, very soon however satisfied the enemy, that his only safety was in a precipitate retreat, for we had the satisfaction of seeing from the ships near four thousand Spanish cavalry flying in every direction, leaving their artillery behind them, while our troops were ascending the hill with that coolness and courage, which has on every occasion marked the character of a British soldier, and has been exemplified in proportion to the difficulties and dangers by which he was opposed.—*To be continued.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" By an *election*, I mean a real choice, made by a majority of all the persons having a right to vote; and " that, too, every time members are to be chosen; for, if, from the indifference of the people, or from " their disgust at perceiving that the influence of certain opulent men is irresistible, the members be returned " without actually being voted for by a majority of the electors, the opulent few, or even the president " solely, may as well make the return at once, without the ceremony of an election, the rights of which, " in such case, become a mere nullity, or, which is still worse, serve to sanction tyrannical acts, under " the pretence, that whatever is done by the legislature is done by the people; whereas, in fact, these latter " have not the least share in any enactment, because they have no real voice in electing the members of the " legislature."——MABLY's Letters upon the United States.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER IV.

GENTLEMEN;

Before I proceed to the main object of this letter, which is to state to you the reasons which would have prevented me from standing forward to give you an opportunity of shewing your abhorrence at being transferred from hand to hand, like the venal slaves of a family borough, give me leave to advert for a moment, to the subject of my last letter, to wit, the part which Mr. SHERIDAN has borne in this transaction.——In a subsequent page of this sheet, you will find a letter addressed to me, remonstrating against what I had written in my last letter, and justifying, or attempting to justify, Mr. SHERIDAN. It is always my way to publish whatever is transmitted to me in answer to what I myself write and publish; and this is a duty incumbent upon me when the answer is in vindication of any person the purity of whose views I have questioned. The letter of Mr. Homan, therefore, though I know him not; though I have never before heard his name mentioned, and though several other letters from valuable correspondents, had a prior claim to insertion, has been, without a moment's loss of time, communicated to those same readers, to whom my animadversions have been communicated. ——Mr. SHERIDAN seemed to me to be reduced to this dilemma, to be considered either as having abandoned the electors of Westminster either *from the fear of losing his places*, or as having *betrayed them for the sake of a reward of some sort or other*.—— That there is a vast difference in the two your own hearts will, I hope, teach you; and, you will not have forgotten, that my opinion, as stated in my last, was unequivocally on the side of the latter. I was convinced, in my own mind, that, as I there expressed myself, " from the beginning he " was in concert with the Lord and his " Steward;" and, the facts which I stated as the grounds of such conviction were, that, on Sunday, the 14th of September (four days previous to the first meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern) Mr. SHERIDAN held a meeting of his friends, particularly *of the press*, at Somerset-House; that there it was loudly asserted that Lord Percy ought to be opposed, and that it was clearly understood that Mr. SHERIDAN was to be the popular candidate; that from this meeting sprang the public meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where Mr. SHERIDAN not only declined himself, but recommended that very Lord Percy. From these facts, I drew, what I think was a very natural conclusion, that Mr. SHERIDAN took pains to gain you, and to hold you in his hand, merely for the purpose of acquiring the merit of handing you over, in a state perfectly helpless, to Lord Percy and his heirs and assigns for ever. If my premised facts be not correct, my conclusion falls of course; and, Mr. HOMAN asserts, that there was no *meeting* at Somerset-House; but, he acknowledges, that *a few friends* dropped in by *accident*, and he does not deny, that, amongst those friends at least, it was clearly understood, and that too from Mr. SHERIDAN's own language, that Lord Percy was by him regarded as an improper person, and that he, Mr. Sheridan, would stand forward to assert the independence of the city. Now, whether the assemblage spoken of by me ought to have been called a *meeting*, or not, is, I think, of little importance; but, there is one assertion, made by Mr. Homan, which is of great importance, and that is, that, on Sunday, the 14th of September, Mr. SHERIDAN did not know, what he learnt the next day, to wit, " that " the ministry, that all the leading men in " the city, and that all the members of the " *Whig Club*, from the Duke of Norfolk " downwards, even so low as Mr. WISHART,

" the snuff-man, had, *before* Mr. Fox's " death, pledged themselves to support " Lord Percy." It is truly strange, that, considering who and what Mr. Sheridan is; considering his connections, his intimacy with the Whigs, of whose Club he is a member, and, above all, considering his close connection with Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and all those who have distinguished themselves in this affair; when we consider all this, it is truly strange, that, even on Sunday the 14th September, he never should have heard of this mighty mass of pledges to Lord Percy, and it is strange, especially to me, who, with a thousandth part of Mr. Sheridan's advantages in this respect, was well informed, on the preceding Thursday, that the Lord's Steward (the Lord being absent from town) had obtained a great part of the pledges above-mentioned. Yet, it is *possible*, that Mr. Sheridan might on the 14th, have heard nothing of the matter. Upon this point of fact, however, the question rests, whether Mr. Sheridan betrayed the electors, or whether he abandoned them from the fear of losing his places; and, that point I am very willing to leave to the decision of the reader, with this observation, that the presumption was, at any rate, quite strong enough on the other side to warrant my conclusion, though, I do think, that against that presumption is now to be placed the circumstance of Mr. Sheridan's not being present either at the nomination of the Lord, at Willis's Rooms, or at his *election* in Covent Garden, where Mr. Whitbread was selected as the chief operator. To which, I think, may be added, the resentment evidently felt, against the Whig Club and Mr. Whitbread, by Mr. Homan, who, if not dictated to, certainly speaks, or thinks he speaks, the sentiments of Mr. Sheridan himself.——But, Mr. Homan, not content with exculpating Mr. Sheridan from the charge of having *betrayed* you, wishes also to exculpate him from that of having abandoned you. He says, that, talk as long as we will about public spirit and popularity, a contest for Westminster must, after all, " *be decided by* MONEY;" and, says he, " where was Mr. Sheridan to " have found the resources? What," adds he, " would *you* have subscribed Mr. " Cobbett?" Certainly not one penny. Not one penny towards the support of any man. Not one penny to insure the election of myself. No; if it be money you want, go take it from those who know how to get repaid out of taxes imposed upon you by their vote; if it be porter you want, go, base wretches, and suck it from the barrels of those who will take care to squeeze it out of you again in sweat and in blood. But (begging leave to argue for a moment, upon this odious hypothesis) Mr. Homan seems to have conceived the notion, that, unless Mr. Sheridan *succeeded* in finally defeating Lord Percy, his opposition to him would have been of *no use*. I am of a very different opinion. Final success would have been desirable; but, would it have been of no use to give nearly one half of you, at any rate, an opportunity of shewing your dislike to the man whom both he and you disapproved of? Would it have been of no use to prove to the world, that the city of Westminster still valued its independence? Would it have been of no use to cause the family of Northumberland to expend sixty or seventy thousand pounds of that money which Mr. Homan represents as the sure means of deciding elections in Westminster? Mr. Horman seems to perceive what I cannot for my life perceive, and that is, some necessity, moral or physical, for Mr. Sheridan being a member of parliament. If I were to admit this, then, indeed, I should be ready enough to allow, that the fear of a final defeat was a motive that might have induced Mr. Sheridan to decline; but this I do not admit; and, I am, besides, certain, that, if, in such a cause, he had had the courage to expose his places and his seat, no minister in England would have dared to touch either.—— There is one reason, which Mr. Homan gives for Mr. Sheridan's declining, which, it seems to me, ought to have been withheld, namely, that in persevering in a contest against Lord Percy, he might have embarassed an ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE, to whom he is known to be attached by the strongest ties. What! Does Mr. Sheridan's defender say, then, that to have stood forward in support of the independence of Westminster, would have been to embarrass that Illustrious Personage? Can it be supposed possible, that that Illustrious Personage has interests *opposite* to the support of your rights and liberties? Can there be supposed to exist in that Illustrious Personage's mind, any motive for preventing Mr. Sheridan from doing that which a sense of public duty urges him to do? And, if such a motive did exist; and, if, the Illustrious Personage were to act upon that motive, and were to issue his commands accordingly, would you commend, or excuse, Mr. Sheridan for obeying those commands? If you would, why, then, the words public duty, the elective franchise, representation in parliament, and all the other terms and epithets appertaining to this part of our constitution,

are mere empty sounds; for, if the member for your city be not the man you would have chosen, what is it to you from what cause, and by what means he has been imposed upon you? With respect to the Illustrious Personage in question, and also with respect to those who think that no man ought to risk his seat in parliament, Mr. Homan has provided (supposing his charge of venality against you to be true) a defence perfectly complete for Mr. Sheridan; but, if I were to admit the charge of venality, a charge which, *notwithstanding all Mr. Sheridan's praises of your public spirit and purity*, I am by no means prepared wholly to deny, the defence of Mr. Homan would not satisfy me; for, when, in answer to my complaint, that I have been deprived of an opportunity of opposing a member that is unfit to represent me, I am told, that it could not have been otherwise without risking the seat of one man, or without embarrassing the arrangements of another man, what is it but to tell me, that my interests are not considered as any thing, that to talk of my rights and my privileges is a mockery; that I am, in fact, a degraded instrument in the hands of ambitious men, and, in one word, that, though I am amused with the conceits about freedom, I am *a slave*, or, at least, full as much a slave as are the people of other countries, where there are no such things as elections?——When I talk of the *selfishness* of Mr. Sheridan, does Mr. Homan suppose, that I mean to confine myself to his *love of money*? I mean, that he has always his *own views* to answer; the views of vanity and ambition, and sometimes of pecuniary interest; but always views, where *self* stands, before either party or public good; and this he has verified in numerous instances. I do not say, that the love of the mere profits of his places (I speak in the plural, because whatever his son has must be considered as his, and he has, besides, two places of his own); I do not say, that the sheer desire of pecuniary gain has induced him to abandon the electors of Westminster; but, I say, that, if it be admitted, that he objected to Lord Percy; if it be admitted, that, until he heard of the formidable combination of pledges in favour of the Lord, he was disposed to *oppose* him; if this be admitted, and, I think no one will be bold enough to deny it, then, I say, it is impossible to account for his abandonment of the electors, and more especially for his *recommending of Lord Percy to them*, unless upon the ground of his apprehensions for his places, his favour with the Prince of Wales, and for his consequent importance in the world.——Whatever may have been the motive of Mr. Sheridan, and whatever you and the world may think of his conduct, I am perfectly satisfied, that, whether intentionally or not, he has been the principal cause of the lord's becoming your member; for, if, at the meeting of the 18th of September, he had not, after having softened and seduced your minds by his eloquence, recommended Lord Percy to you, a person would have been found to oppose the Lord, though thrusted upon you by a combination so formidable. If he had no intention to become a candidate himself, why did he cause the meeting to be called, and why did he harangue you? If from no selfish motive, why did he *recommend* Lord Percy? This is what sticks with me. I cannot get over this. To cause a meeting to be called, there to harangue and to be applauded, while one's wife and family are spectators from a gallery or orchestra, may, for aught I know, be natural enough; it may be harmless, at least, and, therefore excuseable; but, to conclude by a recommendation of the very man, whom he would have opposed, if he had been able, was an act of meanness for which it is impossible to invent a sufficient apology, and of which it is impossible to find an example, except in the conduct of some member of the whig club.

—Mr. Homan insinuates that I have some personal feeling hostile to Mr. Sheridan. I have none, and I can have none. What I, and almost any other man, might envy in him, his wit and his eloquence, are very far indeed above my pretensions; and, as to his places, and his favour either with princes or with the rabble, they are as far beneath my desires. I regard him, and I always have regarded him, as a man of great talents, particularly of that sort which can be most easily and effectually employed in the influencing of weak minds; and, if I have frequently taken occasion to animadvert upon his conduct, it has been, I can conscientiously assert, with no other view, than simply that of preventing, as far as I was able, those talents from producing an effect mischievous to that country, in the welfare and honour of which I have as deep an interest as Mr. Sheridan, or, as his Illustrious patron.

——Now, Gentlemen, as to the reasons that would have prevented me from standing forward, as a candidate, in support of your independence, those objections, stated in my address, which was published in the form of an advertisement, weighty as they were, would have been got over when I saw you so completely deserted; when I saw you almost literally go a begging for a candidate.

The very circumstances, which, apparently, deterred others from coming forward, would have been an inducement to me. The truth is, that it is our misfortune, that the electors of every place have *not* to go a begging for candidates. It is our misfortune, that, so profitable, in one way or another, is the post become, that candidates go a begging to electors; and, it but too often happens, that they assume a tone and manner, which rather than have recourse to, many a common vagrant would expire with hunger under a hedge. With me, therefore, your distressed situation would have been a strong motive for coming forward. The faint prospect of final success would have been no obstacle at all. Money I would have expended none; and, any labour that a contest would have occasioned me, would have been amply compensated for by the pleasure and the probable public good, which would have arisen from being at liberty openly to speak wholesome truths for the space of fourteen or fifteen days; to which may be added, the powerful motives arising from a fair calculation of the sweating that I should have occasioned to my opponent's purse, and from the probable consequences which my exertions would have produced with respect to a future election. I must confess, too, that to have met those *Whigs* upon your hustings; to have told them to their teeth of all their former professions, of all their forfeited promises and pledges, of all their toasts and songs and resolutions about the liberties of the people; to have compared their practice with their professions; to have enumerated the places and pensions they have created, the jobs they have done, the sums they have swallowed without, apparently, having damped their appetite. I must confess, that the prospect of enjoying this satisfaction would have been a strong temptation; but, when I took an impartial view of *your* conduct; when I saw you receive the speech of Mr. Sheridan with shouts for the living and with lamentations for the dead; when I heard you resolve unanimously, that a placeman, and a sinecure placeman too, was the properest person to be your representative; when I heard you quietly assenting to the proposition, that it was impossible to find, in all this world, a representative equal in merit to the man, who had left you for years without being represented at all, and who, during his six months of office had acted in direct opposition to all the main principles on account of which you had repeatedly chosen him; and, finally, when I heard you receive the name of Whitbread with bursts of applause, even after he had been chiefly instrumental in depriving you of the chance of obtaining a representative agreeable to your professed wishes; when I heard and saw all this, I hesitated not to conclude, that the time was not yet come for a person like me to stand as a candidate for Westminster; I hesitated not, one moment, to conclude, that it required some years of discipline under the hands of the lord and his steward; that it required events such as had not yet come to pass; that it required much yet from experience, that great teacher of wisdom, to bring you to that temper of mind, without which no representative could possibly render you any service; and, I am, upon still further reflection, convinced, that until you see through all the intrigues and frauds of the Whig Club; until you despise all the patriotic mummery of such combinations of place-hunters; until to use any watch-word of party in your presence would be to endanger the nose or ears of the orator; until this be the case, I am finally convinced, that to give you an opportunity of asserting your independence would be a waste of an honest man's time and trouble. I speak, of course, with numerous exceptions, and I know that the few are not to be despised for the folly or baseness of the many; but, I am afraid that a majority of you have little else in view than your private interests and gratifications, and that the defender of Mr. Sheridan is right when he says, that, after all, a contest in Westminster must finally be decided by money. "Well, and what is that to "you?" you will probably say. It is something to me; because your Lord will help to *tax me*. But, if you will take this tone, excuse me if I laugh, when I hear you whining and crying about taxes; excuse me if I remind you of your shouts of applause bestowed upon place-hunting patriots; excuse me, if I ask you what consolation you now feel from reflecting upon "the chair, with "a velvet cushion," in which the Lord was carried round Covent-Garden and along the Strand; excuse me, if I should ask you what a taste has been left by his beer and the orts of his table, which we are told he so generously bestowed upon you; excuse me if I ask you whether you remember how the high-blooded Sire sat smiling at the window, as the news-papers tell us, while you, like beasts of burden, were carrying the son upon your shoulders, and if I reproach you with worse than beastly unreasonableness if you complain of burdens hereafter. As often as I hear you complain, so often will I remind you of your conduct at this election; for, though I am convinced, that you have been miserably duped, I have seen but in

very few of you a disposition to resent the duplicity; and you appear to me to be just as ready and as willing to be duped to-morrow as you were yesterday. Having thus acted, having so unequivocally applauded place-hunters and borough-monopolisers, let us, I pray you, see you conduct yourselves in future like peaceable, contented, obedient creatures. No more of your Palace-Yard meetings, I beseech you, now that you have so decidedly expressed your despair at the loss of that man, who, a few years ago, met you in that same Palace-Yard to exhort you to petition against that very Tax upon Income, which, the moment he was in power, he assisted to double. Let us hear no more of your clamouring against peculators and depredators, now that you have unanimously resolved, that the man of all others the most fit to represent you, is that very man, who, when out of office, pledged his word and honour to bring forward a great charge of depredation, and who, the moment almost that he entered office, declined doing it, lest he should thereby create divisions in the ministry, that is to say, lest he should lose his place. No: let us no more be pestered with your complaints; but go and inscribe the name of your city upon the list along with Old Sarum and Honiton, the electors of which have, at any rate, this merit, that they boast not, neither do they even talk, of that independence and public spirit about which you have always been making such pompous professions.——Having thus, at every stage of the transaction, stated my opinions to you with the greatest freedom and with perfect sincerity, I shall, as the consequences of your conduct come upon you, always have the consolation to reflect, that I have exerted my utmost to prevent them. I wish, though I cannot say that I expect, you to shew more sense and virtue upon a future occasion, and in that wish I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 9th October, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head, it was my intention to have offered some observations upon the ravings, which are afloat, in some of the newspapers, relative to *a new war upon the continent of Europe;* but, I could not go into these observations at any length, without excluding the letter in defence of Mr. Sheridan, which, all circumstances considered, I could not prevail upon myself to do. To the two other letters contained in this sheet, I also beg leave to beseech the attention of the reader. The letter upon the *poor-laws* or *pauper-system,* contains much originality, and appears to me to be worthy of general attention. That *something* must be done upon this subject every one now allows; as to *what* is to be done free discussion alone can lead us to a rational determination; and, thank God, this is a subject which we may yet discuss, without having recourse to figure or fable.——N. B. Even the *prepared report* of the "DELICATE INVESTIGATION" is not yet forth-coming! I always thought the frothy writers upon this subject were speaking without authority. The fact is, that a report *prepared,* that is to say, narrowed and stretched as it might suit the purposes of the persons engaged in the preparation, would be believed by nobody. It was a gross attempt to impose upon the public, to say that *two barristers* were employed by Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales in such a sort of preparation. I doubted, nay, I denied, the fact, as soon as it was stated, and I am truly happy to perceive, that the public are no longer deceived by the statement. It is the unanimous opinion, of course, that any thing that has been said to the disadvantage of her royal highness, or of any other royal personage, is, and must be, *false;* but, it is an opinion, not less unanimous, that, if *any publication* upon the subject takes place, it should not be a *garbled* one. Things are very well as they are; but, if we are to have a report, let us have the *whole* of it; so say I, and so we say all. If the whole of the official report, and also the whole of the evidence, be laid before the public, I, for one, shall never trouble my readers with any comment thereon, unless the report should, which is very improbable, misrepresent the evidence; but, if we have nothing but a selection from the report, nothing but a *prepared* report, I shall hold myself bound to endeavour to elucidate whatever the *two barristers* may have left in a state of obscurity.——*Botley, 9th October,* 1806.

MR. SHERIDAN.

SIR,——As you with great appearance of manliness often sign your name to the severest strictures on public matters and persons; I am of opinion, that when an antagonist means to arraign your conduct and opinions at the bar of the public, and there exist no particular motives for concealing who he is, you are intitled to similar openess from him. I, therefore, send you my address with this, having indeed, little or no objection to put my name to it at length. In your third letter to the Electors of the City

of Westminster, you have made a most unjust and unwarrantable attack upon Mr. Sheridan. My connection with that gentleman's family, and the opportunities I have had of being *really* informed upon the subject your letter relates to, authorise me to inform you that the whole of your statement is founded in error and misinformation, and that there is not one syllable of truth in the assertion of facts, which you seem so hastily to have picked up from rumour and hearsay, or so credulously to have adopted from the interested malignity of faction. Your purpose is to endeavour to prove, that Mr. Sheridan was either not sincere in his desire to assert the independence of the City of Westminster; or, that he deserted the cause upon some unworthy compromise with the Duke of Northumberland's friends, or with the government. Mr. Sheridan in his address to the electors at the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the 18th instant, anticipated the probability of insinuations of this sort following his retreat; but, I should rather imagine he could not have expected them from *you*. I mean only that he could not have expected them from any man possessing common sense, and a common knowledge of political character, arising from observation and the testimony of past conduct. Mr. Sheridan's own words, however, are perhaps the best reply on this occasion, as they are also to the not unnatural nor very extravagant suspicion (though most unfounded when applied to *him*), that the apprehension of losing his office was the leading motive that had decided his conduct. "Illiberal "warnings" said Mr. Sheridan, "have "been held out, most unauthoritatively I "am sure, that by persevering in the pre- "sent contest I may risk my official situa- "tion: and, if I retire, I am aware that "minds *as coarse as uncandid*, may assign "the dread of that as my motive. To such "insinuations I shall scorn to make any "other reply than a reference to the whole "of my past career. I consider it as no "boast to say, that any one who has strug- "gled through such a portion of life as I "have without acquiring an office, is not "likely to abandon his principles or his "duty, to retain one when acquired. On "this ground were I to decline the present "contest, I should disdain the imputation "that sought to bring the purity of my "purpose into doubt; and soon after, I "know not that I have hitherto shrunk in "*place* from opinions I have maintained "when in *opposition*." After these extracts, I really feel that I ought to apologize to Mr. Sheridan for not leaving the question to the manly test he has referred it to. But, as you sir, are very expert in finding pretences for overlooking or discolouring when it answers your purpose, the meritorious tenor of years of political consistency and personal sacrifice, I cannot resist the desire I feel, to try to convince, *even you*, of the perverseness and injustice of your present attack, and not without a hope, that as there is no manliness in obstinacy, you may find it not unbecoming the impartiality you profess, to retract what is proved to be erroneous, and atone for what was meant to be injurious. And now, sir, for your *facts*. I pass over your doubts of Mr Sheridan looking always to *self* in politics—Mr. SHERIDAN a SELFISH politician! SELFISH politician!—Mr. Cobbett you do not think this. You *assert*, that there was a meeting privately called by Mr. Sheridan himself, at which he declaimed against Lord Percy's pretensions, saying "all that his mind could suggest, "and all that his eloquence could express." You add, "this meeting was, as I *under-* "*stand*, held *at his quarters in Somerset* "*Place, on Sunday* the 14th instant. He "there called together all those persons "most likely to be able to aid him in a "contest for Westminster." Now for the fact. No meeting was ever called or existed at Somerset House, on Sunday the 14th, nor did *any meeting of any sort* ever take place at *Somerset Place*, or *elsewhere*, of Mr. Sheridan's friends, until the public one in which they shared, at the Crown and Anchor, on Thursday the 18th. Mr. Sheridan saw a very few friends on Sunday, who called individually in the course of the day, to know his intentions, and two or three whose opinion he had desired. On that day it was certainly his intention to offer himself. No decisive answer had been received from Lord Percy, and there were strong reasons to believe, that he might decline in the case of his pretensions not appearing to meet the free and voluntary wishes of a majority of the electors. Sir Francis Burdett knows this fact. Mr. Sheridan says in his address, "it was never "ascertained to me until Monday last, after "this meeting had been fixed, that Lord "Percy would certainly be a candidate; "and then my friends hesitated, in the hope "that it might be left to arbitration, which "candidate should withdraw: that hope "has failed." I think, sir, your question, why Mr. Sheridan had not "declined *pre-* "*vious* to the calling the meeting," is answered. You are pleased *to assert, that it appears clear to you, that from the beginning* he (Mr. Sheridan) was *in concert with the lord and his steward* (Mr. Wilson). This deserves no other answer than my first quo-

tation from Mr. Sheridan's address; but you do not believe so. You shall know the fact. Mr. Sheridan never had the least idea of the support of government; and, as it afterwards appeared, of *all* Mr. Fox's personal friends, and of all the great aristocratic interests in Westminster, and of the whole Whig party, having been pledged to Lord Percy until the Saturday evening after Mr. Fox's death, when he was informed of it by Mr. Wilson, of whom you may inquire respecting the degree of *concert* and *good understanding* which succeeded between them! Whoever has imposed on you any statement contrary to this, has duped you by gross and impudent falsehood.—You proceed to say, "what "is to be his (Mr. Sheridan's) *reward* I "shall not pretend to predict, but you may "have the satisfaction to assure yourselves "that you will have to contribute towards "it whatever it may be." This, now, is one of those slips of spleen and impatience, which, on the least consideration, you would not have fallen into, and which it would be an affront to Mr. Sheridan to notice further. But according to your mode of reasoning, and the opinion you occasionally affect to hold of Mr. Sheridan, the *allowing him to retain his office*, ought to have been considered by you as a sufficient *reward*. You say, "there was, indeed, a threat thrown "out in a ministerial paper, that Mr. She-"ridan would lose his place if he opposed "the lord;" and you very coolly add, "and "I am of opinion that *such would have been* "*the case.*" Now, sir, let us see how the account would have stood in the case of Mr. Sheridan's persevering in the contest. Mr. Sheridan found against him, on the moment he heard of Mr. Fox's death, the *whole power and influence of government engaged to Lord Percy*. He found, that *answers* had been *actually received three days before* Mr. Fox's death from *all the great noblemen connected with Mr. Fox or the government*, promising *decided support to Lord Percy*. He found, that *all the Whig Club*, from the Duke of Norfolk down to Mr. Wishart, had embarked in the same cause. He found, that a great and illustrious, and, by him, ever to be revered personage, ****, to whom all deference was due from all, most especially on the subject of a successor to his departed beloved friend, but by no one so decidedly due as from Mr. Sheridan, would be placed in a situation of some degree of embarrassment by a contest, the ill effects of which, in every point of view, no man had equal means or right to appreciate or judge of as his Royal Highness. He found, that Sir Francis Burdett (with whom he had a distinct explanation on the *very Sunday* to which you, Mr. Cobbett, refer) with such interest as he could command in Westminster, had made his election in favour of Lord Percy. In the other scale, what was to be placed! Mr. Sheridan's own personal popularity, the justice of his cause, and certainly the popular sentiment and voice in his favour. But can you, sir, or any one, pretend to forget that a Westminster contest, pushed to the extreme, becomes at least a mere contest of money; that Lord John Townshend's election, and one of Mr. Fox's, cost for their triumph at least £40,000 for each election, from the aristocratic purse; and where were Mr. Sheridan's resources, granting his own subscription to have been the loss of his place? or, what would *you*, Mr. Cobbett, have subscribed, had he been so foolish and unreasonable as to have thrown himself on a mendicant subscription from those who, however honest and zealous in their support, could not possibly have attempted even to meet the exhaustless funds of his opposers without injury and distress to themselves? I find I am going into a length, which at the time I write, your paper cannot allow me. I shall resume the subject, not being disposed to pay so ill a compliment to your fairness as to doubt your ready insertion of what I have already written.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, FREDERICK HOMAN—9, *Cecil-street, Strand.*

THE POOR LAWS.

To Mr. John Bone.

SIR,——Having frequently endeavoured to fix public attention on the increase of paupers which has taken place in England and Wales, within the last century, as containing in itself all the proofs that can be required as to the existence of a pernicious system of political economy, and of a declining state of general prosperity, general happiness, and general security. I was particularly anxious to peruse your "Outlines of a Plan for the Reduction of the Poors Rate," in the hope of finding in it the preparatory requisites in all plans, which I never yet met with in any plan of this description; namely, a clear and distinct view of all the leading, remote and immediate, primary and colateral, positive and negative, causes of those evils, the removal of which is the object, and of the adequacy of the means intended to eradicate them. The necessity of such a view prior to the formation of any plan, is estaolished by the certainty, that if in the application of its principle we may block up the channels of one evil, we are liable to open the sluices of another, and so to make bad worse, or gain nothing by our labour. But while I have to applaud the ob-

ject of your plan, and to admire its mechanism, I have painfully to regret that the survey which I have taken of the immediate and remote, &c. &c. causes of poor's rate, and of the means of removing them, compel me to offer its principle as a proof undeniable, or rather the effect of it as an evidence of the most conclusive nature, that you have taken no such preparatory view; and to reject it as destructive of its object. You perceive an advantage accruing to the merchants and farmers, and a disadvantage to the labourer and consumer, arising from the practice of the former in withholding goods and stock from market, for the purpose of keeping up the price; and, therefore, without any attention to the natural consequence of keeping labour back for a similar purpose, and apparently on the authority of Mr. Malthus, you dogmatically assert, with him, "It would evidently be for the "interest of the institution to keep up the "price of labour by the same means that "the merchant uses in favour of his goods, "and the farmer of his stock, withhold it "from market." Limiting my observations to the physical effect of this proposition, I cannot investigate its merits on the variety of moral grounds on which its pernicious tendencies admits of demonstration; but, if the advantages of the principle to one party, and its disadvantages to the other, be all the evidences that can be produced in favour of its extension to the labourer, I will observe that such proofs hold equally good in favour of robbery, as the means of recovering what may have been lost by theft. I do admit, however, that the balance of power, between the labourer and the employer which is aimed at in your plan, must be established, otherways, to attempt the reduction of the poors rate, or any other measure of general good, can only command the degree of pity which is due to well-intentioned folly. But to guard against the concomitant evils of means in their nature, or rendered by circumstance inapplicable to the case, and to point out those that apply with the least possible obscurity, it is as necessary to bear in mind and understand the principles on which our true interest in all our capacities, rests itself, as it is to have organs of sight to enjoy the advantages of light. As leading to the knowledge of those principles, Smith, on the Wealth of Nations, observes, as the fundamental axiom of the science of political economy, "whatever may be the "state of dexterity, skill, and judgment "with which labour is applied in any na-"tion, the abundance or scantiness of its "annual supply must depend, during the "continuance of that state, upon the pro-"portion between the number of those who "are annually employed in useful labour, "and that of those who are not so employ-"ed." As this is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so far as it goes; and as it is no less certain that the happiness or misery, the independence or slavery of any nation, must depend upon the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply, the merits or demerits of any scheme of political economy can only be determined by a clear perception of its tendency to increase or diminish the number of those who are annually employed in the creation of it. The principle, however, is not carried far enough, to steer the political economist safe through those rocks and shoals on which he is liable to be shipwrecked in his pursuit of the supply, or of any thing that depends upon its abundance. Our venerable author should have observed, that the wants and conveniencies of nations, just like those of private families, divide useful labour into four primary divisions; namely, agriculture, mechanism, trade, and coinage; and, therefore, that the abundance or scantiness of the annual supply does not more depend upon the proportion between the productive and unproductive funds of labour, than upon that between the number of those who are annually employed in each division; or, the judgment and scrupulous regard to the general interest, with which the productive fund is divided into farmers, mechanics, merchants, and coiners. He is able upon the advantages derived from the division of labour, but he is totally silent as to the number of labourers in a given population, which ought to be employed in each division, so as to carry the interest of the whole to the highest practicable state of perfection. He has left this calculation to the accident of individual choice, as to the profession which they should follow; to consumate ignorance and unprincipled disregard of the general interest; and hence, so far as is depended upon him to avert them, the pernicious, as I shall shew, disproportion between our productive and unproductive funds of labour, and the excess of numbers employed in one division, and the deficiency in another, which is unavoidable when chance is the guide, and can do no other than defeat all the purpose of the division of labour; than create that dead stock of one description, and a scarcity of another, which is no less injurious in its consequence than if the hands that created it were added to the drones which form the unproductive fund. To the evils of this case, to withhold labour from market, can do no other than add to the amount of the labour lost by so doing. To

illustrate those cases, and demonstrate the pernicious tendency of your principle, let us take the population of a nation at 15 in number, and, suppose that the general interest points out the necessity of employing three in the agricultural, three in the mechanical, three in the mercantile, and three in the coinage division of labour; the remaining three I assume are clerks in office, and limited annuitants past labour, who by industry and prudence in youth, created a fund sufficient to render old age independent of parochial or accidental charity. Let us then take the produce of agriculture as wholly composed of grain, and in quantity at 3 bushels, or a bushel per head of the number employed in that division of labour; and the sum of money which is required to prevent the necessity of bartering the disposeable part of the grain for the disposeable productions of the other divisions, at 1s. 6d. or 6d. per head of those employed in the coinage division In this relative state of the medium of exchange, and the exchangeable supply, and supposing the whole of the one to be exchanged for the whole of the other, the price of the grain is necessarily fixed at 6d. per bushel. Let us next suppose that, to satisfy the demand of the party withholding their labour from market to secure an advance of wages, an addition of 1s. 3d. or 6d. must be made to the circulating medium * ; to even which, supposing dexterity, skill, and judgment to be incapable of extension, an additional hand must be employed in the coinage division of labour; and which, as there are none unemployed, must be taken either from agriculture, mechanism, or trade; say, therefore, agriculture. In this case it is but cause and effect, that the transposition of the agriculturer into a coiner, reduces the stock of grain from three to two bushels, increases the medium of exchange from 1s. 6d. to 2s. raises the price of grain from 6d. to 1s. per bushel, and robs both the labourer and the employer of 1s. 3d. of their real income, while looking through the fallacious medium of pounds, shillings, and pence, they see their wealth increased in the proportion of 1s. 3d. If this be no proof of the destructive of its abject tendency of your principle, if this be no evidence that as price rises and as nations advance in nominal riches, they fall into real or relative poverty, what testimony can we require to convince us, that as we verge into darkness so we recede from the light? The case, however, with all its horrid aspects, does not exhibit in full the malignity of its nature. As your scheme has risen the price of grain from 6d. to 1s. per bushel, it has depreciated the relative or exchangeable value of money 50 per cent. that is, a shilling or sixpence can purchase no more grain or any thing else than 6d. or 3d. could when you began to withhold labour from market. The inevitable consequence therefore, is, that the clerks in office and limited annuitants, who as such are excluded from any share of the money which you brought into circulation, are cheated out of half their real income, while their nominal revenue remains whole and undiminished: and, therefore, as to labour they cannot, to beg they must not be ashamed. Could a doubt remain, Sir, as to the application of this theory in all its circumstances, to remove it is only necessary to compare the present real income of the labourer and the annuitant as reduced, and the number of paupers as increased by the practice of withholding goods and stock from market, with the state of both at the revolution of 1688, when the *patriotic* Whigs introduced paper money as the means of enabling merchants and farmers so to do. At that glorious æra (as the Whigs still term it, and as rendered so by the solidity of the basis on which it established the freedom of trade, or the right of every man to do as he pleases, as to the sending or withholding his property from market); the average price of common labour in England and Wales, was about 6s. a week, as near as can be calculated from the statement given by Sir F. M. Eden of its price in each country; and that of bread about 5d. the quartern loaf, if so much; but critical exactness is not necessary. In 1806 the average price of labour is about 14s. a week; and that of the quartern loaf above 13d. The fact, then, is, that at the former period a nominal revenue of 6s. a week, gave

* This addition does not follow as a necessary consequence, because any sum circulated, for instance, ten times in any given time, produces all the effects of a sum ten times its amount circulated once in the same given time; whether as to profit or loss, the enhancement of price, or the depreciation of money. This being the law of nature in the case, and taking it for granted that the labour required to coin and so to circulate the small sum, is equal to that which is necessary to coin and circulate the large one, it matters not to which, (increase of quantity, or quick return) we impute the effect. But, as the effect is indisputable on the one or the other of the principles, I impute it to an increase of quantity, as an idea rendered more familiar to our minds by the necessity we feel ourselves under of paying more money as things get dear, vulgarly speaking.

a real income of about 14½ quartern loaves to the labourer and annuitant, while at the latter a nominal revenue of 11s., (nearly double the amount) gives only a real income of 10 quartern loaves and $\frac{2}{13}$ to the labourer; and the annuitant of 6s. a week is reduced to the shorter allowance of 5½ quartern loaves. And if we refer to 1800 when, bread was 1s. 10d. per quartern, and the wages of labour not higher if so high as it now is, we shall find that the labourer had *of right* but 6; and the annuitant of 6s. but 3 $\frac{2}{13}$ quarterns a week; the first, of course, losing considerably above ½ and the latter about ¾ of their real income in 1688. And how? More than by any other means, by the practice which prevailed in 1800 of borrowing money from bankers (which they could lend with ease, because "it cost them only the paper on which they wrote") to pay rents, &c. &c., and so to secure the ability of withholding cattle, &c. from market; and, I defy all the calculators on earth (of course including the patriotic and intelligent Agricultural Society), to prove the contrary. They may, however, attempt to prove, if the troublesome exhibition of bulls, boars, and rams, and the delightful amusement of *seeing* "the breed of cattle and sheep" crossed, give them time to reflect, that, as a fair reasoner, I ought to have taken the average price of bread in the present and last century, and not its price in any particular year in each, as the data of my calculation. This will do to shew to those who have weathered the storm of high price, what they may have gained or lost by its violence; but, in a national point of view, and in the case of the labourers and limited annuitants, whom its fury have dashed upon the hard and cold rocks of parochial charity, it is false and inapplicable; and for the plainest of all plain reasons; namely, that the low price of bread in one year cannot unbolt the workhouse during their natural lives, and set at large, with their little household furniture about them, morality of character, and independence of mind, the enslaved and unpitied victims of its high price in a prior year. As to the increase of paupers, I make a calculation of it on two principles, and leave you to take your choice, or to chuse a better. In 1688 the total rates collected under the denomination of poors rate, amounted only to £665,362. (Vide Sir F. M. Eden on the State of the Poor.) In 1803 the total rates under the same denomination amounted to £5,348,000, (nearly nine times the above amount), of which £1,034,000 was expended in church and highway rates, &c. &c. (Vide Rose's Observations on the Poor Laws.) By this statement it appears, that the latter rates bear about the proportion of 1s. 5d. to the total rate collected; and supposing them to have done so in 1688, the actual poors rate at that period was about £532,290. Dividing this sum in equal parts, and taking that of each pauper at 5d. per day, the then price of the quartern loaf, their total number amounted only to 19,586. And, 2dly, Mr. Rose's gives the present annual average expense of the poor per head, in and out of the workhouse, at £3. 17s. 9½ but for the sake of even numbers, say £3. 18s. And no doubt can remain that the average per head in 1688 was lower than £3. 18s. in the proportion between the high value of money in that year, and its low value in 1800; that is, in the proportion between 5d. the then, and 13d. the now price of the quartern loaf. I say, therefore, if 13d. gives an average expense of £3. 18s. per head, what average expense per head will 5d. give? Answer £1. 10s. We have, therefore, only to divide the poors rate, £532,290. by £1. 10s. to know with sufficient certainty that the poor, in and out of the workhouse in 1688, did not exceed 354,860. Until I saw Mr. Rose's Observations on the Poor Laws I have always understood, that the poor in and out of the workhouse amounted to 1,200,000. He however, gives their number at only 1,039,716. But as he has left out of his estimate of the population of Middlesex (818,129) that of London (862,845 according to the Morning Chronicle of April 28, 1802), and of course as he is likely to have taken no notice of the poor of London, I am inclined to think that 1,200,000 is the more correct number of the two. To which, perhaps, we may add 300,000 more, who receive relief in hospitals and alms-houses, and in the multiplicity of other asylums, garrets, cellars, barns, stables, &c. &c. in which the evils of free trade, of our right to do as we please with our own property, of choosing for ourselves whether we shall follow useful labour, or mischievious speculation branch out, deprive the poor of the means of supporting themselves, and extort from philanthropy the scanty allowance of private chatity. But, whether this description of poor be 300 or 300,000, and whatever may have been the corresponding number to it at the *glorious* revolution of 1688, a well founded doubt, I think, cannot remain, that the poor in and out of the workhouse have increased since, in nearly a quadruple proportion: while the increase of population does not perhaps amount to 1-ninth of its present state, if Dr. Price be correct in taking it at 8,000,000 in 1688. But, if I may quote the epithet applied by Lord Mel-

ville to the plea of parliamentary reform, while *his plea* was that of the Treasurership of the Navy, what can the increase of population amount to in justification of increased poor, but to "a cover of rascality," or a want of all sense, reflection, and information. Since it is plain matter of fact, that no poverty can arise from numbers, while millions upon millions of acres of ground lie uncultivated, or are mischieviously cultivated into parks, lawns, and pleasure grounds, if the poor were allowed to occupy it, and provide for themselves. Since it is plain demonstration, that it is not from our number that our calamities arise, but from the licentiousness not liberty, the disorder not regularity, the selfishness not patriotism, the cruelty not justice, the indolence not industry, and therefore, the poverty not riches, which as naturally arises to the nation, from "the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property," and as to the choice of his profession, as it would do to a private family, were its head foolish enough to confer such right on its individual members, or, were such members ignorant enough to demand such right for themselves.——For the further confirmation of these truths, or to exhibit the proportion which the exercise of this right has established between our indolence and industry, I beg to refer you to the Political Register of the 23d August, where you will find, I believe, on the best evidence of circumstances, that "the number of those who are annually employed in useful labour" (in England and Wales) amounts only to 2,180,496, while "that of those who are not so employed" amounts to no less than 7,162,082. From this incredible, and destructive disproportion between our productive and unproductive funds of labours, you will naturally conclude, that if our annual supply be not actually in that state of scantiness which threatens us with internal anarchy, or external slavery, it is relatively so deficient as to leave little stock to feed, but much labour to render precarious and insupportable the lives and health of the 1-fifth of the population, on whose industry, the not regulating our public liberty by the rules adopted in our private families, has made us to rest for all that is near and dear to us as men, as patriots, and as believers in the moral justice of the deity. While these evidences of the dilemma into which, as the immediate cause, the practice of withholding goods and stock from market, or, of bringing them to sale on terms which the poor cannot reach, have placed us, and of the tendency of your Plan to ramish us as individuals, and to accelerate our dowufall as a people, are fresh in your memory. Nay, while you must be alive to the conviction, that no plan can succeed in reducing the poors rate, or prevent its growth, but such will convert multitudes of the idlers who compose our unproductive into useful labourers, and furnish them with land, &c. to work upon. I shall take the liberty to suggest the principle of a plan, which I think has the contrary tendency to that of yours, and therefors, will secure your object. And as the evils of the system which we would correct originate in its fundamental *defections*; and as all plans must ultimately fail if they be *fundamentally* wrong, I have to request you will permit your zeal in the cause to point out what you may conceive to be the defections of mine, with the same degree of freedom with which I exposed those that appear to me in yours; so that we may at last meet, if we do not at present agree. As our happiness or misery, slavery or independence, depend upon the abundance or scantiness of our annual supply, every plan of the nature of ours, should have two objects in view; namely, to secure the abundance of such supply, so far as it rests with labour, skill, dexterity, and judgment so to do; and to divide it among the different members of the community as justice and sound policy may direct. As to the first of these objects, instead of an abundance, it must appear from the disproportion between our productive and unproductive funds of labour, that we have either to contend with an alarming scantiness*, or, that the pressure of labour is so great on the few, comparatively, who have to perform it, as to render their lives and health short and precarious, and their loyalty a miracle of the most miraculous nature; and with respect to the second, a doubt cannot remain, so far as it relates to the labourer, that on every principle of justice and sound policy, he is entitled to that portion of

* The great majority of the idlers and the industrious most sensibly feel a scantiness; and unless it be supposed that so much of the annual supply as they are deficient of, be actually suffered to rot in storehouses it is impossible to doubt the existence of a scarcity to the amount of the scarcity they feel. They will not however dive for the cause below the mere skin-deep practice of withholding goods and stock from the markets, or of bringing them to sale at a price which they cannot reach. And if the love of truth, or, a sense of danger, should inspire any man to lead the mount of their depth, it is seldom but what he is deemed a tool or abused with revolutionary designs of a criminal nature.

food and raiment, &c. which is necessary to prolong his life and health. Such portion, whatever may be its weight or measure, evidently bears some proportion to the stock of the employer; say, then, for the sake of argument, one-eighth. The question, then, is, how to secure this allowance, subject to no diminution from the insatiable avarice of the employer, as displayed in the practice of withholding his stock from market, of bringing it to sale on terms which the labourer cannot reach, and of regulating wages without any regard to the necessity of his servants; in short, subject to no other variation in quantity than such as must unavoidably arise to all parties from the natural casualties of seasons and trade. If we do not look through the irremidibly delusive medium of money, (indisputably so while our very rags are converted into currency, at the pleasure of corporate bodies and individuals, and the mines of Peru are permitted to vomit their gold upon our shores,) there is no question at all upon the subject; it is only to pay the one-eighth in kind, whatever may be its weight or measure; or, if more convenient to both parties, and if paid yearly, discharge it in money, (even if in rag money so much the better, since it requires less labour to coin and manage it,) amounting to one-eighth of the price for which the whole stock may have been sold; and when paid by the week, it is only necessary to divide the annual allowance into weekly shares, and to regulate the money value of each by the average weekly price of corn or bread, these being of all standards of value the least subject to variation. This is the principle of my plan, and so far as payments in kind go, it is not the delusive phantom of metaphysical abstractions, or, the perturbed offspring of a revolutionary mind. It was, to a considerable extent, the mode of paying rents and wages in the northern parts of Great Britain even within my own recollection; and, it is not many centuries ago, when the same mode prevailed in England, as it still continues to do in some places, with respect to the tithes; nor is it farther back than the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when "It was "enacted that one-third of the rent of all "college leases should be reserved in "corn, to be paid either in kind or ac-"cording to the current prices at the near-"est public market. The money arising "from this corn-rent, though originally but "a third of the whole, is, in the present "times," (when Dr. A. Smith wrote) "ac-"cording to Dr. Blackstone, commonly "near double of what arises from the other "two-thirds." I cannot, therefore, be accused with broaching visionary and untried ideas, though I must plead guilty to the charge of holding revolutionary principles. I certainly do, in proportion as I feel for the honour of human nature, and desire the peace, prosperity, happiness, and independence of my country, wish for a revolution sanctioned by King, Lords and Commons, in parliament assembled; which, by converting paper credit into torches, idlers and speculators into useful labourers, would light us back to the times when payments in kind were in fashion, and extend the principle of Queen Elizabeth's Act, to payments of all kinds. For, I believe from the self-evident merits of the principle, as shewn by Dr. Blackstone, when contrasted with the demerits of the present mode as established by its consequences to the labourer and the limited annuitant within the last century, that had Queen Elizabeth so extended it herself, she would not have had the mortification of being the first sovereign in the universe, perhaps, who had to reduce the poor laws into a system, possessing no other merit than the mere ability of preventing the dead bodies of the poor from becoming a nuisance in the streets and hedges, for the short time compared with eternity the power could remain, with a progressively diminishing number of useful labourers to support them. Queen Elizabeth erred most egregiously (if she had more in view than the interest of individuals, as it depends on commerce and speculation) in preferring this system to the extension of the principle of her own 18th act. to payments of all kinds; but they are still more in error, if not in fault, whose minds are not made up as to the self-evident causes of increasing poor; because, while they are hesitating whether the fault lies in the poor laws or in the system with which those laws have to contend, the number of poor is increasing and must continue to do so, till *the laws of labour* secure to the labourer that portion of food, raiment, &c. which is necessary to prolong his life and health, and which, with prudence on his own part, and the *aid of your institution*, will render him independent of parochial charity when past labour; and to proprietors of all descriptions that protection of property, which they are insultingly told is given to it by law, while by all the evidences of sensation and reflection, they know to the contrary, according to every idea that is universally attached to the words, protection and security. Sir, the question is not, what are the contingent and concomitant evils on the principle of this plan, for no human invention can be without such; but whether they are fewer in number, or less malignant in their nature, than those

that are so on the principle of the plan at present acted upon, or that of yours if carried into execution, and that would be so on the other scheme proposed by the Rev. Mr. Malthus is carried into practice, viz. (as given in substance by Mr. Rose) "To restrain the "marriage of the poor," that is in its tendency to encourage beastly and unnatural crimes "as the means of diminishing the "number of labourers and thereby raising "the price of labour;" for, if they appear to be so on the fairest principles of calculation that can apply in the case, we are bound, by the common rules of prudence, which in all cases enjoins us to chuse of two evils the least, to give them the preference. Bearing in mind that the reduced and reducing state of our productive fund of labour, and the increased and increasing condition of our stock of paupers, promise to leave us but little time, comparatively, to make our election. As a fellow labourer in the same vineyard, and with every sentiment of esteem and respect that must be due to any man in that capacity, however mistaken in opinion,—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Sept. 5th, 1806. C. S.

SINKING FUND.

Sir;—I observe a correspondent, under the signature of X. T., in your Register of the 6th of this month, has done me the honour to notice my figures, relative to the Sinking Fund, as compared with a certain deficiency of revenue, and consequent annual loans to supply that deficiency. Your correspondent says, that such a statement as mine never entered the brain of any person except myself. I should almost suspect the sincerity of this declaration, for it is difficult to account for the display of so much of his own profundity, when, in his opinion, he has nothing but the ignorance of a solitary individual to combat. I must entreat, however, of your correspondent, not to be angry with me, if I confess myself so incorrigible, that he has left me, instead of producing conviction to my mind, exactly where he found me. I have a right, to say, at the same time, in justice to my principles, that I should be infinitely more gratified, as a friend to my country, to acknowledge his triumph, than he to claim it, if I had met with demonstration instead of assertion, founded, as I think, in gross and palpable error. Having no purpose on earth to serve, but what ought to be common to us all, namely, to establish the evidence of truth, I shall concisely endeavour to convince others if I cannot the gentleman who has so confidently challenged my figures, that they are much more easily challenged than refuted. If, indeed, I could flatter myself that *his* notions of the efficacy, I seemingly ought to say omnipotence, of the Sinking Fund, had taken possession of no other "brain" than his own, I confess I should be very little inclined, though he has not shewn me the same indulgence, to disturb an individual's harmless pleasures of imagination or flights of fancy. Believing, however, as I solemnly do, that deception on this subject has long been, and still continues to be, part of the system which has so powerfully contributed to the difficulties of our present situation, and that must, if not very soon arrested in its baneful progress, produce consequences incalculably dangerous to the country; I shall act consistently with my former endeavours, however feeble they may have been, if I do not suffer the futility of X. T.'s calculations to pass unnoticed. His figures will admirably suit the meridian of the Stock Exchange, and have, for any thing I know, no more laudable object in view. I deem it, however, more consonant with liberality, to impute the purest motives to X. T., and assuming, therefore, that he is, like myself, actuated solely by a desire to promote the interests of the country, too long, as I certainly think, made subservient to interested imposture and delusion; I shall be glad, if I be able to convince him, that he is completely mistaken in the ground of his attack upon me. Should I succeed in so doing, he will feel it a duty to confess his error, and I call upon him to do so. X. T. says he will confine his observations merely to my postcript, and hopes to convince me of an error that will upset the whole of my argument. I accept freely his challenge on the ground he has chosen, and will, therefore, for the sake of brevity, confine myself to an illustration of the position laid down in that postcript. This I propose to do by adducing a comparison so familiar and apposite, that, unless I greatly over-rate its perspicuity, cannot fail to be clearly understood by even a very superficial person; certainly not by a man of the research and investigation of X. T.—When X. T. says that the interest on 140 millions, to be borrowed by fourteen equal annual sums of 10 millions, will only amount to 52 millions, I perceive that he and I go upon very different *data*. He has just overlooked, *accidentally* I suppose, that when a man continues to expend 1000*l.* beyond his income, and borrows that sum at 5 per cent., he must also borrow at the expiration of the year 50*l.* at 5 per cent. to pay the interest. There is one part of the letter of X. T. so strikingly absurd, that I am half inclined to think him not serious in his opposition to my statement. I had remarked that, supposing, for argument's sake, the commissioners

of the Sinking Fund to have redeemed 140 millions, they would be able, by the employment of that amount of capital at compound interest of 5 per cent., to redeem about as much more in 14 years. On the other hand, I had stated, that annual loans of 10 milions for the same period, to supply an actual deficiency of revenue, would create a new debt of 205 millions. X. T. says, that this is an admission from my own figures of 75 millions in favour of the Sinking Fund. According to X. T.'s conclusion, therefore, an estate worth 280l., encumbered by a debt of 205l., would be of more value to the possessor than an estate worth 140l. *free* from incumbrance!!! If X. T. will re-consider this statement, I dare say he will make a *trifling* change in his figures, as it will only be to substitute 65 *against*, instead of 75 millions *in favour of*, the sinking Fund. —To you, Mr. Cobbett, whose attention has been so unremittingly directed to the subject of our finances, and who are evidently impressed with the immense importance of their real situation being understood by the country at large, I shall make no apology for requesting your insertion of the following statement, if you think it will afford any degree of elucidation. I will suppose a person to have the reversion of 20,000l. capital with its accumulation, invested at 5 per cent. compound interest, during a period of 14 years. It is unnecessary for me to state, that, at the expiration of that term, the capital would be nearly, but not quite doubled. Now let us try the effect, if such a person, depending solely on this reversionary property, or Sinking Fund, if you please, with its accumulating interest, shall, during the 14 years in question, regularly expend the sum of 1500l. per annum, to defray the expenses of his living. To avoid obscurity from fractional parts, I will suppose that he shall, at the commencement of the first year, borrow that sum of A. At the end of the first year he borrows of B. 75l. to pay the interest due to A. For the second year he borrows of C. for his current expenses 1500l. and will then be in debt to A. B. and C. conjointly, 3075l. He then borrows of D., to pay the interest for one year, 153l. 15s. due on the three preceding loans. He next borrows of E., for the current expenses of the third year, the usual sum of 1500l., and is then in debt to A. B. C. D. and E. conjointly, for money borrowed at interest of 5 per cent., 4728l. 15s., and he therefore borrows of F., to pay one year's interest to his respective creditors, the sum of 236l. 8s. 9d., making altogether 4965l 3s. 9d —I will not proceed further. Sir, with this operation of common arithmetic, as it is unnecessarily occupying a part of your valuable Register. X. T. can himself, if he pleases, pursue it, and he will find, that, at the end of 14 years, our hopeful spendthrift will have sunk more than half his fortune, and, should he persist on the same plan for 14 years longer, would certainly be *insolvent* in the sum of about 12,000l. If such be the fact, and figures are very obstinate when rightly placed, what must we think of that bewildered, superficial minister, to use no harsher term of reproach, who obstinately *persevered*, for I never blamed the original attempt, in the pernicious measure of the Sinking Fund, while a deficiency of revenue compelled him to contract more of *new* than could possibly be redeemed of *old* debt? I have not only contended that such deficiency of revenue *at present* exists, but that a deficiency, beyond the power of the Sinking Fund, is inseparable from the peace-establishment, even with an allowance for the retrenchment of expenditure much exceeding any saving that government will dare to risk. Surely never was there a more cruel mockery of the common sense of the nation than the Sinking Fund!! But in this, as in all the other prominent measures of that wretched politician, its projector, it is in vain to search for any depth of sound policy or solid wisdom; in short, to trace any thing but miserable state quackery.—I should have sooner noticed the communication of X. T., if my mind had been less deeply affected by the alarming illness and recent death of that great man, to whom I had the honour of addressing my former letters on the subject of finance. For the loss of such a man, personal attachment alone would, at any time have occasioned me real sorrow: at the present crisis, I deplore it as a serious national misfortune. This loss, no doubt, demands increased energy on the part of every friend to the country, and the most dignified tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. Fox will unquestionably be the imitation of his conduct, by our strenuous and *united* exertions in its defence. Under the immediate influence however, of so afflicting an event, either that liberal statesmen, *in whom none of the meaner passions found a place*, must have been much less esteemed and admired than by myself, or the mind have more firmness than I ever possessed, that can boast of any thing resembling composure.—Yours, &c. J. T. — *London, 23d September*, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter from his Majesty the Emperor and King, to his Eminent Highness the Prince Primate.

My Brother;——The form of our com-

munications in our quality of protector, with the sovereigns assembled in congress at Frankfort, not being yet determined, we have considered that nothing could be more suitable than to address the present letter to your Eminent Highness, in order that it may be communicated to the two colleges. In truth what organ can we more naturally chuse, than that of a prince, to whose wisdom has been confided the task of preparing the first fundamental statute. We should have waited until that statute had been decreed by the congress, and had been communicated to us, if it did not contain dispositions which personally regard us. That alone has induced us to take to ourselves the initiative, in order to submit our sentiments and our reflexions, to the wisdom of the confederated princes.—When we accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, we had nothing in view but to establish in right what had existed in fact for many ages. In accepting it we contracted the double obligation of guaranteeing the territories of the confederation against foreign troops, and the territory of each confederate against the enterprizes of others. These all preserving obligations are pleasing to our heart, they are conformable to those sentiments of benevolence and friendship of which we have, without ceasing, given proofs to the members of the confederation. But these our duties towards them end. We do not wish to be understood as arrogating to ourselves that portion of sovereignty which was exercised by the Emperor of Germany as Sovereign. The government of the people whom Providence has confided to us occupies all our time, we could not see an increase of our obligations without alarm. As we do not wish to be ascribed to us the good which sovereigns may effect in their states, neither do we wish to be imputed to us the evils which the vicissitudes of human affairs may introduce. The internal affairs of each state we do not regard. The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine are sovereigns, without any sovereign over them. We have recognized them as such. The discussions which they may have with their subjects cannot, therefore, be brought before a foreign tribunal. The diet is the tribunal whose office it is to maintain peace between the different sovereigns who compose the confederation. Having recognized all the other princes who form the Germanic Body, as independent sovereigns, we cannot recognize any one as their sovereign. We have no relations of sovereignty with the Confederation of the Rhine, but merely those of simple protection. More powerful than the confederate princes, we wish to use the superiority of our power, not to restrain their rights of sovereignty, but to guarantee their rights in their plenitude.——We pray God, my brother, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping. Given, at our Imperial Palace of St. Cloud, the 11th of Sept. 1806.——NAPOLEON.——Certified to be conformable to the original.——C. M. TALLEYRAND, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince of Benevento.

Circular Note addressed to their Majesties, Imperial and Royal Highnesses, Dukes and Most Serene Princes, associated in the Confederation of the Rhine, on the part of the Prince Primate of the Confederation.

The Prince Primate of the confederation has the honour to inform their Majesties, Imperial and Serene Highnesses, &c. &c. that his Minister Plenipotentiary Baron D'Albini repaired to Frankfort at the beginning of this month, to make preparations in his name for the opening of the diet, in as much as might accord with the intentions of the associated kings and sovereigns. The act of confederation having designated that term for proposing a fundamental statute, the opening of the sittings will depend probably upon the arrival of the plenipotentiaries. Ardently desiring to deserve the confidence of the associated kings and princes, the Prince Primate regards it as the first duty of his office, not to propose any thing which might not be generally acknowlenged as of essential advantage to the confederation, as well as consistent with the perfect independence of the confederated sovereigns.——If the formation of a fundamental statute cannot be the work of a day, and that an object of such importance requires the most mature reflection, it is notwithstanding equally true, that it is desirable that the confederation should from its commencement be established upon an immoveable basis. Its object is to obtain tranquillity and security, the true happiness of nations, and to enable sovereigns to occupy themselves without interruption in the prosperity of their states, in increasing the happiness of the towns and country, by the enlightened attention of a prudent and parental government, and by the encouragement of useful arts and sciences, the true sources of the splendour of august dynasties and sovereign houses. The South of Germany, after ages of misfortunes, troubles, and wars, cannot but ardently wish that its internal happiness should be established upon an imperishable basis. The Prince Primate submits to the wisdom of the confederated kings and princes the decision of the question, whether the fundamental

maxim of the inviolability of the territory of the confederation, be not the first and most important of all the bases of the public prosperity? Whether it be agreeable to the high wisdom of the confederated kings and princes never to allow a passage to foreign troops, though even disarmed, without the consent of the entire confederation? And, finally, if it be not also conformable to the dignity of independent sovereigns, that the representatives at the diet of Frankfort, engaged in assuring domestic tranquillity, should neither send ministers to, nor receive them from foreign courts; a right which is naturally reserved to each of the august kings and sovereigns, and not to a meeting of their plenipotentiaries.—If the diet of Frankfort should hereafter apply to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, as protector, to obtain his guarantee of such an inviolability of the territory of the confederation, we may be allowed to entertain a hope that this favour, one of the first importance, will not be refused on the part of that great man, who has known how to respect the inviolability of one of the most important countries in the world, notwithstanding the obstacles which appeared to oppose it.—The Prince Primate submits these observations to the kings, princes, &c. &c. associated in the Confederation of the Rhine, and will always feel happy if his zealous disinterestedness can deserve their confidence and approbation.——CHARLES.—*Aschaffenburgh, Sept.* 18, 1806.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing Street, September 13th,* 1806.

Concluded from p. 544.

I have probably trespassed on a line that does not immediately belong to me, but I could not resist the gratification of relating to their lordships what I saw; assuring myself, at the same time, they will be convinced, if the enemy had given the squadron an equal opportunity, I should have had the pleasing duty of reporting an honourable issue to the effect of their eminent zeal and exertions.——On the 27th, in the morning, we saw some firing near the banks of the River Chello, but it blew so hard that it was totally impracticable to have any communication with the shore during that day.——Early on the 28th, a royal salute was fired from the Castle of Buenos Ayres in honour of his Majesty's colours being hoisted in South America, and instantly returned by the ships lying off the town.—I now consider it to be a proper moment for acknowledging in terms of the sincerest gratitude, my high sense of the zealous and animated conduct of every officer and man in the squadron which I have the extraordinary good fortune to command.—Captain Rowley, with Captain Edmonds under his orders, continued as long as the weather would permit an advantageous demonstration off Maldonado.——Captain Donnelly, who did me the favour of requesting I would go up the river in the Narcissus, and to whom, from his rank, no specific service could be assigned in our small scale of operations, applied himself in every occasion where he could promote the objects of the expedition: and, as he is charged with this dispatch, I take the liberty of recommending him to their lordships' protection, under a full conviction they will obtain, through him, every information which they have a right to expect from an officer of great intelligence and long meritorious service.—I consider Captain King, with the officers of the marine battalion, so completely under the report of General Beresford that I shall only state to their lordships my extreme satisfaction on hearing personally from the general how highly he appreciated every part of their conduct, particularly the celerity with which they transported the artillery and troops across the Rio Chello after the bridge was burnt by the enemy.—Lieutenant Talbot of the Encounter manifested great zeal in every instance where it was necessary to call on him; Lieutenant Groves of the Diadem was also very active in landing the ordnance and ordnance stores, and I think it highly proper to state to their lordships that the masters and crews of the different transports behaved with great attention during the whole of the service.——I inclose a copy of the terms* granted to the inhabitants after the capture of the city, by which their lordships will see that the coasting vessels in the river, supposed with their cargoes to amount to one million and a half of dollars, were restored to the proprietors; for an early record to the country of the great liberality of his Majesty's government.——I have the honour to be, &c. HOME POPHAM.

I have sent Lieutenant Groves to take possession of Ensenada de Baragon, a port to the Eastward of Buenos Ayres, where I understand there are two gun vessels and two merchant ships.——H. P.

* See Maj. Gen. Beresford's dispatches.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" Of the co-operation of Prussia there seems to be less *hope*, though I should think *fear* a more proper " term."——Mr. Fox's Speech of 21st June, 1805.

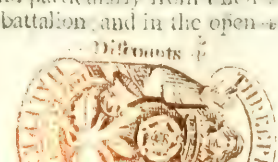
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——This was the title, under which was submitted to the readers of the Register the series of facts and observations relating to that contest, which, between the months of August and January last, extended the power and the dominion of France from the banks of the Rhine to the confines of Hungary, which took from the House of Austria a considerable part of its territories in Germany, its distinguishing title of Emperor of Germany, all its Italian territories, which drove the King of Naples from his continental dominions, which raised a Frenchman to the throne of Naples, which caused another Frenchman to be made king of Holland, which created two new kings between France and Prussia, and which gave rise to the confederation of the Rhine. In again taking up the same title, I should be glad to be able to express an expectation of having to record, and to comment upon events of an exactly opposite discription; but, while I hear the newspaper writers in general expressing their anxious *hope*, that Prussia has, at least, resolved upon war against France, I must confess, that, with Mr. Fox, in the words taken for my motto, I think that *fear* would be a far more suitable term.——What is it that men expect from the war, which they now tell us is about to commence upon the continent? I do not ask what they expect favourable to England, for I know, that, whatever is favourable to the independence and security of the several states upon the continent must also be favourable to us; but, I ask, generally, what they expect of good from this approaching war. The writers, to whom I have alluded, answer, that they expect, or, at least, they hope for, the " deliverance of Europe." This is a phrase of large, but of very vague, signification. To ask them to be specific would, perhaps, be thought unreasonable. Yet, surely, in such a case, those who are advocates for the enterprize, ought to be able to tell us what they hope for from it, and that, too, somewhat in detail. " To deliver Europe, to " repress the ambition, and to chastise the " insolence, of the tyrant of France," were the objects of the shallow-headed boaster, Pitt. What is it, then, once more I ask, that you hope for from this new coalation and war? Is it to reduce the power of France? Is it to drive her out of Holland and Italy, or either of them? Is it to compel her to submit to such terms of peace as she now rejects with disdain? Be the hope what it may, one thing is evident, that it must be founded, if it has any foundation at all, upon the presumption, that the allies are able to beat the French Emperor in the field; and, I really do not believe, that there is in all England one single man of plain good sense, and of common information upon the subject, who entertains such a presumption.——We are told, indeed, by certain public writers, that the armies of France are not nearly so numerous as those of the allies; upon which we cannot fail to remark, that, *before* a battle, the French armies are always, by these writers, represented as inferior in numbers, and, that always, *after a French victory*, the allies are represented as inferior in numbers. We are told, that it is with the utmost difficulty, that the French armies are kept recruited; that the pompous accounts of the men raised in France are false; that the people of France begin to perceive (they have been a long while beginning!) that they are shedding their blood for the ambition of Napoleon alone and not for French interest; that they are averse to the war, and are, accordingly, cold and backward as to all the steps necessary to its prosecution; that, in the Prussian states, on the contrary, the greatest degree of attachment to the " *beloved* sovereign" (they are always beloved when they are on *our side!*), and of enthusiasm in his cause, pervades all ranks of the people, and that the army, consisting of the bravest and best-disciplined soldiers in the world, burn with eagerness for the onset. The Russians, we are told, are pouring down in hundreds of thousands to back the Prussians; and, finally, we are solemnly assured, that Austria is, with *renovated vigour*, preparing to send her immense armies through Moravia and Bohemia, the *Levy en Masse* having been rendered permanent

in Hungary.——All this we are now told; and all this, in almost precisely the same words, we were told this time twelve month, or, a few weeks before the capture of *Ulm*. Prussia was then expected to join the coalition as Austria now is, and the epithet, "beloved," which is now given to Frederick, was then bestowed upon poor Francis! Delusion seems to be necessary unto us. We appear to suck in deception as naturally as a calf empties the udder of its dam. Quacks of all sorts are our delight, and we seem to have a decided partiality for German quackeries. This must be, or would it not be impossible for any public print to obtain circulation with statements, such as I have just alluded to, in its columns? I do not say, that the King of Prussia is unwise in trying the effect of war; for, it may be, that he is convinced, that he would, in a short time, be annihilated in peace; and that, of course, war gives him the advantage of a *chance* of salvation. What I find fault of is, the holding out of hopes of a deliverance to Europe by this war, which, if entered upon at all by Prussia, is evidently the effect, not of hope on her part, but of despair. —— As to the numerical strength of France on the one side, and of the allies on the other side, I should imagine, that the advantage might be with the latter; but, to counterbalance this, France has so many other advantages, that there appears to me not the least hope of her being finally defeated. And, indeed, without resorting to detail, what need have we of any other presumption in her favour than that which is so amply furnished us in the history of the last war? Prussia, we shall be told, was not then engaged. But, the more formidable power of Austria was engaged; Russia was also engaged; and, is there any man who will seriously say that he expects to see better generals employed now than was employed then? Does any man expect to see the Russians fight better than they did before? Does any one see more difficulties in the way of France now, than she had in her way then? *We*, indeed, are now, we are told, to act a part, in Holland, or in the North; but, we before co-operated with Austria in the South, and we had an army, too, ready to co-operate with the allies in the North. In short, France has again to fight, in the great field of Europe, with enemies of nearly the same strength as upon the last occasion; but, with her own means greatly increased. And, if this be the fact, can we possibly expect, that the result of the present war will be disastrous to France?—— How many times, since the summer of 1803, have I endeavoured to caution my readers against the attempts to persuade them, that the *people* of France would be an obstacle to Napoleon's career of ambition and of conquest! How often have I repeated to them my reasons for placing no hope upon this foundation! And, how fully have events verified my predictions! Not only have I never come at any fact to warrant a hope of this kind; but, I can see not the least ground for such a hope in the reason of the case; for, whether we argue from the situation of the people of France, as produced or affected by their government; or, from the consequences naturally and generally flowing from the achievements of a renowned ruler; or, from the character of the French nation in particular; we shall, I think, conclude, that, if it were possible wholly to exclude discontent from a population of 30 millions of souls, it would be now excluded from the dominions of France. And, as to the nation, that the people "begin to perceive "that Napoleon has an interest separate "from theirs," it can never have proceeded but from a brain somewhat crazed. They perceive no such thing. Love of glory, and of military glory, is their great characteristic. Every Frenchman wishes his country to be the mistress of the world; and he loves the man, be he who or what he may, that will conduct her in the pursuit. Like horses and dogs, the French people are harrassed and sweated and torn and sometimes killed in the chase, but, as to delight in the sport, not one of them yields to the hunter himself. Our error, as to the feelings of the French people towards Napoleon, arises from our judging of them by ourselves Here, where a love of wealth is become predominant, because, particularly since the rule of Pitt, wealth alone obtains distinction, a love of national glory is become almost entirely extinct. A man who aims at a title by increasing his sums in the funds and by the purchase of boroughs can have no idea of military glory. He regards every soldier as a miserable slave, or as a mad-man. A people, who see bankers made Lords, are no more able to judge of the feelings of the people of France, than a man born blind is able to judge of colours. Above all things, therefore, would I caution those, who are indulgent enough to read what I write, not to listen to those writers, who would persuade them, that England may expect advantage, that she may derive safety, from a disposition in the people of France hostile to their present ruler especially; nor can I see, at present, any reason to suppose, why his successor, if treading in his steps, should not

be as implicitly obeyed as himself.——There is one consolatory reflection relating to the present war, and that is, that it cannot render the situation of the Continent *worse* than it now is; for, as to those who are subjects, it would be difficult to conceive how their miseries and degradation are to receive an increase from a change of masters; and, as to the present masters, it seems evident that war can only a little hasten their fate, unless a reformation could be effected in their governments, and particularly in the conduct of the higher orders of their subjects. The old states, as Mr. Burke observed in his earnest and pathetic exhortation to them, seem all prone downwards; there is, amongst too many of the leading men in them, a strange and unnatural mixture of more than feminine timidity and of more than masculine profligacy. Wherever the armies of France penetrate, they find a people totally inert, or ready to receive them with open arms; and, it is strikingly true, that, if they have lately met with enemies in Italy, it was there only, where the people, living in a state of semi-barbarism, knew nothing, or very little, of their sovereign or of his government. We, here, in this country, though labouring under many and grievious and increasing hardships, are by no means qualified to judge of the dispositions and the motives of the people of the states which France has overrun. We, who, though fallen very far from the situation in which our fathers left us, have still our courts, where justice, with as few exceptions as can be expected, is impartially administered; we have still our civil liberties unimpaired, and though our political liberties have been abridged, it has been from the operation of unpremeditated influence, and not from any disposition, in any quarter, to tyrannize over us; we have still our property, and though it be loaded and shackled by the powers of taxation, the far greater part of us admit the necessity, and all of us live in hopes of seeing the day when, by one means or another, it will be freed; we, though we have lost all love of military glory, have still many and powerful motives to love our country, and to endeavour to preserve it untouched by the arms of our invader. Thus situated, and thus actuated, we are, however, not competent judges of the motives of the people of the continental states. We always fall into the error of regarding every people invaded by France as a people situated as we are; we make a comparison between our own laws and government and the laws and government of France, and then we apply that comparison to every state that France invades, and we inveigh, accordingly, against the folly and the baseness of the unresisting people. But, were we to inquire into the situation of such a people; were we, instead of being amused with the descriptions of "happy people and beloved sovereign," given us by those writers, whose trade it is to amuse us; instead of this, were we to spend some small portion of our time in inquiring into the real causes of the small resistance which the French have met with, from the people, in their several acts of invasion, the subject of our wonder would, in most cases, be, that they had met with any such resistance at all. To the greatest physical power that Europe ever saw collected in one state, is added, in favour of France, a moral power equally unparalleled; and, against these two powers united, do we any where see opposed one man renowned for his valour or his wisdom? Do we see any thing but mere mercenary armies that never gained a victory, led by generals, who, amongst scores of them, have not a single sprig of laurel to divide?——Yet, though these reasons present themselves to my mind against encouraging the hope of our deriving any benefit from the approaching war, and though I can easily see, that it must be attended with new and heavy taxes imposed upon us, I am not prepared to say, that our ministers are to blame for having encouraged the undertaking of it. What has been said for the King of Prussia may, perhaps, be said for them; that they have a *chance* of preventing by war, that which *must* have been accomplished by peace. We must see the manifestoes; we must hear the reasons alleged, before we can judge correctly as to whether they have, in this case, acted wisely or not. My opinion, which I have already given, is, that hopeless as the affairs of the Continent are now, chiefly from the mismanagement of Pitt and his minions, become, it would be our wisest way, to let the Continent alone, not to expend one penny for fifty Hanovers, to make such a reform in our financial system as would enable us to remain armed and to annoy the enemy, until affairs upon the Continent should of themselves take a more favourable turn, dreading nothing so much as that, by useless exertions upon the Continent, we should enfeeble ourselves and render the burdened people indifferent to the fate of their country, just at the moment when Napoleon, having completely subdued the Continent, would be ready to direct his whole force towards England. This is my opinion; but, I will not, until all the facts are before me, say, that another trial upon the Continent

may not have been dictated by wisdom, and that, in such a situation of things, the chance of good may not have fairly outweighed the risk of evil.——As to the number of troops that we are, or ought, to employ upon this occasion, I, of course, can, as yet, form no judgment; but can I know any thing about the probable point of their destination; but, there is one remark, which I cannot help making, and that is, that, amongst all the regiments which I have seen upon the embarkation list, I have not seen any of the *Hanoverians*, of whom we have, according to the lowest account, *thirteen thousand* in this country! That these heroes might not relish the East or West Indies or the Mediterranean or North America; that they might prefer the mild climate of England to the scorching of the South or the freezing of the North, I could easily conceive; but, supposing, especially when I look back, that they must burn, that they must be scorching up to cinders, with impatience to join in the "deliverance of Europe," and particularly of their own dear country, I am, I must freely confess it, quite filled with astonishment, to give no other name to my feelings, to see such a long embarkation-list, and not a single man of them upon it. It is understood, of course, that all these Hanoverians, have come to England out of pure love to their sovereign, joined to a very natural and very laudable hatred of the French, who had invaded their country; and, is it not something to be censured in our public writers, that, while they are exultingly anticipating the prowess of *British* troops in this new continental war, they say not one word about the prowess of the *Hanoverians*, but, in all their calculations, except those of provisions, seem to follow the example of the libellous Yankees, and to count them as nothing. I am aware, that I shall be reminded, that we have much to hope in the way of *improvement* from the manners, &c. &c. of those amiable and loyal foreigners; but, whatever opinion I may have as to the good which the present or the succeeding generation of Englishmen may derive from their residence here, I must still insist, that it is cruel to keep them from sharing in that glory, which for the reasons before stated, they have an unquestionable right to share in. I am as ready as any body to acknowledge the advantages that must accrue to the service from their exemplary conduct, from their sobriety, from their cleanliness, from the wisdom inseparable from their contemplative habit of smoking, and particularly from their singing psalms in battalion and in the open streets, to the almost retraction of the hardened sinners of our service and of the towns and farmers waggons that happen to be blessed with their company; but, while I readily acknowledge these advantages, I am full as ready to give up whatever share of them may fall to me, and I do trust, that there is scarcely a man in this country so selfish as to wish to retain them here, while their valour and their loyalty are, doubtless, constantly goading them on to go and join their brothers in arms in the glorious enterprize, the deliverance of Hanover and of Europe.



NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE. —— Lord Lauderdale returned to Dover, from Paris, on the 12th instant, after a mission of about two months. What he was empowered to do we shall probably be informed of; but, unless he was fully empowered to treat upon very low terms indeed, it was evident, from the first, that he would not succeed in concluding a peace.——It is stated, in the newspapers, that, when the Mayor of London, or the *Lord* Mayor, as he is called (and, indeed, *Lord* seems to be a very proper title for a great tradesman, seeing upon what principles men are now made Lords); when this Lord communicated the news to his brothers of the Stock Exchange and other such places about the Bank, it is stated that the inhabitants of those regions saluted him with three cheers, and that one from amongst them observed, that this mark of the spirit of the metropolis, would, when heard of at Paris, "*appal* the tyrant of France!" The news, as it was conveyed through the country "drew from the people, in the several "towns and villages, similar demonstrations "of joy; that the cry was, *eternal war rather than an insecure peace*; and that, in "one town, an *illumination* was actually "proposed." The spirited gentlemen of the 'Change must excuse me if I express some small doubts as to the expected efficacy of their three cheers. Those cheers may, possibly, serve to delude a few poor wretches to contribute towards their riches; but, upon "the tyrant of France," they will have no more effect than would the mewing of so many cats. He, or he is a most uninformed ass, knows very well how to estimate the worth of their cheerings. Were it his intention to invade us with an army of turtles or of turbots, then, indeed, he might have reason to fear the spirit of the metropolis; but, if ever he comes here, it will be with a sort of creatures, for which the Stock Exchange Gentlemen will have very little stomach.——To the New Opposition, and to me in particular, this cry of "eternal war"

is very amusing. I remember how the base rabble, high as well as low, treated me for refusing to give demonstrations of joy at the infamous peace of Amiens. I remember how the charge of wishing for "eternal war" was rung in the ears of Mr. Windham. I remember how the base citizens rejoiced at that peace. Their illuminations, their transparencies, their abject and detestable emblems are still fresh in my mind. I remember the praises bestowed upon the time-serving place-hunting Jenkinsons. I have stored up in my recollection, all the villainies of those times; all the cant of courtiers, and all the abominable trimming of the newspapers and the reviews. That was the time of my life when I saw human nature in its most hideous form; that I beheld baseness the most complete that I ever beheld in my life; and, I do frankly confess, that I am not sorry to see it punished. Yes, I do remember, when the vile wretches, high as well as low, vied with each other in showing their gratitude to Mr. Otto, and when many of the fashionable strumpets thought themselves happy in being permitted to give a route to his wife, upon exactly the same principle that the savages of some parts of the world are said to worship the devil. I remember seeing Lauriston drawn in triumph by Englishmen; and I never shall forget, that the newspapers (the very same that are now pouring forth execrations upon Napoleon) then abused every one that dared to express a fear, that his intention was not to suffer us long to remain in peace. And last, though certainly not least, I remember when Mr. Peltier was tried in the Court of King's Bench for speaking irreverently of this man, who is now represented as a devil in human shape; and, to the eternal dishonour of the English press, I remember when the London and the Country newspapers applauded the prosecutor and the prosecution, which latter they represented as "necessary "to preserve harmony between the two "countries." All this I remember, and, remembering it, I am not to be easily moved to compassion towards the nation that was guilty of it.——I have, when speaking of the effects of the system that has long been bringing us into our present state, often observed, that the proof of our weakness, when compared to the enemy was, that we knew not whether to wish for war or for peace, and that the aspect of the latter was, and must continue to be, as hideous, or more so, than that of the former. I have often said, that, while our present system continues, we must be in continual dread of the effects of peace as well as of the effects of war. I have often said, that, while this system continues, England will never again know one hour of real peace. And, is my opinion *now* singular? Are there not many who think with me? Is there any man who can show, that the reasons, upon which this opinion is founded, are not sound? Has not the last few days proved, that this is now becoming the general opinion?——I am told, perhaps, that, if this negociation has failed, another may succeed. When? And why should it? The result of the new continental war may lower the tone of Napoleon. It is possible; but is it not possible also, nay, is it not probable, that it may raise his tone? And, if his terms are inadmissible now, what will they be then?——These are questions that it behoves every man to put to himself. If he be, indeed, a wretch, who, hoping that the day of destruction will be put off to the end of his own life, cares not a straw for what happens afterwards, he may have some hope; for it may please God to rid the world of him very speedily; but, if he has any thought for posterity; if he has one spark of the love of country in his bosom, it behoves him to consider what is to be done, when the day of again negociating with the conqueror, still more elated, shall arrive. "Would the "Right Honourable Gentleman *never* have "peace?" said the manly Addington, with the mob at his back, to Mr. Windham. That question I now put to the eternal-war men. "Will you *never* let us have peace?" No, say they, unless we can have *safety* with it. Aye; why that was my wish at a time when you might have had a safe peace, or might have carried on the war with a *chance*, at least, of success. But, now you cannot have a peace of safety, and you cannot carry on the war with a chance of success, the very utmost of your hopes being, that you shall be able to prevent yourselves from becoming the slaves, the real conquered slaves, of France. Do your hopes extend further? Where is the man amongst you, who has larger hopes? I ask that frothy bombastical declaimer, who, in humble imitation of Pitt, strings me together endless sentences about the commercial greatness, the inexhaustible resources, and the unconquerable spirit of England; I ask even him, what are his hopes? He cannot tell me. He uses many high sounding words; but no rational cause can he assign why our situation should not proceed, as it has done, from bad to worse; and, his conclusion always is, a bare assertion, that Englishmen never will be slaves.——To save the country from being

conquered, however, requires a way of thinking very different from this. A settled plan of long resistance must be fixed on. The whole nation must be brought to adopt it in their hearts, and to act upon it with vigour and with chearfulness. There must be a change in our system. New spirit must be infused into us. We are now existing along from expedient to expedient, without the support of any fixed principle. Without being able to form even a probable conjecture as to what is to be our fate. And, if the ministers themselves were asked; if those profound political economists, Sir John Newport and Lord Grenville were asked, how they will be able to carry on the financial affairs of the country for only two years longer, they would be as much at a loss for an answer as any one of their door-keepers would be, if the same question were put to him. There is *no plan*. "Sufficient unto "the day is the evil thereof," is still our maxim. "Existing circumstances" are still the ground of our actions. There is no minister who has yet said to the country, such and such are my specific objects, and to the attaining of these objects all other considerations shall give way. Even now much more do the ministers think of their places than of their country. What effect will the breaking off of the negociation have upon *us?* Is the question that most of them put. Will it render us popular, or unpopular? Will it afford us an opportunity of getting a House of Commons still more to our mind? These are the questions that most of them have at their tongues' end. And, in such a state of things, what reason have we to expect, that we shall act as becomes a public-spirited and wise people? In opening negociations for peace, the ministers perceived, that, if they concluded a peace such as alone they could expect to conclude under such circumstances, they would have to withstand all that the Pitt faction could say against it; and, they were well aware, that, in order to depreciate the peace, the embarrassed circumstances of the country would be overlooked, or denied; but, they had it in their power, at any time, to break off the negociation, and thereby silence their opponents, though they could not promise themselves better terms at any future time. This was the view with which they opened the negociation, and not with a resolution to do what was wise, whatever might be the consequences as to their places and their power. Such were the constantly-varying views of the place-loving Pitt. And, from the effect of such motives of action it is that this country has sunk from one degree to another, till, at last, she dare not make peace; she dare not lay the sword out of her hand, for fear of being destroyed.

PARTIES.—Death, in levelling Mr. Fox, appears to me, to have levelled his party for ever. The whig club might well bewail the loss; for, in the same grave where his remains were deposited, was deposited all their consequence in this world. Indeed, the whigs were crippled the moment they came into power. They were blighted and blasted in the bud. Mr. Fox, I verily believe, took the seals of office with great reluctance. He saw in them, what they proved to be, not an emblem of power, but a badge of slavery. But, he was beset with a crew, who had so long hungered and thirsted for a share of the good things of Whitehall and St. James's, and, always as irresolute in adhering to the right path as he was acute in perceiving the errors of others, he, in an evil hour for his reputation and for his life, yielded to their selfish importunities. Had he rejected the degrading terms that were imposed upon him, had he said, I will have a Military Council, which I have contended to be necessary to the safety of the state; I will have a rigid inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, of which I have so frequently asserted there is such a scandalous waste; I will suffer no protection to be given to Indian or any other delinquency; I will have an investigation into the causes of that misery of the poor, of which I have so often complained; I will suffer no addition, at a time like this, to the pension and sinecure place lists, against the amount of which I have a hundred times inveighed; and, in short, I will insist upon reversing the whole of the corrupt system, which I have, upon so many occasions, represented as the cause of all our dangers and disgrace: if he had said, these things will I have, or I will have no place, he certainly would, at that time, have had no place; but, he would, in all human probability, have had life at this moment, and, what, to such a man, ought to be much dearer than life, he would, dead or alive, have had, with those who approved of his conduct theretofore, an untarnished reputation. In my mind, there is no doubt of his death having been occasioned by his constant application and by the torments of his mind. The same motives that led the crew, by whom he was beset, to urge him to accept of a place in the ministry, led them to keep him unremittingly at the oar. His habits of life as well as his habits of body required much

relaxation in order to preserve his health. The crew, intent only upon flattering themselves through his means, gave him not a moment's rest. But, though it is well known that they made the most of his short official existence; though they took care so to employ his power as to provide for themselves by places and emoluments; and though it is suspected that some of them have made ample provision by other means; yet, with respect to the whigs in general, they have killed the goose with the golden eggs. The reputation of the party was gone before his death, and with him went their power, leaving them the mere hangers-on of the ministry partly, and partly of the Prince of Wales ——The moment it was seen that Mr. Fox was not to be the prime minister, it was easy for any man acquainted with the state of parties, to foresee what would follow; but, when he himself condescended to become the instrument in bringing forward a law to enable Lord Grenville to hold two offices, incompatible with each other, "poor Fox, "there only wanted the Windsor uniform "to make the exhibition complete!" After this no part of his conduct could excite surprize. It was evident that he had made up his mind to go all lengths; and to have gone further than he did, in so short a space of time, seems almost impossible.—Yet, there was something in his name, that preserved his party from that utter contempt, into which, as it were at a signal given, they have now fallen. The Grenvilles know well, that the reputation of the whigs is gone; they know well that all the *good* and sensible men in the country, who were formerly proud to be thought whigs, have long been disgusted at the base abandonment of principle which their leaders have discovered; and they know also, that merely the name of Mr. Fox, and the high reputation of his talents, were all they had to dread in the way of rivalship for power. As to Mr. Grey, who has been a perfect mute ever since he came into power, they have little dread of him; the rest of the Foxites are scarcely worth naming; and, it is as clear as day-light, that, unless the whole of them will submit implicitly to to Mr. Windham and Lord Grenville, they will soon be no longer in a situation to reap the fruits of their subserviency; and, indeed, if they be suffered to remain upon any condition, it is only owing to the Prince of Wales, who takes them, perhaps, under his protection, and whose life is, of course, likely to be longer than that of his father.—If any proof, other than their conduct, were wanted, of the wretchedness of their situation, we have it in the elections for Westminster and Hampshire. Lord Percy was set up by the Grenvilles, who had just before, given him a borough; and, notwithstanding all that we have heard about other reasons, it is very well known now, that it was they who caused Mr. Sheridan to desist. Mr. Whitbread told the electors, that Lord Percy was the object of *the choice of the whigs*, just as Pitt, by *choice*, effaced the lillies from the arms of England. The whigs' was just such another choice; and do we not often see, in common life, that men, in order to disguise the disgrace of abject submission to the will of others, do that, apparently from their own inclination, which they know those others would compel them to do. In Hampshire, Lord Temple, in the name of his family, has set up two members; and here, too, the whigs are as diligent and as zealous as if the choice were their own. Lord Caernarvon, the father of Mr Herbert, all the world knows, has long been closely attached to Lord Grenville. He was one of the few peers, who, much to his honour, voted with Lord Grenville against the ignominious peace of Amiens. The other member is also chosen by the Grenvilles, and it is well known that all his family and connections were opposed to the whigs in the county. Yet are the whigs labouring as hard now, for these two gentlemen, as they formerly were for Lord John Russell —I would beg to be understood not as seeing with regret this disgrace, and approaching extinction, of the whigs I have always thought, and I have always described, the greater part of the leaders amongst them, as ambitious and especially as selfish demagogues. The club, which they erected, always appeared to me to be intended to further their views as to places and pensions. It appeared impossible that such a Club should have any other rational object. There were no *Tories* for them to oppose. Why, then, was the wretched name of Whig kept alive by such a contrivance? "What need," said an old American to me once, "have you of those "patriotic ferrets when all your rats are "destroyed?" To which I answered: "But, if we have no need of the ferrets, "the ferrets have great need of us, just as "your Whig ferrets have need of you!" They have their Whigs in America too, though there is not in the whole country, such a thing as a Tory. The fact is, that the Whigs, like the Anti-Jacobins, made

to a good "thing" of their profession, and they are equally unwilling that it should cease to exist. Buonaparté, by destroying Jacobinism, has thrown hundreds of loyal writers out of work, and deprived their families of a comfortable subsistence. Is it surprising, that such men rail against him now even more than they did when he was a Jacobin himself?——I am well pleased at seeing this despicable rump of Whiggism broken up and exposed. It is, I hope, the last party Club that we shall ever hear of. The people will, I hope, learn to repose confidence in themselves, learn to act from their own judgment, and not again be the sport of a noisy selfish faction, who, with liberty and public good ever upon their lips, had, in their hearts, nothing but places and pensions and contracts and jobs.——As an instance of this place-hunting propensity, amongst the subaltern orders of the Whigs, we may select that of *Mr. Perry*, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, a print, which under this gentleman's direction, was for twenty long years, the faithful repository of Whig sentiments and doctrines, and which, during the whole of that time, ceased not to inveigh against placemen and pensioners, and especially against my Lord Grenville and his family. This Mr. Perry, from the moment a change of ministry took place, began his applications for a post for himself; that is to say, for a share of those taxes, of the unbearable weight of which he had a thousand times most bitterly complained. As to any *services* that he intends, or expects, to render the country, in consequence of his receiving this share of the taxes, that is a mere pretence or subterfuge. He is, I believe, one of those *new Commissioners of Accounts*, of which establishment so much was said last spring, and of which establishment I just recollect, that Mr. Perry's news-paper was a most strenuous advocate! Thus, by this appointment, have the Grenvilles, not only silenced a formidable Whig battery, but have converted it into a bastion for their own defence! And yet now, you shall I warrant you, hear this same Morning Chronicle railing against the tyrant of France "in good set terms," comparing the abject situation of his subjects with the free lom of Englishmen, who, amongst other blessings, enjoy the inestimable one of the *liberty of the press!* Well, poor Perry! he really deserves what he has gotten. It was several months before he could obtain any thing. A thousand ways, it is said to have discovered, and pointed out, to the Whigs, in which they might provide for him; and, at last, having found the Whigs full as grateful as they were public-spirited, he did in a fit of despair, it seems, throw himself at the feet of Lord Grenville, who, "under existing circum-"stances," thought it right to take compassion upon him. This self-degradation of Mr. Perry is, to me, really incomprehensible. As to public-spirit; as to disinterestedness; as to any of the self-denying public virtues, I could readily excuse the want of them in a professed Whig; but, I can neither excuse nor account for a man's voluntarily becoming a slave without any temptation, other than that of the love of a little brief and empty official importance. To do any thing at horrent from one's feelings, to submit to the making of one single bow to a man that one hates, merely for the sake of being able to move about in a hutch drawn by a pair of horses, while one has two good legs to walk upon, is not easily to be excused; but, Mr. Perry has, of his own independent earnings, the means of gratifying every wish of this sort. What, then, in the name of sense and reason, could induce him to barter his freedom? to forfeit the power of freely expressing his thoughts? to give up, for the sake of a mite of despised importance, the first and greatest gift of heaven, the free use of the faculties of his mind? But, "his family," some one will say, "it was his duty to sacrifice his feel-"ings for the good of his family." I do not believe that his family stood in need of any sacrifice of any kind; and, were he as poor as Job, and had he a wife like that of Job, his answer to her ought to be also like the answer of Job. Every thing that a man can do honestly and fairly and without degrading himself or neglecting his duty towards his country, he ought to do in order to make what he deems a suitable provision for his family. But, there is no obligation upon him to do, for this purpose, any act that has a tendency to degrade his own character. It is against nature as well as against reason to suppose, that his family ought to be exalted by the abasement of himself.——After all, however, I would not be understood, as imputing the self-degradation of Mr. Perry to any motive of the kind here alluded to. I am inclined to believe, that he was, from the first, a hunter after place, and that his undefatigable exertions, his unparalleled fortitude through a six months' series of rebuffs, are fairly and solely ascribeable to that ardent love of the taxes, which is the ruling passion of every true Whig.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——The public have been so long amused with promises that a report of this investigation was about to be made, that, after we were told of the *preparation* of it by *two barristers*, many persons, in the simplicity of their hearts, believed that it was actually forthcoming. My readers will, however, do me the justice to remember, that I never gave into any such belief; for, in the first place I never could think, that any one had so very low an opinion of the understanding of the people of this country, as to suppose that they would not laugh at the idea of setting two barristers to work to *prepare* (that is to say *garble*), for publication, a report drawn up by three privy counsellors; and, in the next place, I could not believe, that, supposing the people of England to be thought so despicably credulous as to give credit to a report so *prepared*; supposing them to be regarded in this despicable light, I could not believe that the Princess of Wales would ever give her consent to the publication of a report so garbled. For this reason it was that I ventured to deny the fact of garbling; I stated my suspicion that the story of the two barristers was a sheer fabrication of the writer in the Morning Post, having in view no other object than that of making some of his well-dressed rabble of readers believe, that he was in the secrets of the Princess of Wales, a suspicion, which, by a paragraph in the same paper, of the 14th instant, is fully confirmed.——"We repeat," says he, "that "two of the most distinguished of His Ma- "jesty's counsel have made that preparation; "and that the publication at this moment "waits for nothing but his Majesty's sanc- "tion. This writer himself no longer "*dares to insinuate a doubt* of the *complete* "*acquittal* and *established innocence* of the illustrious object of the Infamous Calumny. "It is *universally known*. It is *possible* that "in this publicity of the purity of the Il- "lustrious Princess, his Majesty, *thinking* "*the publication not absolutely necessary to* "*her justification, may withhold it from ten-* "*derness to many persons, some of them, we* "*understand, of very high rank, whose share* "*in the business would cause them to be re-* "*garded with very different sensations and* "*sentiments from the high veneration and* "*affectionate and loyal attachment univer-* "*sally felt for the Princess of Wales.* We "still hope his Majesty will not think it "necessary to *restrain* the publication. We "should hope that nothing has been done "that can render it difficult to do the "fullest justice to exalted innocence, "without bringing into question the con- "duct of persons whom, from a variety of "considerations, we are anxious to have "regarded with respect and admiration."——The public were somewhat prepared for this by a paragraph of the day before, in which from the facts real or invented, of the Princess having employed herself in making toys to be sold at *Lambeth* fair for the benefit of the poor, and from her having said to the surgeon, who came to attend her after the overturning of her coach, "Go and take "care of poor Miss Cholmondeley;" from these facts, real or invented, was drawn, by a chain of most ingenious arguments, a conclusion, that there *now* required *no further proof* of the falsehood of everything, that had been alledged against this amiable and illustrious stranger, before the privy council." I must confess, that I was sorry to see such reasoning resorted to, and the turn of my mind was, I am afraid, rather towards laughter than conviction. It was, too, with no greater degree of satisfaction, that I heard in the same paragraph, that the death of the Princess's brother, and the departure of her father for the wars, were circumstances calculated to convince us of the impropriety of asking for any further elucidation of the affair that has so long been agitated; for, however laudable it might be to call upon us to sympathize with her as to the events just mentioned, I could not, in spite of all my efforts, perceive how those events, or any thing connected with them, could possibly affect our judgment as to the facts relating to the "Delicate Investigation." In short, I suspected what was the next day confirmed, that some new pretence was coming out for not making any publication at all, whether in whole or in garble, of the much talked of report.——Was ever a set of readers so insulted as those which handle the foul columns from which the above extract is made? *First*, they were informed, that accusations, amounting to a charge of high treason, had been preferred against the Princess of Wales and that an examination of the witnesses was then going on before a select committee of the privy council: *Secondly*, they were assured, that the accusation was totally groundless, that it had arisen from instigation and subornation in a high quarter: *Thirdly*, they were informed, that the Princess of Wales had resolved to have her reputation cleared in the eyes of the world by insisting upon a publication of the whole of the report and evidence whenever the investigation should be completed: *Fourthly*, they were told, that the investigation was completed, and that the utmost that was found to be proved were a few trifling

levities, such as every married woman in England was occasionally liable to: *Fifthly*, they were told, that the Princess of Wales, had received a report, and they, of course, expected that she would cause it to be published forthwith, especially when they recollected, that the same writer had told them, that the English nation had a deep interest in the Princess's reputation, and that nothing ought to satisfy them but a full and unreserved publication of the whole of the report and the whole of the evidence: *Sixthly*, they were informed, that, the report, (a report drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer), being too gross for publication at full length, two barristers (delicate persons) had been set to work to make it fit to meet the public eye: and, *Seventhly*, they are told, that, the two barristers having finished this famous work of preparation, it has been laid before his Majesty, and that his Majesty, well knowing that there is no necessity at all for any further proof of the purity of the Princess, may possibly, restrain the publication, lest it should expose to public hatred some of the accusers or their instigators!——There is no necessity of saying any more, I think. That head must be empty indeed, wherein a pretty correct judgment upon all this will not without a moment's hesitation be formed.

☞ In the subsequent pages of this Number will be found *seven* letters, every one of them upon interesting subjects, and generally speaking, written with a degree of ability, which is rarely met with in any publication, whether periodical or not. All, except one, of the writers are entirely unknown to me; and, though I cannot but know, that I afford them a gratification by communicating their writings to the public, I must not, at the same time, omit to make them my acknowledgments, as one of that public, for the advantage which I hope to be able to derive from their labours. The applause which has been occasionally bestowed on me for my *candour* in admitting communications in opposition to my own sentiments and statements, is certainly too great; for had I no other object in view than that of mere pecuniary interest, that alone would recommend such admission; but, fond as I am, like all other writers, of making converts to my opinions, I am, I hope, still fonder of truth. The fact is, that my impartiality, in the practice referred to, attracts commendation from its novelty rather than from its positive merit, upon the same principle, that amongst a regiment of drunkards, a single sober man becomes an object of praise.——*Botley, October 16th.*

MR. FOX AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

SIR,——Mr. Fox is no more. Our country hath lost a man by whom a large space in the public mind was occupied. After a tedious exclusion of this statesman from office, short has been his possession of power! Great were our hopes when he was lately called to the helm, because during a twenty years proscription he seemed to be collecting in his bosom the gathered wisdom of ages; to be employed in ballasting the lofty sails of his genius with political science; and tempering the fire of his passions with moral rectitude. But now, ere we have tasted the fruits of his recent ministry, the hand of Providence, alas! hath snatched him from us. Scarcely had opened upon us a prospect, through his means, of recovering from the calamities brought on our country by a system of misgovernment, the pernicious nature of which cannot be too frequently the object of our scrutiny, ere that all-cheering prospect has again vanished. Under these circumstances what thoughtful man can avoid meditating on our public situation; or considering how it may be affected by the loss we have experienced.

Although, Sir, Mr. Fox be no more, the *Borough system*; foul parent of all ill, remains; the national debt still exists, an eighth part of our population is in a state of pauperism, war and increasing taxation are adding to our calamities, and the comet Napoleon still moves in his orbit, the dread of nations. Had the Fox ministry given any proofs of having discerned, that *something more* is wanting to the preservation and the well governing of our country, than the mere balancing of parties, and the packing of parliaments? To what eye were discoverable, on the formation of that ministry, the slightest traces of a better system than that which had proved our bane? Commissions, under pretence of cleansing away *official* filth, are nothing new: They belonged to the very system of which we complain. Meanly, and ignorantly indeed, must ministers have thought of the public taste, and public wants, to have imagined that thus to serve up the stinking orts of a North and a Burke, a Melville and a Pitt, newly hashed and heated, could either impose or satisfy. It remains, then, to demand of those satellites of the patriot of St Anne's Hill, whose high reputation was their principal stock in trade, what was the worth of that whiggism which is ever in their mouths, what the value of *the friendship they professed*, when, by their harrassing importunities, they prevailed upon the great statesman on whom they fawned, in a second instance to make

shipwreck of his reputation, by unconditionally coalescing with men of principles inveterately hostile to freedom, and who had shared in the worst counsels of a Pitt? Had the error been originally his own, had they discovered him about to leap, infatuated, the fatal precipice, ought they not to have interposed between such a friend and such a danger? Ought they not, at the hazard of life itself, to have snatched him from destruction? He who could refuse nothing to the friends of his bosom, was not a man to have been lost, had those who possessed his confidence been truly worthy of his friendship!

When, towards the close of the American war, (at which time we had not suffered under Lord North a tithe of the evil flowing from *the Borough system*, and the faction behind the throne, that we afterwards suffered from the same impure sources under Mr. Pitt) the Rockingham ministry was formed, we recollect that stipulations and conditions were the bond of their union, and the pledge of their future performances: but what stipulations, what conditions, what pledge accompanied the formation of the Fox ministry?

The stipulations on the former occasion were, "the independence of America; the "Contractors bill; the Revenue Officers bill; "Mr. Burke's bill, the great parts of it; "general peace, if to be had; and *the dis-* "*cussion in parliament of the subject of a* "*parliamentary reform.*"* All these objects, except the "PARLIAMENTARY RE-"FORM" were shortly obtained. Peace was become the interest of the court and of ministers, and therefore we were not long without it. Some correction of official abuses was a convenient stalking horse, and therefore a parade was made of it. But that internal object, in comparison of which all the rest were insignificant, that reform which alone had in it any thing truly beneficial, or which could keep the offices pure, was only made the subject of a farce, until the principal performer, Mr. Pitt, got securely seated in power; after which, in due time it came to pass, that to continue to be a parliamentary reformer became, in the eyes of this same Mr. Pitt, a heinous crime; and an heresy so damnable, as to justify for its extirpation imprisonments, persecutions, and martyrdom. *Who,* Mr. Cobbett, *during those black days of wickedness and terror, were the cabinet colleagues of Mr. Pitt?* Without an avowed renunciation of an abominable creed, a manifest contrition for criminal conduct, and a solemn pledge for acting in future on truly constitutional principles could it be right, could it be wise, could it be any thing but perdition, for such a man, and a man so circumstanced, as Mr. Fox, to coalesce with such men? We saw, indeed, the coalition; but we have not seen the pledge. For the reputation of him whom we have lost, for the honour of human nature, let us hope it exists.

It were easy, Mr. Cobbett, to trace the miscarriages of our continental coalitions against the compact and well directed power of France, to the inherent defects in the respective governments of which the alliance was composed; not excepting our own. When neither English nor Austrians could believe the army of Napoleon to exist in any formidable shape, as a dragon it descended from the cloudy summit of Mount St. Bernard, to strike a blow that led to the subjugation of Europe. Last year again, while these coalesced governments were, as they vainly imagined, planting their clumsy toils around their devoted prey, his armies, like a Vesuvian torrent, swept from its base the German empire.

To cure the debility of our allies is not in our power. *Despotism of constitution* being their disease, they must cure themselves, or abide the issue. But what hinders the cure of our own malady, *the Borough Phrenzy?* All putrid within, and all blotches without, like true maniacs, we boast of our soundness and beauty. Having caught from the Continent a despotic taint, which has well nigh brought the state to its grave through very weakness, we think not of shaking off our distemper, as the rational means of recovering our strength. Without freedom, we trust in gold; and while France has acquired the dominion of the Continent, we have increased our debt until the rental of our whole island will not pay the interest. When Mr. Pitt with great solemnity "*searched* "*the sore,*" he also affected to prescribe "*the medicine,*" but having once got the patient consigned to his keeping, he, like others of the trade, made it then his study, for his own gain, that is, for the gratification of a lust of power, to aggravate and to perpetuate the disease.

When Mr. Pitt's death, and Lord Hawkesbury's inability to hold the reins of government, turned the royal eye upon the leaders of opposition, amongst whom there were those who had said so much, and had so irresistibly argued, on the *necessity* of a parliamentary reformation, why heard we not publicly from the lips of the party a syllable on the subject? Why heard we of no stipulations and conditions in favour of the at-

* Wyvill's Political Papers, v. III. p. 355.

tempt? Had official abuse, or parliamentary corruption decreased, since the days of Lord Rockingham? Had the House of Commons improved in its vigilance and fidelity in protecting our *property*; had it guarded us with more political virtue from the increase of a standing army, or the infamy of being every where surrounded with barracks? Or was the Faction behind the Throne now grown so potent, that even to hint at parliamentary reformation, was the sin which could have no forgiveness, and an irreversible disqualification for office?

From this unaccountable silence, especially on the part of Mr. Fox, must we not infer, that the bodily complaint to which he so soon after fell a sacrifice, had even then sapped the energies of his mind? Every real patriot anxiously wished for his elevation to power, because he was considered as solemnly pledged to the effecting of such reform, as the sole condition of his consenting to be of the cabinet; because it was imagined to be the settled conviction of his superior understanding, that, without such reform, his being a minister would be of no use; for he knew that, without a vital and substantial representation, the English constitution can have no existence, the nation no political liberty, the people no security that their whole estates shall not be transferred to the Exchequer, and themselves transformed into villani, or boors, for their cultivation. Not even from the sordid counsels of unworthy friends does it seem possible, Sir, to account for the conduct on that occasion of the experienced statesman and patriot of St. Anne's Hill, unless we at the same time admit that the approach of his dissolution had already distempered the once acute sight of his mtnd, laying him open to the influence of men every way his inferiors. From the distinguished painter now at the head of the historic branch in the English school, the writer once heard an anecdote of a very eminent Italian artist, which may illustrate his present supposition. This Italian was a painter of landscapes. In every department of his art he eminently excelled; but in the truth and brilliancy of his colouring he was unrivalled. In time, his health declined, and his eye, without his own consciousness, materially partook of his disease. By reason of improved genius his compositions became more exquisite; by experience and study, his judgment more correct; and he painted nature exactly as nature appeared to him. But when his fame, instead of continuing on the increase, materially sunk in estimation, he was surprised and mortified. He painted on, still, as he thought, improving. Every picture was inferior to the preceding; but yet, in nothing except the colouring. That scenery which, had it been painted while he had a healthy eye, would have glowed on his canvas vivid and gay, brilliant and expressive of a regenerating animation, came from his morbid pencil the representation of nature apparently dead, the gloomy prelude to a dissolution of all things.

Might it not, in respect of political prospects, have been thus with Mr. Fox after his fatal distemper had diffused itself through his frame? Might he not, through a mere decay of mental vision, have believed our state to have lost its freedom beyond recovery? Or, through a lost consciousness of what is achievable by talent and energy, have felt himself no longer a reforming Hercules? And what he, (no more aware than the painter of the true cause of a change in his powers) despaired of being able to effect, might he not think impracticable to any other man? An undoubted truth it now appears to be, that when he became minister he was in fact, rapidly hastening to the condition of a dying man; and, indeed, we may in a manner say, that his sovereign's cabinet served to him only as an antichamber to the hall of death.

But even in his highest health, perhaps this eminent person was of a nature to stand in need of more firmness than he possessed, when his duties had in them aught of a necessary sternness, or stoical severity. In the composition of his greatness, there was perhaps one imperfection, peculiarly unfavourable to the deep-searchings of that political reform in our government which is become necessary. Like a Sampson, his general strength seems to have had the accompaniment of one defeating weakness; or, like an irresistible Achilles, he appears to have been in one point vulnerable. If, Sir, his virtue wanted that character, of a requisite inexorableness by which corruption can only be subdued; and by which assailants, in the shape of personal friends, are to be resisted; or that eye of command, and majesty of tone, by which the proudest and the highest are to be controuled; if he wanted that absolute inflexibility on essential points, which no power on earth can bend, no influence under heaven can warp from the straight line of rectitude, his virtue might have been of a species to have shone with lustre in a happier period; but in a crisis of awful revolutions, when kingdoms and empires are daily perishing or bursting into life, and when our own state is sickening of an internal disease that must shortly terminate in death un-

less she recover her constitution; or, in other words, *a real representation of the people in that assembly which imposes the taxes, and which ought to hold a tight controul over the actions of ministers*; if, I say, he possessed not an adamantine mind equal to such a crisis, his virtue, illustrious as it might be, was assuredly deficient. Whether such defect, if real, is to be imputed to the mind-enfeebling effect of declining health, or to an amiable weakness of soul, let those, who have been longest and best acquainted with the present subject of our thoughts decide. He has been accounted a man beloved by all who approached him, for a frank and generous nature, as well as for a temper peculiarly benignant, the very reverse of austere. But austerity, although in the social circle a blemish, will, in a statesman at a period of corruption, be a merit of high account; especially when called upon as the acknowledged leader of a powerful party, to preside at the helm in a tempest, while the decay of the vessel, the licentiousness of the officers, and the ill treatment of the crew, have shewn the internal, to exceed the external danger of the voyage. Unless austerity were a feature in the character of a statesman so circumstanced, could he refuse offices of honour and emolument, to those who had no other claim than having paid him personal attentions, and assiduously sought to oblige him? Without considerable sternness, could he beat down and disappoint the unwarrantable expectations of selfish associates? Could he, on mere grounds of public duty, by resisting the improper requests of beloved friends, make known to them his opinion of their unfitness for what they asked? Or, without these virtues of austerity and sternness, would it be possible for him, equally regardless of the proud partisan, or the insinuating sycophant, to dispose of public offices on the sole ground of merit, and under the strict discipline of incurring a loss of a place by the neglect of a duty?

But, Sir, to come to something like a practical notion respecting this firmness and inflexibility, this sternness and austerity, this moral rectitude and public virtue, which I consider as necessary in a presiding English minister at this awful æra of the rise and fall of nations, I must ask this question;—when the respected and admired statesman of St. Anne's Hill was solicited to quit his retirement for the helm of state, were we not intitled to expect that he would have delivered himself to some such effect as the following, namely, "Without a radical reformation "which shall not only put an end to factious "combinations for power, but extinguish "senatorial venality; a reformation which, "by purifying our elections, our offices, "and parliament, shall generally correct "the tendencies to corruption, arrest the "decay of morals, beget disinterestedness, "revive liberty, diffuse a martial spirit, disseminate political virtue, and elevate the "public mind, no minister can now substantially benefit his country; nor, without an unalterable determination to attempt the achievement, can any man become a minister, but to the certain ruin of "his reputation. My determination is "made and shall be adhered to. I must "either remain a private person, or be a "reforming minister. Not a reformer after the manner of Lord North or Mr. "Pitt, of Mr. Burke or Lord Melville, "whose commissions of audit and of accounts, whose bills for economy and official correction, have seemed but the seed beds of a wilder extravagance, or signals "for abuses more inveterate, and peculation more enormous than any before. "Nay, further: before I listen to the present invitation, I must be satisfied that all "my proposed colleagues will heartily concur in such a system of reform; and even "then, I must not, I cannot, set foot in "the King's cabinet, until his Majesty shall "have been graciously pleased to assure me, "that this work of reformation shall have "his declared, his open, his firm, his steady "support; and until he shall moreover "have authorised me to make known to his "servants of every rank and description, "that his approbation and favour can only "be retained by their respectively concurring to the utmost of their power in a "work so essential to the preservation of "the state, as well as to the improvement, "the prosperity, and the happiness of his "people. Without disrespecting an observance of the outward forms and ceremonies of religion, we know they do not "always insure to us inward goodness, "which is the parent of right conduct. So, "those who go regularly to church, and "make many prayers, and yet actively oppose, and acrimoniously encounter parliamentary reformation, which the constitution of our country, honesty, justice, the "public good, and true piety, all require; "while at the same time they promote and "uphold the Borough-system, which is a "compound of the greatest folly and the "greatest vices, and the chief cause of all "our evils; such persons I say, are either "pitiably weak and horribly wicked; either unhappy dupes, objects of our compassion, or odious impostors, meriting our

"deepest detestation. Well knowing that "ministers so authorised and so supported "as I should require to be, must have in "their hands the ready means of restoring "to the nation its most precious inheri-"tance, and the vital principle of its free-"dom, of which, to its dishonour and un-"speakable injury, it has been robbed by "men whom accident has made a perni-"cious faction; and in utter contempt of "what that faction could devise to save it-"self from extinction; I should be most "happy, on the terms I have stated to you, "to be an instrument in the hands of my "sovereign for conferring on his people the "greatest of all earthly blessings, and should "account myself one of the most fortunate "of mankind, in labouring to such an end "in conjunction with the wisest and best "men of the age."

Had such, Mr. Cobbett, been the conduct of their illustrious leader, exciting the reverence, and insuring the imitation of an Erskine, a Howick, and a Sheridan, who of their compeers, at the period to which I allude, let me ask, would have been bold enough to have deserted such men standing on such ground for the lust of place, and for governing again by a bought majority of a Borough parliament! If such conduct could have failed to have made reformers of the whole party, statesmen of all the human species must be the most depraved. From such a conduct, might we not have expected one of these two results? Either Mr. Fox, at the head of a ministry saving his country, impressing into it a new soul, and enabling it gloriously to make a peace, that even France itself should not dare to violate; or, Mr. Fox in retirement adored for his virtue, reverenced for his wisdom, and possessed of the undivided affection and gratitude of the nation; in short, idolized throughout the land. His early death would then have been a political canonization; ranking him with the Solons and the Alfreds of immortal name; and rendering his praise a never-dying theme of glowing patriotism. Over his urn the present generation would not have ceased to shed their tears; and from his ashes their sons, contemplating his god-like example, would have received into their bosoms those manly virtues which are the preservatives of liberty, the health, and the grandeur of nations.

If Mr. Fox, either mentally enfeebled by his incipient disease, or through an erroneous idea of *expediency*—a counsellor of most doubtful character, and a near relation of "*the fiend* DISCRETION*" lost a golden opportunity of doing incalculable good, it must by no means be inferred that it was not his intention at a future day to have attempted the reform of which I have spoken. Nay, it would greatly injure his character to doubt such an intention; and it is here declared, that, from his own lips, after he was minister, the writer received assurance that, "IN RESPECT OF THE NECESSITY OF A RE-"FORM IN PARLIAMENT, HIS FORMERLY-"DECLARED OPINION WAS IN NO DEGREE "CHANGED." I cannot, Sir, conclude these observations without earnestly warning every honest statesman against becoming a patriotic lingerer; lest, hazarding his country's welfare and his own fame, he be overtaken by inexorable death.——ALURED.—*Oct.* 11, 1806.

* Sir William Jones.

NATIONAL DEBT AND SINKING FUND. LETTER I.

SIR;—From your answer to Decius in the Register of the 27th ult. I clearly perceive you stand in need of no aid to convince those who will be convinced, that a national bankruptcy and the salvation of the country are but different terms for the same thing. But as your generous wish to encourage reflection and enquiry led you to permit my humble efforts on the subjects of the Sinking Fund and Tranquillity Institution to appear in the ranks of the many able productions which will record the fame of the Political Register so long as principles are valuable, I hope that the same motives, which first induced you to encourage my vanity, (when compared with the sense of others) will now incline you to permit me, through the medium of the Register, to relieve my mind of the chain of thoughts, which the most sacred regard to truth, and the study of years, have enabled me to form on the subjects of my title; and to record such observations on the principles of Decius, as I think will, if not acquit us of guilt, at any rate, defy our accusers to substantiate against us, the crime of the revolutionary views with which they charge us, unless it be a crime to revolve from bad to better. Alluding to the fortunate case of an individual who can pay off his debt without diminishing his income, (a rare case indeed), Decius observes "not so would it be" with the nation "if you suppose" (mind this is but a supposition) "that it is partly "from these same creditors, and by means "of the sources of supply which would be "thus" (by ceasing to pay the interest of the debt) "cut off, that the debtor derived, "either directly or indirectly, through the "medium of others, his means of exist-

"ence. If you cease to supply them (the "creditors) with that income (the interest "of the debt) which served them as a "source of subsistence, you not only extin-"guish the supply in the way of taxes, "(that is, put it out of their power to con-"tribute towards the exigencies of the "state) but also extinguish, at the same "time, all those sources of supply which "by its distribution, (re-circulation) the "money they received served to give birth "to." That is, in short, if their annuities be stopt, the national creditors will not only be deprived of food and raiment, and the ability to pay taxes, but debtors themselves, who subsist in whole or in part on the money spent by the creditors, must altogether, or as many of them as live upon the 30 millions a year distributed by the creditors and on their account, lye down and starve!!! O, horrid, horrid, Mr. Cobbett, what a d—l you must be to what Decius is! Thirty millions a year, Sir, no doubt maintain 600,000 *individuals* independent of labour, nay, the creditors amount to that themselves, exclusive of their brokers, jobbers, bankers, butlers, valets, cooks, confectioners, and all those into whom the touch of their money breathes the breath of life; and you would starve them all for the good of your country and king; and that too, at a time when 6,000,000 are wanting to curb the ambition of Buonaparté, and secure the commerce of the world. Do you think, Sir, your king and country are ideots, or, do you want a strait waistcoat? If Decius's argument be not carried this far, I know not where to stop and attach a value to it. But, as he hears of no particular aggravation of sufferings, for want of a national debt, in those countries where the supply is risen within the year, and the ambition of government is limited by its power, or, where, to borrowing their money and drafting soldiers and sailors from the ranks of the industrious debtors, governments prefer impressing the idle creditors into the public service, he may, himself, upon a re-consideration of his principles, think his argument of no value. Indeed its value is altogether founded upon a supposition, namely, in substance, that money creates supplies, and that the supplies which money creates, feed and clothe, &c. the individuals who touch it in its round from one party to the other. The truth of this supposition, however, hangs upon the solution of a single question, namely, does money create or give birth either to a supply, or, the source of a supply? The question is equivocal. So far as the use of money saves to the farmers and mechanics, who create the supply, the time or labour which they would lose, were they to barter the produce of their labour, that far, and no farther, can money increase the produce of labour, which is the supply. But as the thing which saves time to do another thing, cannot be the thing saved, and as the thing saved, in this case, is the labour required to create the supply, it follows on every principle of cause and effect, that labour is the thing, and the only thing, that creates the supply. 1. This being the law of nature in the case; 2. As the money received and distributed by the national creditors renders themselves, and all who touch it, independent of agricultural and mechanical labour, the labouring farmers and mechanics excepted; 3. As, be the state of the dexterity, skill, and judgment with which labour is applied, what it may, the abundance or scantiness of the annual supply, during the continuance of that state, must, upon the proportion between the number of those who are annually employed in agricultural and mechanical labour, and that of those who are not so employed; and, 4. As the number of creditors stands upon the records of the bank and tax office at 600,000, exclusive of the tail which grows out of it, of paper money, coiners, accountants, bankers, brokers, &c. &c. and of the military establishments which are annually supported by the annual loans, in independence of productive labour, nothing can be required to convince Decius himself that the distribution of their money, instead of having a beneficial effect, is of the most calamitous consequences to the supply, and all that depends upon its abundance, but to admit that labour and *not money* is the thing which creates or gives birth to the supply. If he admits this, my reasoning is, what is vulgarly called a knock-me-down argument. But as knock-me-downs of all kinds have a greater tendency to stupify the senses than to enlighten the mind, I will, from respect for the sagacity of Decius in having made the effect upon the supply the measure of value on his own policy and ours, of continuing to pay, or, ceasing to pay, the interest of the national debt, try what his argument is worth, on a principle or two more, as, on that chosen by him, it is worse than nothing, if I be correct as to the extent the use or destribution of money increases the supply; for the whole of my argument hangs upon that question. Consequently, if it be answered in the negative, to

the conclusions I draw from it falls to the ground, but if not, they are established. And then it must appear to Decius himself, that, to cease to pay the interest of the national debt, is, of two evils, the least. Provided, first, that the length to which the cessation is carried does not create poors rate; for to amount of such rate, though the debt may be discharged its pressure is not removed; and, secondly, that as many of the stockholders as cannot subsist upon their unfunded property, and are able to labour, be converted into farmers and mechanics, and that land and materials are given them to work upon; for to the amount of their labour the supply will be increased; and therefore the hands that create their supply will be set at liberty to defend their country. Will Decius venture to point out the means by which the country can be otherwise saved? And if he will not, of what utility is the sinking fund? The very object of which is to maintain that kind of faith and honour with the creditors, which is intended to keep them as independent of useful labour, in their capacity of money-holders, as they are above it in that of stockholders; and the very effect of which, is, to withold from the public service, the hands or labour required to create its annual amount.—But, to return to the principles on which I mean to try the value of Decius's argument. 1. Creditors, Sir, who perform no part of the labour that creates the supply, and pay them interest, are to the industrious debtors whose labour creates the one and pays the other, what paupers are to the community that supports them. Paupers standing in this relation to the community, diminish the supply, and mark it, in the first instance, to the amount of their own labour, and, in the second, to that of their waste and consumption, which is great in proportion as they are rich; yet, such is the real or wilful incapacity of the creditors or paupers of this description, that they can see no political evil in their own idleness, waste, and consumption. But were we, who see that one character of idlers, as well as another diminish the supply, to propose the introduction of foreign troops to the number of our idle creditors, and to convert them into useful labourers, we should be deemed the friends of the country sending them, and not of our own. Yet so far as an increase of the supply and of the means of national security can prove patriotism, we are our country's best friends, for the introduction of such troops would produce that effect. For instance, our debtors and creditors are 100 each, in number. In this case, every debtor has a creditor to maintain besides himself, and a cent. per cent. of the supply is lost with all its consequent advantages; but, making both debtors, and introducing 100 foreign troops as creditors, every debtor has but half a creditor to support besides himself. In this case an addition of 50 per cent. is made to the supply, while 100 men are added to our military defenders. On this view of the cass, therefore, (and can there be a doubt of its application to our case?) Decius is not more fortunate than he was on the former. Taking the increase of our supply and military defenders as the proof, can a doubt remain, if there were no other remedy to the evil, that those who would introduce foreign troops to the amount of our national creditors, and, convert them, with their tail of bankers, &c., as above stated, are the friends of their own country, and not of that which would make us a present of such troops, and saddle itself with such a loss to the amount of their labour? and, therefore, that those who would not, are the enemies of their country? Taking this as the proof, can a doubt remain that those who calumniate us, as traitors, because we would cease to pay the interest of the national debt, and pass themselves upon the swinish multitude as patriots, men of honour, justice, and feeling, because they would continue to pay it, have no desire to share in the labour which must support the independonce of their country. Nay, can black and white appear more distinct to the eye, than it is clear to the understanding, that they mean nothing by the independence of their country, but their own independence of the labour which must support the independence of their country? And, that they mean, by the stake they have in the country, nothing but the number of labourers from whom they extort their maintenance? And clear in all this, and taking the 900,000 paupers, which their independence of labour has created since the revolution of 1688, as throwing a greater light upon the subject, can a doubt remain, that they view the labourers, not as they are, the basis of the state and human beings, but, just as the patriots of Liverpool consider their fellow creatures of the African race, namely, as mere beasts of prey? For the preservation of which, they would hurl Buonaparté from his throne, sweep the sea, and stalk triumphant over the globe, and, not for equal justice and equal laws in practice as well as profession. Better first prin-

ciples may not be practicable; it may be that we are created to prey upon each other, and the swinish multitude may remain insensible to the havock that is made of policy, justice, and feeling, by ignorance and design, under the mask of necessity, but, can any man, who views the salvation of his country through any other medium than his own desire to live independent of labour, deny, that the time will come, when the evil of converting useful labourers into idlers, be their character civil, military, or any other, will cure itself; and that too, in a more disastrous manner, than if the gentle hand of the law were to convert them into useful labourers, and furnish them with the materials to work upon. And when it is considered, that the idle part of the population of England and Wales, already amounts to 7,180,082, and the industrious but to 2,180,469,* a limit to the progressive increase of idlers, *which is the national debt*, seems to be nearly fixed, or the time appears not to be far distant, when they must become, in their turn, a prey to the labourers, or each other.—C. S.—*Sept* 6, 1806.

ON CEASING TO PAY INTEREST UPON THE NATIONAL DEBT.

DECIUS'S LETTER II.

(See the first Letter in page 463 of this volume, and my answer to it in page 484.)

SIR,——I have read, with great satisfaction, the observations you have made on the letter which I addressed to you on the subject of the National Debt. If the effect of what I have written be merely to have put the subject in a right train, and to have drawn forth the arguments that have fallen from you, I shall consider my time as not having been ill bestowed. On a question, for the coming to any correct opinion upon which, it is so impossible that any sufficient *data* should be obtained, and on which, therefore, we must be content with such approximations to truth as can be deduced from general reasoning, it is scarcely possible, that having set out with persuasions so greatly discordant, we should ever arrive at any exact coincidence of opinion. But as there appears every desire on your part to set the subject in its true point of view, and as it is one in which there must be so decided a right and wrong, I think it not probable, that we shall ultimately find our opinions so irreconcileable as you appear to suppose they must be.—The question between us is now reduced to a mere question of *quantity*; viz. the quantity of suffering, in all shapes, that would be occasioned by the transfer of this species of property from hand to hand. I now propose, in the way of answer to your arguments, to state such additional circumstances as your observations and subsequent reflection have suggested to me on the subject, as lead me to conclude, that, independently of the alarm and moral suffering that would be occasioned by carrying into effect the measure proposed, the nation, in a *pecuniary* point of view, would derive very little benefit from it: meaning, that if the National Debt were now to be annihilated, little, if any, deduction could be made from the amount of the taxes that are now collected.—I will beg, however, first, again to advert to the sort of temper in which the discussions on this subject had hitherto been conducted. You observe there has been no "*personal abuse.*" I admit there has been none. But it is for this very reason, because the abuse is *not* personal, that I complain of the introduction of it. Had it been personal, and fixed upon some determinate class of individuals, by some more precisely designating denominations than that of "blood "sucker," "muck-worm," and so forth, every man would have been enabled to judge for himself, how far the persons aimed at, were really deserving of the opprobrium intended to be cast upon them, and they might thus, if public opinion be not considered as altogether impotent, have been, if not altogether expelled from society, yet at least, by being marked out, their capacity for doing mischief would have been diminished. As it is, all that we understand is, that there are some men, properly called "muck-worms," who *are* the objects of *particular*, and *ought to be* the objects of *general* indignation: but *who* these men, these "*muck-worms*" are, is not altogether so clear. What however is certain is, that to whatever species of dealings the existence of the National Debt has given rise, there are none, the engaging in which, is not perfectly optional on the part of the parties concerned in them: there is no power to compel any man to buy or sell stock, any more than there is to buy or sell any other com-

* For the data of this most important of all political calculations, see my Letter to Mr. Fox, in the Political Register of the 23d of August, page 200.

modity that is the object of sale: if he does buy or sell it, he does it, because he thinks it will be for his advantage, or otherwise for his convenience. It is not merely this species of property that is liable to abuse; it has this defect in common with all other property in whatever shape it may exist. But because there are depredators of all sorts who prey upon individuals possessing property, because there are housebreakers, footpads, cheats, and so forth, this can be no reason for abolishing all distinction of property, and reducing things to that state of innocent primitive simplicity, which some persons are so much charmed with the idea of. While separate ownership continues to exist, and while that intercourse is carried on between men which seems necessary to the existence of all society, in any degree civilised, some men, unless we impose the most minute and vexatious restraints upon general free agency, will ever be exposed to become a prey to the knavery and roguery of others.—Having premised thus much, I will now proceed to the separate consideration of the arguments in the order in which you have placed them; in the course of which, I will endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid the statement of any opinion to which a sufficient answer may be found, in what you have already said; but, at the same time, claiming all the indulgence that the discussion of a subject of such acknowledged intricacy and difficulty may be thought to require, and especially from the having to contend against the opinion of so formidable, though, at the same time, in general, so candid an opponent.——I. I have to thank you for conducting me out of some absurdities, to which, perhaps, my expressions might bear to be tortured into: but, *en revanche*, you have plunged me into others, which are perfectly foreign to any conceptions I ever entertained on the subject, and which a fair construction of my expressions, will not, I believe, upon examination, be found to justify. I am very far from meaning to say that it is in itself a matter of indifference, what quantity of money is raised upon the people in the way of taxes, merely because it is re-circulated among the persons from whom it has been levied. This is a position, evidently so mistaken, that I should scarcely have expected from the general tenor of your arguments, to find attributed to me. So far from this being my opinion of what would be the case, I have stated it as being perfectly undeniable, and all my arguments on the subject are grounded expressly upon the assumption, that in all transfers of property from hand to hand, there is an absolute loss; and from this cause it is, that so great a defalcation would come to be made from the benefit that would accrue to the nation from the annihilation of its debt. You, yourself, in this paragraph have exposed the absurdity of this idea, and the arguments you have employed for the purpose of shewing that a nation suffers in proportion to the quantity of taxes raised upon its people, equally serves to shew that it would be a sufferer, from the same cause, by ceasing to pay its annuitants. The two operations, as to this purpose, bear a most intimate resemblance: the one is a transfer of property as much as the other, and the one species of property, as the other, in the course of this transfer, is exposed to the same species of loss.——II. Among the inconveniencies that would result from the extinction of the debt, I had stated that one of its consequences would be the causing an increase in the number of paupers, and that the expense that would be to be incurred in the maintenance of these paupers, would be so much to be deducted from the benefit intended to be conferred on the non-annuitants. That persons who are not now paupers would then come to be such, appears to be admitted by you: but, by way of set off, you state that at the same time, and as a consequence of the same operation, a *dispauperation* would be made. As to what may be the probable proportion between those who would thus be pauperized, and those who would be dispauperized, we have not the benefit of your opinion. Why it appears that none will be released from the poor-house, but that every one that is sent there by the extinction of the debt, and some you admit there will be, will be a pure increase to the already existing number will be seen hereafter, when it comes to be shewn that no diminution can be made in the amount of the taxes that are at present collected. I am ready to admit that *all* the persons that would, as a consequence of this measure, be deprived of their present employ, would not come to be maintained by the parish. Many of them would find other employments: less profitable employments it must be supposed they will be, or men would rather have resorted to them in the first instance, than have continued in those out of which they would thus be driven. This however supposes employment waiting for their reception, and that the demand for labour is now greater than its supply. This may be true: there may be an effective demand for labour in the kingdom. But if there be such present effective demand for labour, whence is it that it arises that so many paupers continue in the poor houses?

—If there exist sources of employ for other persons, is it to be supposed that these sources of employ are not open and known to the persons who at present inhabit our poor houses? And if it be not to be ascribed to the want of employ, other causes must be looked to, to account for the increase of the number of paupers, independently of an increase in the misery of the country occasioned by the burthen of the taxes, and which, therefore, would not, to any material extent, be relieved by a remission of a small part of those taxes. Among the causes that have contributed to the increase of the *absolute* number of paupers, may be enumerated, 1st. the improved state of medicine, and the additional care that is now be taken of persons in this situation: thus by a prolongation of their lives, a greater increase in their number will appear to have taken place at one time than at another? 2. An increase in the whole map of the population, and thus a proportional increase in the number of paupers, argues not a *diminution* in the national prosperity, but merely that we are *stationary* in this respect. I would not be understood as looking upon these circumstances as of themselves sufficient to account for the rapid increase there has of late years taken place in the number of paupers: but they are mentioned with a view of shewing that we are not to presume that exactly by so much as pauperism has increased, by so much has human misery increased. Whatever may be the suffering occasioned by the proposed measure, if we suppose it any thing short of absolute deprivation of existence, the demand for the *necessaries of life* must of course remain nearly the same as before. But surely it is not meant to be contended, that all men pay, by what they consume, the same quantity of taxes. To the consumption of some commodities that are highly taxed, must be substituted the consumption of others that are not so highly taxed; to the consumption of wine for instance, must be substituted the consumption of beer: and hence, that no diminution may take place in the revenue at present raised, either those commodities that are already taxed, must be still higher taxed, or new objects of taxation must be resorted to.——III. With regard to the diminution that would take place in its value by the transfer of this property from hand to hand, and which is the most important part of the question, there are placed together three passages from my letter, upon which, by comparing them, the conclusion drawn is, that my ideas upon this point are far from being clear. It is true I have called it a transfer of property: I still consider it as such. But, because I have called it a transfer, it does not follow that I should consider it as a transfer that could be made without loss: that every thing that was taken from A, should fall, undepreciated in its value, into the hands of B. I have stated my persuasion that the contrary would be the case; and this persuasion, I am so fortunate as to have confirmed by what you have said on the subject under the first head. On this point, if we were to take so narrow a view of the question as to confine our ideas to the mere nominal pecuniary suffering, our conclusions, as you have stated, would be far from being correct. You have yourself shewn, and it is so manifest that it is impossible not to admit it, that besides that the ceasing to pay interest to the annuitants would occasion the loss of employ to various classes of persons who are now supported by means of these annuities, it might (and I do not mean to fix you to this admission, because you have stated it hypothetically) "it might occasion the "total destruction of some branches of ma-"nufacture." If this be the case, must not this occasion a diminution in the revenue, and must not that diminution be supplied by taxes imposed in some other shape on the persons who are left to bear them? For that we must continue to pay the same quantity of taxes after the extinction of the debt, as are now raised, I shall shew presently.—Among the persons who would be obliged to change their mode of employ, you have enumerated menial servants: we will admit, for the purpose of the argument, that they would immediately be able to find means of subsistence as agricultural labourers. But would they continue to yield the same tax as agricultural labourers, as is now paid for them as menial servants? Would not there come to be made a defalcation from the produce of the taxes derived from this source? And what would be the effect of at once turning over all these persons, together with the "150 thousand tax-gatherers's you speak of, upon the wages of labour? Would it occasion no diminution in them? Would the forcing these several classes of men thus to provide themselves, produce no diminution in the demand for the produce of the already existing stock of agriculturalists? Thus by way of alleviating the condition of the farmer, you narrow the market for his produce, and thus diminishing his profit, send a swarm of others to share with him what he has left. It is perfectly true, as you observe, that a man who now makes silk shoes, may make leather shoes: but,

inasmuch as leather, in the common course of things, are much more durable than silk, shoes, unless we suppose a very sudden increase in the demand for this commodity, a portion of shoemakers, as well as others, must seek other means of subsistence. It requires but a very superficial consideration to convince us, how difficult it is to transfer the capacity for labour of large masses of men, from one species of employment to another. Of this difficulty you have been aware: and have accordingly consigned so many persons as you will admit may be under the necessity of changing their employment, on account of the facility with which it may be learned, to agricultural pursuits. But that even the transfer, attended, in appearance, with so little difficulty, we cannot form any well grounded expectation will take place silently, and as it were imperceptibly, when we recollect the great inconvenience that was formerly experienced upon the cessation in the demand for a particular species of manufacture, and thence is the demand for the labour of the persons who were employed in carrying it on. I allude to the Birmingham button manufacturers. Had it been supposed that these persons could easily have found other sources of employ, would an act of parliament have been passed, prohibiting persons, under a penalty, from wearing any other sort of buttons than those which they manufactured? This case at least serves to shew the sense that was entertained, upon inquiry, by parliament, of the great suffering that is occasioned by the forcing men from one species of employ into another.——As to the decrease in the number of persons that would pay to the poor rates, I am perfectly aware, that the annuitants, *as such*, are not contributors to this tax, and that, as you state, were the measure in question to be carried into effect, it would cause no diminution in the quantity of land, nor in the number of houses in the kingdom. But it appears to have been forgotten, that many of the annuitants derive a sufficient income from their property on the funds to enable them to keep houses, and that when those annuities are taken from them, they must quit their houses. Empty houses pay not to the poors rates: and hence then, by every house that thus lost its tenant, would arise a diminution in the productiveness of this tax: unless it be supposed, as you have stated (and which I shall shew presently cannot be the case) that the sinking of the annuitants would weigh up an equal number of non-annuitants to supply their place. It has very recently been admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the effect of making an addition of 5 per cent. to the Income Tax, would be to drive many persons out of their houses into lodgings: and may we not thence infer, that the same effect would be occasioned by this measure?——IV. What is said as to my ideas upon the limits of taxation, appears to have proceeded upon some misapprehension. There is evidently a wide distinction between the benefits that would accrue to the public, by the ceasing to levy 30 millions of taxes, and by taking a revenue of 30 millions from one part of the community, and giving it to the other. By the first measure, so much unqualified benefit would be conferred on the individuals from whom the taxes would otherwise have come to be collected. By the second measure, viz. the taking it from one part of the community and giving it to the other, there would, by your own shewing, be some loss occasioned. The whole of it would not perhaps be lost in its passage from hand to hand: but, besides the pecuniary loss, as above shewn, it would produce a degree of moral and physical suffering, for the estimating of which in pounds, shillings, and pence, we unfortunately possess no appropriate scale.—V. By way of alleviating the alarm that might be occasioned by the restriction of the debt, you propose, I observe, that instead of ceasing at once to pay interest to the annuitants, gradual deductions should be made from their annuities. The distress occasioned by performing the operation thus, might, probably, be less than would arise by a sudden deprivation of their income from this source. But as to any good effect that this would have, other than gradually accustoming people to the calamity that awaited them, I see not. In what way will it give them an opportunity of disposing of the property they possess in this shape to greater advantage? Who is to buy it and be the losers? If any body, it must be the ignorant and unwary, who are the objects of your anxiety. If any body profits by it, it must be the experienced fund dealer, who seems to be the object of your indignation. What consolation can we derive from the reflection that some unknown person may suffer, instead of some other equally unknown person? How can we reap any satisfaction from imagining, that, by fraud, one man may shift off the loss that is falling upon him, from himself to some one else? For the ceasing to pay interest on the debt, the sanction of parliament must of course be obtained. It cannot be supposed that a measure that appears so abhorrent to general feelings and opinions,

and which so many persons would have an interest in opposing, could be carried through both Houses of Parliament, without its being known out of doors that such a plan was in contemplation. It is while it was under consideration, and before the annuitants knew precisely what would be their fate, that the confusion would arise. Every man would then be anxious to dispose of the property he possessed in this shape. The timid, perhaps, in the hope of saving something from the general wreck, and under the apprehension that a more sudden cessation in the payment of his annuity would take place, than upon consideration, might be thought expedient, would sell to the better informed, or more accurate conjecturer, whatever property he possessed in this shape for a mere trifle. When the act came to be passed, declaring what proportion should from time to time be deducted, and fixing the period at which the annuities would cease altogether to be paid, the confusion would cease: the value of the property would then clearly be known, and no more than sullen dissatisfaction might, perhaps, be manifested.——It appears to be with satisfaction, that you state, that "those who had their all "in the funds some very few years ago, "have, many of them at least, already ta-"ken care to vest a part in real property." It might have been more instructive had you put your readers in possession of the facts upon which this conclusion was founded. It is with the appearance of approbation that the persons who have "*taken care*" to act thus are mentioned. But why are these men to be regarded with approbation, any more than those who have fortitude sufficient to leave their money in the funds, while at the same time, as you state, an impression is become general, that all property in this shape must speedily be confiscated? If any such impression really prevails, the objects of our commendation ought rather to be those who are content to run the risk of losing their property for the service of the state, than those who cautiously take it out of harm's way. How would it be were every body who now possesses money in the funds to "take care" to convert it into some other shape? Would they too all be deserving of praise? And those again to whom it was sold, were they to sell it again, would their conduct too be equally meritorious? Thus, if the argument be valid, is the means pointed out of accumulating a quantity of merit in the country, to an extent to which there appears no assignable limits.—VI. What I had in view, when I said that all the predictions that had been ventured as to the amount of the debt, without sinking under it, that the nation could bear, was, besides opinions coming from less dignified stations, what had been said by Sir Robert Walpole, viz. that the nation could never bear a debt equal to a million. As to the *amount* of the debt that the nation could bear, Hume cautiously avoids all predictions.—With respect to the good or bad effects that the existence of the National Debt has had upon the morals of the country, in what degree if in any, it has deranged the balance of the constitution, and what might have been the relative power of England, and the state of the rest of Europe, had no such debt been created, these are questions of such delicate intricacy, and would require so many elements to be taken into consideration to come to any correct conclusion upon them, that I shall forbear, for the present at least, to enter into any disquisitions upon them. Fortunately, however, such discussions as these are not necessary for our present purpose. By whatever cause it may have been produced, we find ourselves in the midst of an expensive war, most grievously burthened with taxes, and with every prospect of an annual increase to those taxes coming to be required. Such is our situation: and if no other source of relief can be pointed out, it is at least desirable that the public should be taught the real value of, and the alleviation that may be expected from resorting to this resource, which the object seems to be to accustom them to look up to as an effectual, and as the only means to work their salvation.——Let us now for a moment advert to the situation in which we should find ourselves, after admitting it to be effected without popular commotion, having released ourselves from the payment of the annuitants, and what relief we should derive from it. We must bear in mind, that what is represented is, that we are *now* in a perilous situation; That to save ourselves from being conquered, it is *present* and *immediate* relief that we require, and that the extinction of the debt would afford us this *present* and *immediate* relief.—In the opening of the last Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated (see Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates VI. 504) that the amount of the charge on account of the debt was now £26,000,000. From this 26 millions, for the purpose in question, would come to be deducted about 1,500,000 being the amount of the sum that is now paid by the annuitants to the Property Tax, which reduces the 26,000,000 to 24,500,000. This 24,500,000 is the annual sum that, by

the supposition, we should be exonerated from the payment of by the extinction of the National Debt. But is it supposed that taxes to this amount would then immediately be taken off? Have we forgotten then that there was a *loan* last year to the amount of 20 millions? Do *you* look forward in the present state of Europe to any great and speedy diminution in our expenditure? Must not the same expenditure, as is now borne, be kept up next year, and next year, for a period of unforseen duration? Immediately after the abolition of the present debt, would you make a fresh loan and create a fresh debt? And if you do not make a fresh loan, and create a fresh debt, how are our burthens to be alleviated? Here are but five millions of taxes that can be remitted: and not even this, unless it be supposed, contrary to what you have yourself admitted, that no suffering whatever, no diminution in the produce of any existing tax, will be occasioned by the extinction of the debt. And is it from the remission of 5millions of taxes that you predict such gigantic effects? Is it by this, that the now depressed are to be exalted, that the pauper is to be restored to opulence, that the condition of the farmer is to be ameliorated, that gold is again to be restored to the circulation, and that "150 "thousand tax gatherers are to be converted into useful labourers and artizans?"—Before I conclude, I would beg to submit to you, whether, if by any means, we were to get rid of our present debt, the creation of a fresh debt, unless some more eligible and less objectionable means for the purpose could be pointed out, would not, in case of war, be a measure warranted by substantial expediency and general utility. It appears to be not merely the *preferable*, but the *only* means that can be devised, for making posterity contribute to those expenses from which they, in fact, derive the greatest benefit. It is a system that is obviously liable to abuse: it is, however, like all other human expedients, a choice of evils, and can only be truly estimated by the preponderance of good or bad effects of which it may be productive.——I am, Sir, your humble servant,—DECIUS.—*Oct.* 1, 1800.

NAPOLEON'S POWER OVER OUR FUNDS.

SIR;—I have read with attention your observations in the Political Register, of the 13th of September, pointing out the injuries which, in your view of the subject, it may be in the power of Buonaparté, or any other head of the French nation, to inflict on the general prosperity of the country, even during a time of peace, through the medium of the National Debt. These observations appear to have placed the subject in a new point of view: and though, upon examination, the ground for alarm should not be found so great as at first sight it might appear to be, your readers cannot but feel highly indebted to you for calling the general attention to this subject, as well as for the candid manner in which you offer to give the remarks of your correspondents a place in your Register. Of this offer I now propose to avail myself, for the purpose of stating such considerations as appear to render the carrying on, with success, the system in question, if not altogether impracticable, at least highly improbable.—To compensate for the skill, trouble, and expense, with which the making a profit by this means, in the English funds, must unavoidably be attended with, it is admitted that the profits must be of very considerable magnitude. True it is, that by a person in Buonaparté's situation, these profits might be made without the employment of any capital. He might, by means of his agents, (though the transaction is illegal) agree for a given quantity of stock, at some future period, and in the mean time he might, by the supposition, by assuming a menacing or conciliatory aspect, cause either a depression or rise in the funds, as might suit the purposes of his bargain. For the sake of precision, let us suppose the quantity of stock, purchased, or sold, in this way, to amount to two millions; and let us further suppose, that by some diplomatic contrivance, he had caused a rise or fall in the funds to the amount of five *per cent.* Here then would be a clear gain of 50,000l. Before this 50,000l. would amount to the six millions you speak of, (p. 421) this same operation must have been performed, (supposing for the sake of simplicity, the effects to have been produced by it, the same in each instance) twelve times in two years. Thus therewould be acquired a clear gain of six millions in two years; and this gain too absolutely clear, because acquired without any equivalent having been given for it. The consequences would, doubtless, be very disastrous: but fortunately, however, numerous obstacles present themselves that appear to prevent the successful execution of any such scheme.—To acquire in this way, these six millions within the time specified, viz. two years, it will have been necessary, that Buonaparté, by means of his emissaries, should have succeeded in prevailing upon the government and people of England, to

have believed six times each year, a rumour that these same emissaries had propagated, and which rumour should produce an elevation or depression in the funds, to the amount of five *per cent.* But how often would these rumours produce their desired effect? How often would the people be successfully deluded to stake, perhaps their very means of existence, upon unsupported rumours, of the failure of similar ones, to which, recent instances had occurred? It is not compatible either with the success of the scheme, that the persons by whom these rumours are spread should be obscure and unknown, and capable of eluding by their insignificance the discredit which the failure in the correctness of their intelligence would fix upon them. It is essential to the success of the plan, that the persons employed be known to be agents of the French government, that the rumours be known to have originated with them, and that these rumours be believed. But would not the very circumstance of the source from whom they proceeded, especially after their incorrectness has once been experienced, and, when it was known they were propagated for stock-jobbing purposes, (and where the purchases or sales are of a large extent, this must be matter of general notoriety) be sufficient to prevent any person, even of no more than an ordinary degree of prudence from falling into the snare thus prepared for him? It may be observed, that Buonaparté will not rely solely upon mere verbal threats or soothings, or that upon failure of their producing the desired effect, he will put himself in a posture suited to the carrying those declarations into execution. If this were the case where would arise the *profits* of the scheme? It cannot but be supposed but that the putting on a warlike aspect, would be attended with infinitely more loss than would be compensated for, by any precarious prospect of gain in the English funds. Still less profitable, perhaps, would it be, were it necessary to the success of the scheme, that a warlike aspect should constantly be kept up. From any sudden or unforeseen attack, we are protected by our insular situation; and it is not probable that were Buonaparté, while there was every appearance of profound peace, suddenly to march an army down to the opposite coast, with the declared intention of embarking it forthwith for the invasion of this country, that it would produce any very material effect on the funds. It is only by some such sudden operation as this, that the desired effect could be produced, and the having performed it once, would disenable him from performing it a second time.—But admitting that Buonaparté had from some means or other, no matter how, become master of stock to the amount of a million pounds, and that the consequence of stock to this amount, being known at any time to have been suddenly sold out by a French agent, would be the producing a sudden depression in the funds; yet here, as in the former case, besides the probably smaller profit with which it would be attended, the operation for the same reasons as those mentioned above, could not with success, be frequently repeated. Any great and sudden fluctuation in the funds is now, besides, by the great capital, which there is constantly at command, effectually prevented by the operation of the Sinking Fund. No material depression is now produced in the funds by the selling out large quantities of stock, since the Sinking Fund commissioners are at all times ready to take it up. Should it however still be proved that Buonaparté had acquired a sufficient mass of stock, by the selling out of which, and subsequent buying in again, he could make considerable profit, legal provisions might be resorted to for making it penal, or punishable in any other way; for any person to sell one day any more than a given quantity of stock: 50,000*l.* worth for example. By such a provision, individuals could not be affected, nor would their rights be in any way compromised. I merely mention 50,000*l.* by way of example. The sum might be much larger. It might be fixed at that sum, the selling out of which, by one individual, was not found from experience, to produce any material effect upon the price of the funds.—But, independently of the above considerations, the constant attention which the conducting with success the system of causing, by means of rumours, sudden depressions or elevations in the funds, would require, on the part of the French government, appears to oppose an effectual bar to a plan such as that in question, being carried into effect, to any material extent. By the supposition, measures are not designed to be pushed to an extremity; but a most delicate trimming system is to be pursued; and while the declared intentions are never actually to be converted into acts, they must invariably be believed to be about to be immediately followed up by acts. The same contrivance could not successfully be repeated: for every successive deception, a new device must have been hit upon. The whole time and invention of the French

government, were it exclusively devoted to this single object, would scarcely be sufficient, unless we were absolute ideots, to keep a negociation in such a state, as to enable them as often as it might be convenient, to command our credence of any assertions, they might choose to make. The French have ever had the reputation of being able negociators: but your ingenuity, Sir, seems to have devised a task for them, and held out a reward for the successful execution of it, upon their success in the reaping of which, they would not I imagine, be desirous of seeing their skill in diplomacy pronounced.—I am, Sir, your humble servant, DECIUS. — 17th *September*, 1808.

CAVALRY OFFICERS.

SIR;——As your Weekly Political Register is now almost the only channel, through which truth can be conveyed to the public, I have deemed it highly expedient, if worthy of your insertion, to state to you, a few particulars, respecting the situation of the subalterns, holding commissions, in the British cavalry; who having been buoyed up for some time past, by Mr. Windham's motions in behalf of the army, find themselves somewhat disappointed in being excluded the small benefit of an increase of allowances; an increase, (although trifling) yet, absolutely requisite to assist them in their unavoidable expenses. Perhaps it is not generally known, that the pay of the officers of cavalry, has experienced no real increase since the reign of Queen Anne; (although every article of life has increased in a quintuple proportion) and that a consolidation, merely of the pay and increase of pay, took place (I believe) in the years, 1703 or 4, and at which time the officers were ordered to refund, for the keep of their two chargers, as subalterns, 17d. per diem.—I will, however, proceed to a statement of the expenses attendant on a young gentleman's first entrance into the cavalry, and some of his subsequent necessary, disbursements:

	£.	s.	d.
1st. His commission as cornet (if purchased) - - - -	735	0	0
Agents fees, on ditto - -	5	10	6
2d. Two chargers, at least 50 gs. each - - - - -	105	0	0
Sadlery and horse furniture, for ditto - - - - -	36	10	0
Two regimental laced jackets (at least) - - - - -	31	10	0
Carried over - -	913	10	6
Brought forward	913	10	6
Two ditto cocked hats, or hat and cap and feathers - -	8	8	0
Three pair of white feathers -	9	9	0
Two pair of regimental jack-boots	6	6	0
Pair of regimental spurs -	2	2	0
Broad Sword, small sword, belts and knots - - - -	9	9	0
A regimental dress coat -	25	0	0
Two regimental vests - -	3	0	0
Two pair pantaloons (kerseymere)	4	0	0
Two pair of white kerseymere smallclothes - - - -	3	0	0
Two pair of regimental half boots with spurs - - - -	5	8	0
A regimental great coat -	5	5	0
A ditto cloak - - - -	6	6	0
Two pair of gloves (military)	1	1	0
His subscription to the mess fund	10	10	0
His ditto to the band - -	3	3	0
To the riding-master for instructions	3	3	0
To the same for breaking-in his chargers - - - -	4	4	0
To orderly serjeants for instruction in the exercise - -	1	1	0
Total - -	1024	5	6

The minor articles of sashes, stocks, shirts, stockings, handkerchiefs, and sundries, together with a battalion mans wages and cloathing, I may safely allot £50 for. His messing expense, (with good economy) stands him in, at least, £3 per week, when in stationary quarters; and on a march it is nearer £5. On the other hand his pay as cornet amounts to the astonishing sum of £146 per annum; being at the rate of 8s. per diem, from which deduct 1s. 5d. daily, for the keep of his two horses; he is thus left with the free and uncontrouled power over six shillings and seven pence a day. Should he by any good fortune, gain a lieutenancy, he then will enjoy the supreme satisfaction of contributing a ten per centage on £164, per annum. He, also, pays the assessed tax for his chargers, but which is again refunded by his regimental agent; though with some difficulty, as those gentlemen are very careful of the public monies. In addition to these facts, I must observe, by way of digression, that if an officer is of a changeable disposition with respect to his dress, he may, in many regiments, be humoured as often as three or four times a year. These changes depending in a great degree on the whim and caprice of the officer commanding the corps. His Majesty's regulations in regard to the dress of officers seem to be almost totally exploded. I must, also, state that if an officer should be ordered

from his quarter, to assist at a general court martial, although detained on the business several weeks, and living, unavoidably, at an increased expense, he does not receive a single sous beyond his pay, in compensation for the pains and trouble he has taken to execute and fulfil the orders of the state. From these circumstances, well and truly known to any officer, it must appear, that should a young man of good education and abilities, and possessing no private fortune, be presented with a subaltern commission in the cavalry, his pay for the two first years, will be swallowed up in his equipment; he must then quit his corps, probably be arrested, and march to a spunging house attended by a bailiff's escort, instead of marching to his regimental mess, bedecked with all "the pomp and circumstance of war." The cavalry, in general, feel highly obliged to Mr Windham, for the flattering opinion he seems to entertain of the state of their finances; but I query, if he ever, seriously, studied their real situation; if he had, he would have found that most of the officers in that service, were minus many pounds at the expiration of every year, and that not the result of their own imprudence. We have observed the very magnificent increase he has caused to be granted to the infantry, which, to say nothing worse of it, is merely a mockery of liberality, and proves most clearly to the liberal and thinking part of the nation, that his much boasted plan for the amelioration of the army, is a mere bubble, and a chaos from the beginning to the end. ——I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

AN EQUESTRIAN.

FORGERY AND COINING.

SIR,—I know not whether the subject of this letter is within the plan of your paper in which, if admissible I should be glad to see it, as I know your publication is read by those who have the power to make any alteration in the laws, humanity or policy may suggest.—When the crime of forgery was made felony, and followed up without reprieve, it was done from the hope that the greatness of the punishment, compared with the benefits the criminal had to expect from the crime, would have acted as a certain preventative; but the fatal experience of a long series of years, has shewn us how very far the result has been to the contrary. The reason is, that in the majority of cases, the act is committed by unthinking youths, to relieve some temporary embarrassment, the extravagances of their age, or the necessity of appearing genteel upon a trifling salary, has produced. The accumulated paper capital of this kingdom, both national and individual, has increased the temptation a thousand fold, and every session in town and country brings to the place of execution an increasing number of young men, victims to a momentary delusion, who instead of being corrected by some salutary law, and rendered, as they would be, in nine cases out of ten, good members of society in future.—For this crime of a moment, for this offence so easily committed, that no moral duty, no outrage against society (in their eyes) seems to be infringed, they are hung up, without the hope of mercy, from that throne, which holds out mercy to the most abandoned criminals, and whose brightest and most useful quality is that heavenly attribute. Their relations, for the most part, persons of reputation and credit, are wrung to agony by the punishment of their unthinking son or brother; they feel with inward and bitter grief the excess of the punishment, when compared to the crime, and they regard with horror that sanguinary decree, which admits of no shades in the crime, but dooms all that are guilty to indiscriminate death.—Surely then when conviction in such tremendous characters tells us that the punishment is not adapted to the crime, it is time to turn round and listen to humanity, for policy has expended her arguments.—Humanity would teach us, that the life of a man, of a fellow countryman, ought not to be taken away for every trifling infringement of that property which God has bestowed upon us, or suffered us to acquire. God himself has given life to his creatures, but *we*, surrounded by property and luxury, wantonly decree, that whosoever layeth his finger upon that property shall die. We ourselves, do not remember that we create a factious and fictious property, for every ote of hand is a counterfeit property. We make a false and deceptious capital, we take upon ourselves virtually the act of coining, with which we enrich ourselves, and we doom to irretrievable death, an unthinking fellow-being, who perhaps, in this one solitary instance only, has committed an act of dishonesty, and whose general character is as moral as our own.—Another strange outrage against the spirit of laws is, that we do not punish the crime in this case, for the crime must consist in the *injury* the party sustains in his property, if the money or value has been paid: but we hang up hundreds for the *intention* of defrauding.—Suppose, as is mostly the case the forgery is detected when offerred for payment, no property is infringed; no man

has suffered a farthing by the fraud; yet there is no mercy for the criminal he must die for the intention. Do we hang up men for intending to commit a highway robbery. Do we hang up men for any other criminal intention, without the act? No; because in that case, our tribunals would equal those of revolutionary France, where men were murdered for being suspected of being suspicious.—The subject is so very extensive, that a volume might be written upon it. All I can hope is, therefore that some of your readers in the high circles of life, will think of repealing this fatal and insufficient statute: and to suggest some other punishment, short of human life, without the least encouraging this crime: which certainly, in a commercial point of view, is a very great one. We ought to consider the motives, the temptation, and the facility of the act. We ought to remember that merchants, bankers, and others, will have clerks dressed like gentlemen; and, to say nothing of the influence of example in manners, we should remember, that in numerous instances, the income of those clerks is not more than that of a mechanic whose clothing is not worth 40 shillings.—There is no man who thinks for a moment, from the Lord Chancellor, to the public informer, who does not see the inequality of the penal laws. The greatest criminals shall escape from a wrong word in the indictment. The most trifling degrees of guilt in a moral or political point of view shall be punished with cool determinate death. Year after year we go on, and there is no man found to come forward in the cause of erring humanity.—Were those youths, who are guilty of the crime of forgery, compelled to serve the party injured without wages, or to pay weekly a certain portion of their wages till the sum was repaid fourfold; and, at the same time were compelled to wear a particular habit of disgrace, the crime would certainly become extinct.—The Romans made laws, in vain, to prevent females from committing suicide, till they decreed that the naked body should be exposed and dragged through the streets; for 200 years after, I believe no instance of suicide occurred.—But as this may appear to us an Utopian proposition, transportation or solitary confinement are surely worth trying. Garrison duty abroad, or in noxious climates, might spare more deserving men, and would benefit the state which in point of policy gains nothing by the death of any criminal.—Till our legislators think it a matter deserving their attention, let every man, who has suffered or nearly suffered, from forgery, put these questions to himself: At how many pounds do I value *my own life?* Is the life of another man of equal value to him? Have I suffered any personal violence or personal fear? What is the general character of this man? Is it likely he would be of any use in society were *I* to pardon him? Am I a christian, and will I, for the sake of a few pounds, deprive a fellow-being of life, who has not otherwise injured me. Whose relations must also suffer a continuance of anguish, and, perhaps, by the death of this unfortunate wretch, be doomed to misery for the remainder of their lives? Were it *my brother, my son*, should I not think for this solitary crime he *might be* pardoned? Yes; *I will* pardon him. It is a crime that man may pardon, and angels thank him for the mercy.—The second part of my subject relates to coining and uttering counterfeit money. From some political reason, there has been only one coinage of silver during the present long reign, and that so very small in quantity, that the whole as it dribbled into circulation, was laid by in the purses of the ladies as pocket-pieces or play-things for their children. Thus, the circulating silver is composed of a very few mint shillings and a great many flat pieces of silver, which never boasted any impression but the flatting mill. Hence arises two consequences, the first, that they are very easily imitated by poor mechanics; and the second, that, as the retail trade of this kingdom cannot be conducted without them, there is a demand for every base metal which can be thrown into circulation in form of a shilling; and, notwithstanding this addition, it is well known, that almost every shopkeeper in London loses more than one customer in a day for want of small change.—Thus the demand for base money, created by that policy, of preferring the demand, of foreign nations, for silver, before our own country, tempts the vicious, the idle, and the profligate, to become makers of false coin, who employ poor people, whose wants expose them to the temptation, either to sell them or pass them themselves.—In order to come at these dealers or utterers as they are termed, where the magistrates have suspicion, they dress up some wretch to decoy the victim into the snare.—Thus *they* tempt the party into the crime, and, remember the second offence is death.—In the very last sessions, which has just closed, a woman thus dressed and tutored was sent to the lodgings of a

poor family, the husband was out, the wife and children were at home. The woman sold 10 bad shillings for 4 flat bits of silver. The fiend of an informer immediately flies to the constables at the door; the wretched mother is dragged away, surrounded by her children, and the gallows will again groan with another victim, and another family of wretched babes will be thrown upon public charity.—What is the excuse for this waste of human blood? Truly, that the crime could not easily be detected without blood hounds were employed to scent it out and tempt the victim into the action.—Mark, Sir, the train of these evils, see where it originates. It is left to coiners to supply the nation with a circulating silver or all retail trade must cease. Then we send people to the houses, to the fire side, to the families of thes offenders, to tempt their poverty to the crime; then Sir, for this very act, we hang them up rub our hands, and go home to dinner thanking God who has placed us above temptation.—G. W

DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLICS.

SIR,——You have inserted in your Political Register of September 20th, a letter under the signature of W. F. S., on the subject of Catholic Claims. I profess myself to be a zealous, though not a bigoted Catholic; and, were I to address myself immediately to your correspondent, so uncandid do I find the general stile of his reasoning, that I should with difficulty refrain from harshness of expression: but I shall endeavour to lose sight of the man, and, from the respect which is due to the medium through which my answer is to pass, I hope to confine myself to a temperate, and dispassionate examination of his arguments. Your correspondent divides the question into a consideration of *the right* of the Catholics to emancipation, and *the policy* of admitting it; and, in a very few words, lops off the most important branch by deciding, that "the question of "right sinks before the hopes of the most "sanguine Catholic coadjutor," because every state has *a right* to *a national religion*, and *to point out of what persuasion that national religion shall be composed*. I do not apprehend the imputation of treason against the state, if I deny the existence of such a right. Men never made, nor are they implied to have made a sacrifice of conscience on entering into society; the religious belief of every individual must be independent of any respect for human institutions, or it becomes mere mockery in the eyes of man, and of no avail before God. When the great author of the Christian religion revealed his divine doctrine for the salvation of mankind, he fell a sacrifice to the usurpation of the right in question; he denied that a nation could legally fetter the consciencies of men, and he bled *in contradiction* of that very doctrine, which your correspondent considers as immutably just. The English history confirms the non-existence of such a right; or, if it exist at all, proves it to be in favour of the Catholics St. Austin first preached to our ancestors the religion, which the Catholics continue to profess, in its original purity. The right to dictate a national religion was then originally theirs, and they held it until Henry the VIIIth, in defiance of the state, in contempt of that religion, broke down its bulwarks because they opposed the torrent of his debauchery. The government of England was at that time despotic, and the arbitrary monarch, from the vilest of motives, without any view to the well-being of the state, directed the whole artillery of his power against the church, which stood up the champion of innocence in the person of his injured queen. No Protestant will attempt to justify the divorce of Henry from Catherine of Arragon, or his adulterous espousal of Ann Bulleyn: yet they must acknowledge, that to this unworthy transaction, done without any view to the national advantage, without the concurrence of the clergy, they owe the origin of their present religious establishment. I beg it may be understood, that I do not mean to cast obloquy upon the national church. I wish only to shew, from the history of its rise and progress, that the *nation* did not suppose in itself a right to legislate in matters of religion. The short reign of Henry's son, King Edward, promoted the new doctrines, and the obedient nation adopted them. Queen Mary pronounced them heretical, and the obedient nation returned within the pale of the church, and would have never wandered beyond its limits if Elizabeth had been educated a Catholic. She however, established the Church of England, and the state adopted its articles of faith; until a sect of presbyterians, in a subsequent reign, proscribed their promulgation, and voted episcopacy useless. It therefore, appears to be a plain deduction from reason, as well as from historical testimony, that no nation possesses the right to legislate in matters of religion, and that the British nation has never presumed upon such a right, though its sovereigns have frequently usurped a power over conscience. The endeavours of the Catholics to obtain the full

enjoyment of their birth-right is represented by your correspondent, as an avidity to participate *in a division of the political spoils.* What is patriotism then extinguished in Britain? Are we become so commercial that all are presumed to veil, under the pretence of serving the state, a spirit of rapine, for the censure is general, and it is only from the existing practices of other sects that the Catholics are presumed to thirst after a share of the common plunder. I hope the picture is a calumny: the Englishman cannot be so universally corrupted: and, I am sure that the virtuous Catholics no less abhor such public robberies, than the purest Protestant. They feel that they possess talents, in common with their countrymen, and they lament that these talents must be confined to the humbler walks of life, the low drudgery of labour and commerce: they desire to assist in the great work of saving their country, and are hurt at the injustice, as well as impolicy, of the restrictions which they labour under. Let your correspondent who talks of a division of spoils, answer whether the father of a family, anxious for the welfare of his children, can see without regret that they are excluded from the honourable, the liberal and the lucrative professions, to which all subjects have an unalienable right? The heart of my boy beats with enthusiasm when he reads of the heroism of his countrymen, and is this noble spirit to be cramped within the vile limits of a counter or a counting house? He dares not aspire to military honours, without disowning or sacrificing his higher duties. To what eminence can he hope to attain in the profession of the law? To what even in physic? "Choose a physician that feareth God, saith the pious "John Westley, or a curse, rather than a "blessing, will attend his labours." And they who pin their faith on John Westley's sleeve, would revolt at the idea of employing a Catholic physician. Can a Catholic place his son, even as a clerk in a public office, in the Bank, or in the India House? *And does he cease to evidence any Christian-like virtues* because he *complains* of this debilitating and degrading system? I appeal from the injustice of your correspondent to the liberality of the nation; and I assert, in the name of my Catholic brethren, the purity of our patriotism, the integrity of our conduct, and the Christian character of our virtues. But *discord would be the consequence of admiting our claims,* says your correspondent, for evil is inevitable, "if you make a Turk a premier, "a Catholic a Secretary of State, and a Protestant a First Lord of the Admiralty." But does the good man's penetration not pierce the flimsy veil of conformity, which covers the diversity of fundamental principles among our statesmen and governors. All liberally educated men have some principles of religion or philosophy; and even philosophy, as we learn from Gibbon's history, and as we have seen in the revolution of France, is susceptible of the most intolerant bigotry. I avoid all personal allusions, and therefore will not draw my examples from the instances of the present day; *but I challenge W. F. S. to name a Premier, a Secretary of State, and a First Lord of the Admiralty, within the last century, who did not differ in the fundamental principles of religious or philosophical belief, as much as the three sectaries whom he contrasts together.* But still more discordant opinions (as your correspondent may learn from Cicero's beautiful dialogue *de natura deorum*) by no means disturb the perfect harmony of our virtuous men, on questions of public utility. —Need I instance the examples of foreign nations to shew, that states derive benefit from the indiscriminate employment of men of talents, without regard to their religious persuasion? The King of Prussia, a Protestant, governs, according to one uniform system, a nation, of which a great proportion (the inhabitants of Poland and Silesia) are Catholics; his army is recruited with Catholics, *they* are admitted to seats in his council, and *represent him at foreign courts.* The Elector of Saxony, a Catholic prince, governs a Protestant people with more paternal care than any other sovereign in Europe. The Emperor of Russia has among his ministers, his generals, and his admirals, men of all sects and all nations. Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, whether Protestant or Catholics, whether of the Greek or Romish Church. And what is there in the peculiar situation of England, which can make the imitation of such practice dangerous? The succession of the royal family was supposed at one time to be connected with the maxim, that the Catholic religion was hostile to the constitution; but it is ridiculous to imagine, that his Majesty or his ministers can entertain a doubt of the loyalty of his Catholic subjects. The pretender to the throne is removed to an eternal kingdom: his claim to the inheritance of his ancestors is extinct: but though the cause of jealousy, if any cause can ever have been admitted, has long ceased to exist, the effect is still allowed to operate to the injury of the state, and the distress of individuals.——A. B.——*Hampstead, Sep.* 22, 1806.

ON THE CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES.——*From "The Argus," a Paper published at Paris, in the English Language.*

The capture of Buenos Ayres is an event which was not to be expected, upon comparing the military strength and the population of that colony, with the feebleness of the English squadron: the conquest of French colonies is a dearer achievement. But as to the others, the successes of this kind have so amazingly multiplied in this and the last war, that it will be sufficient for the Admiralty to send notice to a colony it is in a state of capture, as they notify that it is in a state of blockade. It is not less singular to observe, that this conquest, to which they attach so much importance at London, is hardly perceived on the Continent. The invasion of a German village makes more sensation here than the conquest of a kingdom in Asia; England has reduced the European Princes to behold her greatness with indifference; she has eternally occupied them with accessory interests; she has constantly kept up their quarrels; she has carefully ruined their industry, their navy, and their trade. In the state of indifference in which she keeps them in this respect, she completes at full liberty her system; she extends on all sides her Empire; without the other powers even thinking of disputing it with her. She makes immense acquisitions almost without drawing her sword; and when she judges proper to give the world a few moments of peace, she keeps the useful conquests, and returns only ruined establishments.—England relaxed the rigours of her maritime laws, when she was apprehensive that the Continental powers might see too clearly into her pretensions, and might unite to escape her monopoly; she made concessions to neutrals, when her warehouses were glutted with goods which she wished to get rid of, or when her colonies were in want of the neutrals to supply them with subsistence. At present, she seems to announce, that the Act of Navigation is to be again resorted to in all its vigour; she regrets the sacrifices made to necessity; she thinks she has sufficiently emboldened the Powers of the Continent with their own divisions to be any longer in need of sparing them, and to consummate the ruin of their people. The heedlessness with which they see these enormous usurpations, seems wonderfully strange, upon being compared with the restless uneasiness which they disply in all the affairs of the Continent.—The vulgar perceive nothing beyond the territory they inhabit; they are apt to look upon universal trade and immense colonies as objects foreign to the power of nations; but the enlightened man sees, that in the state of civilization which Europe has arrived to, trade and the navy have a powerful influence over the strength and prosperity of empires.—He who disposes at his pleasure of the riches of India and America, and who forces nations to receive the productions of his industry, really levies enormous taxes upon them; he arbitrarily exercises what constitutes sovereignty, and this empire is not so chimerical as some people may suppose.—No doubt the political existence of France presents a more solid and a more real power. Her means are within herself, and their concentration gives her an immense advantage; but we see in their developement neither the same extension nor the same inconveniences, for the prosperity of other states. Before the Revolution, France was the rival of England, as to her navy and her trade; she possessed the colonies the richest in cultivation. She lost both, and would have descended to the lowest rank of Powers, if, by the genius of her Prince, and the courage of her armies, she had not acquired on the Continent a compensation for the losses she had sustained. The power of England augmented by an immense empire in India, by several colonies in America, by the Cape, by the improvement of those she had before, and the destruction of their rival settlements, brings into the political balance of Europe such a weight, that all the influence acquired by France can hardly keep up the equilibrium. It is with the riches of both Indies that she purchases European discords. The superiority of her navy would be an irresistible advantage, if her population were at the rate of her ambitious designs, or if only she had completed the colonial conquests which she still meditates, and even over her ancient allies. She endeavours to turn aside the looks of other powers by sowing among them apprehensions upon the views of France. But upon comparing the use they have both made of their strength, it will be found, that she is the most to be dreaded and the most ambitious. On the one hand we see, that France has conquered the half of Europe, and has remained within her limits; the states attached to her federative system, might be united to her; they have remained separate, and will be independent powers. But all that England has conquered, is, definitively, annexed to her empire.—His Britannic Majesty commands in Indostan, as he does in Ireland. He has not contented himself with organi

sing new states, nor with making allies of them. France has often seemed to fight for foreign interests, but England has always made war for her own account: and has directly appropriated to herself all the profits of it. In fine, in the state to which she has reduced the navy and trade of other nations, it is happy that the energy of a single one should have preserved the counterpoise which the blindness of several sovereigns tended to destroy.

STATE OF EUROPE.—*From "The Argus," a Paper published at Paris, in the English Language.*

Europe presents, from day to day, an aspect more strange to the attention of observers. On whatever side we turn our eyes, we find contradictions to explain, and problems to resolve.—England still evinces a desire of peace, and her writers speak of nothing but war. She prepares distant military expeditions, and keeps a negociator of the highest distinction at Paris.—Russia has refused the peace which she had solicited, and remains condemned to inaction, while she cannot find a field of battle where she may recover the advantages and the military renown which she has lost.—Prussia is at war with Sweden; but this war resembles more a village quarrel than a contest with sovereigns. And while she augments her armies, she makes preparations in such a manner as to occasion the belief, that she proposes nothing less than to attack the first power in Europe. While these three powers discuss separately their interests with France they appear to form a common alliance. But they are between themselves in a false, uncertain, and vacillating position, in the face of an enemy whose policy is fixed, and whose force belongs to himself alone.—One would be less astonished perhaps to see Russia and England concert their means of attack against an enemy whom they would have jointly to combat. But can the cause, the interests and principles of Prussia, ever accord with those of England and Russia? The past proves the contrary, and the future will undoubtedly confirm the experience of the past.—Is Prussia at this day in a position more favourable with respect to those with whom she would unite herself, and with respect to the enemy which she would dare to affront? Does she really wish to turn her arms against the power which has supported her for fifteen years against the hatred, the envy, and the indignation of all the states of Europe? Does she still pretend to deceive her allies, by clandestine engagements which she designs to violate with the first favourable opportunity? Or rather will she, in her turn, rush into a snare which they lay for her, in order to be revenged for her past conduct? The public opinion has only the alternative between these two sentiments, until time has removed the veil which still conceals the truth.—With respect to sound policy, the resolution of Prussia to be the advanced post of a continental war, seems to us equally dangerous as tardy. She commenced her career in the continental war by a defection, which, even then, disclosed her system. Whilst Austria and France have held the equilibrium, she tranquilly collected the fruits of her tortuous, avaricious, and vacillating policy. But Austria once conquered, Prussia lost the importance of a mediator, where she had acted, perhaps, with an equal contempt for both parties. With these principles she does not offer to any one her sincere friendship. There can be no doubt that she could not resume the same system, if similar circumstances should again occur. Here is what ought to serve as a compass in negociations with her.——The Prussian cabinet, although fortunate in its speculations, has made, in fact, less dupes than it imagines. France paid her neutrality, so as to persuade her that she was sincere, but she believed this compliance most conformable to her interests, and best adapted to restore a general peace in Europe; she acted like the Lacedemonian general, who seeing a corps of young men disposed to deliver up a post to the enemy, contented himself with pointing out to them another, where he might watch them. What other cabinet can Prussia abuse? Is it that of St. James's, when, instead of sharing the dangers, as she had taken part in the projects of the last war, she glided after the combat over the field of battle, to carry off the fruits of the victory, and divide the spoils of the vanquished. She still keeps Hanover, and meditates an alliance with England. Her ports are still blockaded by the Swedes, and she calls them to her aid. She invokes the support of the Emperor Alexander, whom she abandoned in the midst of the dangers which she had promised to share. A sincere agreement between persons who have been so often deceived, and who have such reproaches to make to each other, it is difficult to conceive. The wounds which Prussia has occasioned still bleed. The English writers themselves cannot give credit to this monstrous alliance. The aid which she promises them, appears like the wooden horse. They tremble to receive of her pre-

sents. Thus, in spite of the positive assertions even of the Journals of Berlin, we cannot give credit to the sudden change in the conduct of Prussia, because every thing imposes on her the obligation of attaching herself more closely than ever to France. With the friendship of that power, she may cover the wrongs which she has committed towards others; with her aid she may be sure of preserving the advantages she has obtained without drawing the sword. In adopting another course, in disregarding in this point her situation and her interest, she would expose her existence and the remainder of her glory. Her inevitable fall in an unequal contest might offer compensations favourable to the re-establishment of general tranquillity. It might satisfy the resentment of betrayed powers, leave a great example, and shew that in policy as in morals there are truths and duties, the violation of which Providence will sooner or later punish.

THE JEWS.—*Letter from the Assembly of the Deputies of the Jews of France, and of the Kingdom of Italy, to those professing the same Religion. Published in the Moniteur of the 8th of October.*

The goodness of the Most High manifests itself visibly upon us. A great event is preparing. That which our fathers did not witness for a long series of ages, that which we could not have hoped to have seen in our time, is about to be made manifest to the eyes of an astonishing universe.—The 20th of October is the day appointed for the opening of a Grand Sanhedrin in the capital of one of the most powerful christian empires, and under the protection of the immortal Prince who governs it.—Paris is about to offer this spectacle to the world, and this ever memorable event will be to the dispersed remnant of the descendants of Abraham a new æra of deliverance and felicity.—Animated by sentiments which breath the same origin and the same religion, we wish to express them to you in the effusion of our joy.—Who but must admire with us the secret designs of that Providence who by ways inscrutable to our feeble minds, changes the face of human affairs, consoles the afflicted, raises the humble from the dust, puts an end to the trials decreed by his divine commands, and restores those faithful to his laws, to the esteem and affection of nations.—Since our dispersion innumerable changes have signalized the inconstancy of human affairs. Nations have successively expelled, intermingled with, and overwhelmed each other. We have alone resisted the torrents of ages and revolutions.—Every thing presages to us in Europe a destiny more desirable, an existence less precarious; but this state of affairs is nothing yet but a pleasing perspective. But in the midst of public commotion, in the midst of the agitations of an immense nation, the reality of this prospect rises, conducted by a divine hand, and by one of those powerful minds, around which nations rally by a natural instinct of preservation.—This benevolent genius, and consoler, wishes to make disappear every humiliating distinction between us and his other subjects. His penetration has enabled him to discover in our Mosaic Code those principles of duration and strength, which have triumphed over the ravages of time, and which gave to our fathers that patriarchal simplicity, which, in our times, is still venerated, and that heroism of character of which history preserves such admirable models.—He has decided in his wisdom, that it would be suitable to his paternal views, to permit the convocation at Paris of a Grand Sanhedrin. The object and functions of this body are traced in the eloquent speech of the Commissioners of his Imperial and Royal Majesty. We address you, our dear brothers, to inform you that the mind which dictates this measure, has no other object than to recal us to our ancient virtue, and to preserve our holy religion in all its purity.—The appeal which we now make to you for the assistance of your abilities, in order to give to the decisions of the Grand Sanhedrin more weight and consideration, will produce the happy result of rendering all our uniform doctrinal principles more in unison with the civil and political laws of the different states which you have adopted for your country.—Instructions from you will be useful to us, and government authorizes us to claim your assistance.—Be not deaf to our call; our dear brothers chuse men known for their wisdom, the friends of truth and of justice, and capable of concurring with us in this great work. Send them to take their places amongst us, and to impart to us their wise and enlightened views.—It must be highly desirable for all the Jews in Europe to co operate in the regeneration of their brethren, as it is glorious for us in particular to have fixed the attention of a Sovereign so illustrious.—Never had any men on earth such powerful motives as ourselves to love and to admire this Sovereign, for it has never happened to us to

applaud an act of justice so splendid, or a protection more marked. To restore to society a people estimable by their private virtues, to restore the opinion of their dignity, and assure to them the enjoyment of their rights, such are the benefits for which we are indebted to Napoleon the Great.—The Sovereign arbiter of nations and of of Kings has permitted this empire to cicatrise its wounds, to restore that tranquillity which continued storms had interrupted, to aggrandize its destiny, to fix ours, and to give happiness to two nations who must ever applaud him to whom has been confided the care of their happiness after that of thier defence.——*Paris. the 24th of Tisris, 567, (6th of Oct. 1806.)*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

ROME.—*Edict published by his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, Dated Rome, September 17, 1806.*

We, &c. Although our Holy Father has no reason to fear, that the movements which have taken place in some parts of the provinces which adjoin his states, can disturb the tranquillity that the system of neutrality adopted by him has caused to prevail hitherto; nevertheless his Holiness has thought that it was necessary, in his wisdom, to take measures of precaution powerful enough to dissipate even the most remote uneasiness, and to secure more and more, both to his subjects and to strangers, the preservation of the peace which they enjoy. In the midst of the solicitudes of every kind with which he is surrounded, his Holiness has experienced a great consolation in seeing that his continual cares, and those of the government, have had the happy effect of rendering still more and more the city of Rome and the state of the Church, a sure asylum to those who reside there. To remove, however, still more, every species of danger of seeing the public or private repose disturbed, we have received formal instructions to publish his intentions, which he wishes shall be faithfully executed.—ART. I. Whoever shall furnish either provisions, ammunition, or any thing else, to the rebels of the abjoining country, or shall give them an asylum, either by receiving them openly or clandestinely in their own houses, or by procuring them retreats elsewhere; or shall have any communication with them either by letters or by agents, or in any other manner, as by going to the places where they are, even although out of the States of His Holiness, every such person shall be considered as a state criminal, and be punished accordingly. No excuse shall be received either of consanguinity or friendship, or community of interest, or any thing of that sort. No man shall be permitted to say he has been forced by rebels to act so, unless he has immediately had recourse to the local Authorities to denounce the violence done to him, and to implore the assistance of the civil force which shall be immediately granted to him. 2d. Any individual, of what nation soever, shall be considered and adjudged a state criminal, who shall openly, or in secret, engage other persons to unite with rebels; or who shall endeavour to stir up any movement, whether against an individual, or especially if against a soldier belonging to a foreign nation, even although the attempts should fail of their effect. It shall be the same with respect to every person, who by letters or otherwise, shall endeavour to disturb the tranquillity and safety of any state whatever, although a foreign one. Every individual belonging to the rebels of the neighbouring districts, or who shall endeavour to introduce himself into the states of his Holiness, shall be arrested, and treated as a person guilty of violation of territory.—It is forbidden to every person to occupy himself with political disputes, or even political discussions, on public affairs; to speak against any power, or more especially to hold discourses capable of giving uneasiness and fomenting a spirit of party, whether in the streets and in public places, or even in private conversations. Imprisonment and the severest penalties shall be the punishment both of the speakers and the hearers.—All the ordonnances of police respecting strangers are renewed.—The Congregation charged with objects of general Police is invested with all necessary powers, for proceeding without the ordinary formalities of justice, and from the simple notoriety of the fact, against every person, without distinction, who shall be guilty of any of the offences mentioned in this ordonnance, or any of the same nature. —Given at the Palace of the Quirmal, 17th September. — (Signed) CASONI, Cardinal Secretary of State.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

"The parliament was dissolved; it was disgraced, punished, and put to death, because it was not to be "bent to the will of the ministry."——BURKE upon the subject of the Dissolution in 1784.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.——The words taken for my motto were expressive of the sentiments of all those political men, whose views were defeated by the dissolution of 1784, a dissolution, which, as the reader will well remember, was adopted for the express and avowed purpose of gaining Mr. Pitt a majority in the House of Commons, and of keeping in place a ministry, in whom that House had unequivocally proved, that they had no confidence. Those who wish to refresh their memories with respect to the constitutional arguments, which were opposed to such a measure, adopted from such motives, should refer to the celebrated resolutions, drawn up by Mr. Burke, and now standing upon the Journal of the House, as a protest against that dissolution. ——The same motive, though not to the same extent, has evidently produced the present dissolution; and, there is reason to believe, that Mr. Fox, if he had lived, would never have, from such a motive at least, given it his approbation; for, when the strength of the opposition was perceived upon the question of a monument to the memory of Pitt, and when the consequent necessity of a dissolution was pointed out to him, I am nearly able positively to assert, that he, calling to his aid the arguments which he himself had used in 1784, firmly protested against a dissolution for a purpose similar to that which he had then so strongly reprobated.——It is said, too, but with what degree of accuracy I will not pretend to aver, that several persons in the present cabinet were opposed to a dissolution at this time; and, indeed, when we consider, that Mr. Windham has hitherto composed part of that cabinet, it is hard to conceive that there should not have been one voice, at least, against it. That the measure has originated with the Grenvilles there can, I think, be little doubt; nor do I think that the motive ascribed to them by Mr. Paull, whose letter the reader will presently peruse, was one of the least weight in producing it.——By a dissolution of parliament, all the proceedings hitherto had, in the case of Lord Wellesley, do, as Mr. Paull has observed, at once sink into nothing. The whole of the case, if again agitated, must be agitated entirely *anew!* All the papers must be again called for, and granted, and there must, in order to bring the proceedings again to the state, in which they were left at the close of the last session, be found, somewhere, intelligence, courage, and perseverance equal to those so conspicuous in the conduct of Mr. Paull, who, as the reader will perceive from his letter at the close of this Summary, it is to be feared will not be able to obtain a seat in the new parliament, and upon the causes of whose exclusion no reader will stand in need of any comment from me.——In my last letter to the Electors of Westminster, I observed, that, what Mr. Sheridan's *reward* was to be, for having betrayed them into the hands of the Lord, I could not pretend to say, but that, I was sure, that, be the reward whatever it might, they would have to contribute towards it. It now appears, that the whole of the reward, in the first instance, at least, will come from them; for, it seems, that he is to be *one* of their members; that he, who swore to them, with tears in his eyes, that it was not a *mere seat* for Westminster that he should covet, but the honour of being *the successor of Mr. Fox*; that he might have been *a member* for Westminster long ago, but that he would never desert the Electors of Stafford for any body of Electors in the world, it being solely the honour of succeeding Mr. Fox that he was anxious to obtain, and, that not being attainable, no other consideration in the world would induce him to desert his old and fast friends, the Electors of Stafford. Now, however, before one single moon has gone by, he has the modesty to offer himself to the Electors of Westminster, and *not as the successor of Mr. Fox*, that honour having been, by this very same Mr. Sheridan, ceded to a Lord just turned his one and twentieth year! Well does he say, "I will make no professions;" for, is there, in all the king's dominions, one man who is able to read, who will ever again listen, but as to the chattering of a Mountebank, to any professions that he shall make? Begging leave to refer the reader to a most delightful letter, in a subsequent page

upon the subject of this gentleman's conduct, I have only to add, with respect to him, that it must now be clear to every man of common understanding, that, it was a promise of Treasury support upon this occasion, which was then known, at the Treasury, to be approaching; that it was upon this promise, joined to the evident danger of losing his lucrative places, that he surrendered the sheep-like Electors of Westminster into the hands of Lord Percy. They are now in excellent hands indeed. Let them bleat, and bleat again, when their fleeces are stripped from their backs!——In Hampshire, as every where else, in case of a contest, the suddenness of the dissolution must prove favourable to the ministerial candidates; because, in one way or another, they must have been apprized sooner than their opponents, of the intention of the ministry in this respect. The opponent candidates and their friends were, as much as possible, kept in the dark, to do which most effectually, the address of Mr. Windham to the Electors of Norfolk, contributed more than any other cause, and, indeed, than all other causes put together. Upon reading that address, I, for my own part, was fully convinced, that no dissolution, at an early period, was intended; and, I do sincerely believe, that, at the time when the address was written, Mr. Windham did not expect a speedy dissolution; for, I must see something in him that I never yet have seen, before I can, for one moment, entertain the idea, that he would put his hand to and promulgate any thing intended to deceive.——As to the general consequences of any attempts that shall be made to deprive us of the last remains of those blessings for which our fathers so successfully contended, it is as useless as it is unmanly, to waste one self in moralizing lamentations. Feelings of contempt, or of indignation, are those which ought to animate our breasts. Despair should never, for an hour, be given way to. We ought to wait with patient resolution for the day, when events shall enable us to exert ourselves effectually for the preservation of our freedom and the just rights and powers of the crown; but, in the meanwhile, it is contemptible to be seen fretting and whining away our existence, like the senseless bird, which, having nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand times unavailingly pecked at the watch against the cause of its slavery, makes the millionth peck in just the same manner, and with as little effect and as little resentment, as it made the first.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The manifesto of Prussia, and the *publication* (for it has no diplomatic name) of England have now appeared. As to the former, it contains a pretty full enumeration of the encroachments of France, and of the submissions of other powers; but, as the Morning Chronicle has well observed, "the things are neither rich nor rare," though one may naturally enough be astonished to meet with them in a Prussian manifesto. His Prussian Majesty has made an appeal to his people and to the world; but, has he not made it a little too late? It has been a hundred times, and, by a hundred different writers, predicted, that Prussia was bent upon the honorable distinction of being *swallowed last*; but, I cannot refrain from reminding the editor of the Morning Chronicle, who is now ridiculing, and with much reason, the Prussians for waiting to be attacked, that he, above all men living, should be moderate in his censure upon that score, having, from the time of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat to almost the present time, extolled the *wisdom* of the Prussian monarch's *pacific* conduct.——The *Declaration* (for we must give it some name) of England, says very little that we did not anticipate. We learn, indeed, that Napoleon was willing to cause Hanover to be ceded back to its elector; and, well he might, when he knew that he was thereby securely re-fixing a millstone about the neck of England, and was, besides, making a deduction from the means of Prussia, to annihilate whom he appears to have resolved. Any thing further than this, the Declaration only shews, that our ministers have been amused by Napoleon, while he was maturing his plans and preparations for a renewal of the war. As to Russia, it is now, I think, evident, that the treaty of D'Oubril was prevented from being ratified only in consequence of our interference; and, while I give no opinion about the morality of the refusal to ratify, I must commend the address by which it was caused. To treat in conjunction with other powers was our object, and that object France was resolved not to suffer to be accomplished.——The consequence has been war. War actually begun. A fourth coalition against France in good earnest entered upon; and, in all appearance, with as much probability of success as the last. Some of the newspapers assure their readers that the Prussians have retreated merely for the purpose of *leading the French into a snare!* But, surely, when those readers recollect, as they certainly must, that this same reason, by these same writers, was given for every retreat of the Austrians and Russians from the banks of the Schwartz, they will not again be

the dupes of these deluding or deluded men! "Into a snare!" Good God! Was it a snare that Napoleon fell into at Vienna? Was it a snare that he found in the conquered capital and kingdoms of his antagonist? And, is there another snare awaiting him at Berlin? Is the Duke of Brunswick, not less renowned than his Royal Nephew, really preparing a snare for Napoleon? No: let us not rest our hopes upon such a baseless foundation. Let us look for success in advances, and not in retreats. —— But, amongst all the discouraging circumstances which are visible in the outset of this war, there is one that I, and, I believe, every Englishman that loves and honours his country, hails with joy: I allude to the announced *approaching departure of the Hanoverian regiments that are now in this kingdom*. My reasons for wishing to see this were stated in the foregoing sheet at pages 583 and 584. To those reasons I could now add many others; but, being well assured, that they will readily suggest themselves to every English mind that is not totally debased, I shall, upon the present occasion, content myself with an expression of joy that the measure has been adopted, of sincere thanks towards those with whom it has originated, and of lively hope that it may never again be rendered necessary as long as England shall be called England. They are going! *Really*, I hope, going! And, success go with them! They are destined, perhaps, especially now that they have been disciplined by that skill, which has shone forth, accompanied with so much courage, in the wars which England has waged upon the continent; thus prepared, they are, perhaps, destined to retrieve the lost fortunes of Europe; and, I do earnestly hope, that, seeing this glorious prospect is before them, we shall not be so selfish, so detestably vile, as to wish to retain one single whisker, or even a single hair of them in this country.

PARTIES.——It is rumoured, and in a way, too, that seems to prepare us for a confirmation, that *Mr. Windham* is about to resign, or to be turned out of (no matter which) his place; and, the reasons given in conversation are, first, that he is resolved not to remain in, unless General Craufurd be sent on the expedition, to the command of which he was appointed; and second, that the rest of the cabinet are glad to get rid of him on account of the unpopularity which, as the author of the measures *hostile to the volunteers* and the *militia*, he has brought, and is bringing upon them. Either of these reasons would be sufficient; the former for his voluntary and indignant resignation; and, the latter, for his place-loving colleagues to turn him out. But, with regard to his merit or demerit, what is there alledged against General Craufurd, that the appointment should be cancelled? He is so *young* an officer! Is *seniority*, then, the standard of promotion in our service? Of mere *brevet* promotion it is; but, are there not many men now commanding regiments that never served an hour in any other capacity? And as to the command of expeditions, or of divisions of the army at home, has the selection been made according to age, or to years of service? Every one will answer this question in the negative: for, an answer in the affirmative would be too notoriously false not to expose the answerer to contempt. But, General Craufurd has "*seen no service*." More, perhaps than any one general we have. He has, if I am not much misinformed, been in more battles, has seen more of the arrangement and the operations of large bodies of men in the field, and has, especially, seen more of the attack and defence of the French, than any general officer in the British service. But, the fact is, that the two alledged objections against Mr. Windham are closely connected; and, I am fully persuaded, that those *zealous* and *manly* gentlemen of the regular army, who are said to have made a strong remonstrance against the appointment of General Craufurd, would have been perfectly silent, had they not felt encouraged by the cry raised against him on account of the part which he took, as a member of parliament, with regard to the *Volunteers and the Militia*; if they had not felt encouraged by a cry against him for having (grateful gentlemen!) endeavoured to restore to them those honours, of which they and the rest of the army had been robbed! ——This stands in need of no further comment at the present.——That Mr. Windham should leave the cabinet, unsupported, as he now must be, by Mr. Fox, and, apparently, by Lord Fitzwilliam, no one can be surprized. But, though I can readily believe, that many of the present cabinet would be glad to have an opportunity of silencing their opponents by "reversing his righteous decrees," I can see another reason, and that a very powerful one too, why he will find it difficult to remain; and that is, that he is bound not to suffer the *inquiry with regard to Lord Wellesley to drop*; and, it is strongly presumed, that a great majority of the cabinet, not only wish that inquiry to fall into oblivion, but *to bring Lord Wellesley himself into the cabinet!*——Mr. Windham did not, he could not, enter the cabinet, seeing the

company that he found there, with any other view, than that of sacrificing his own feelings for the sake of being able to serve the country by accomplishing that great wish of his heart, the forming an efficient, a cheap, and a safe military defence for these kingdoms. This wish has been frustrated. He has been hampered at every step. He has been thwarted in all his designs. His great and enlightened mind has been compelled to adopt and to foster the paltry, the miserable, conceptions of others, and to bend to the expedients of those, who valued their country as nothing in comparison with their place. The best thing he could have done was never to have joined in such a ministry; the next best would have been, to have quitted it long ago; and the next best is, to quit it now. The day will come, when the country must adopt such measures as he would have proposed for its adoption when he came into power; or, the country must fall beneath the arms of its enemy; and, against that day of trial he should treasure up the strength both of his body and his mind.——I would just observe, that, I have heard, and so frequently that I cannot help attaching some credit to the report, that General Craufurd is an opinionated, an ungracious, and even an ill-tempered, man; but, admitting this to be the case, these qualities, though not desirable, are not incompatible with great talents as a military commander; and, I do sincerely believe, that it is *envy*, more than any thing else, that has operated to his prejudice.——Mr. Windham himself has, I allow, his frailties, as well as other men; but, as far as I have ever been able to discover, he has less than any other public man I ever knew, or heard of; and, I am certain, that if every part of his conduct be fairly examined, by those who are qualified for the task, it will, upon the whole, be found to exhibit less of the bad and more of the good, than that of any man, in our day, who has been invested with office and with power, of which an inordinate fondness has been imputed to him, but of which I am sure it is not in his nature ever to have accepted, but from a desire to be instrumental in advancing the prosperity and the glory of his country. That he may hanker after power, and particularly the fame attendant upon power, I am not solicitous to deny; but, from a thorough knowledge of his character, I venture to assert, that, if there be a man, who would lay down his life for the salvation of England, that man is Mr. Windham.

Botley, October 24th, 1806.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE.

MY LORD,

It appearing to me necessary, under the present circumstances, to make known to the world some interesting facts, relating to that great public cause, which I have undertaken, in which I have so long and so earnestly laboured, and which, there is but too much reason to fear, may, at last, be defeated by that influence which will, in all probability, exclude me from the ensuing parliament, I have chosen, as the mode of address at once most agreeable to my feelings and most likely to obtain attention to my statement, the form of a letter to your Lordship, without the aid of whose sound judgment and unshaken integrity I never should have been able to carry those points, by which alone, a national interest was excited with respect to the conduct of Lord Wellesley; and, as to the channel, through which to make this statement, I have selected the Political Register, because, generally speaking, it is the only channel that remains untainted by corruption of one sort or another, and because, with regard to all subjects of great national importance, and particularly with regard to the subject immediately before us, it is the only publication, that I have yet seen or heard of, wherein men expect to meet with authenticity of statement and impartiality of insertion.

Having, during a several years residence in India, been an eye witness of many of those acts of Lord Wellesley, which have recently been developed to the nation, having formed a resolution to make them the subject of legal investigation, and knowing that for such an investigation the House of Commons was the only place that afforded a rational hope of success, I did, upon my return to England, in the latter part of 1804, take measures for obtaining a seat in that assembly; an object, which was accomplished in the ensuing June, on the 8th of which month, I took my seat in the House as one of the members for Newtown in the Isle of Wight. Besides the success of the great purpose of my mind, other motives led me cordially to co-operate with the opponents of the then Minister, whose principles I had always disliked as much as I had admired those of Mr. Fox; and, as I had, before my last departure from England, been honoured with very particular marks of the condescension and kindness of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, I naturally, and, I confess, with great pride, considered myself as belonging to his party, and that I did so consider myself gave, as I could

clearly prove, no small degree of satisfaction to his Royal Highness, to whom all my intentions with regard to Lord Wellesley were fully and freely communicated previously to my coming into parliament, and by whom I understood they were not less unreservedly approved of. In a very few days after I had taken my seat, I moved, as your Lordship will recollect, for the production of those papers, which, for the pretended reasons so well exposed by yourself, were not produced until the month of February last. My motions, upon that occasion, were seconded by that great and upright statesman Mr. Windham; and many days had not subsequently elapsed, when the Prince of Wales, at a visit made at Carlton House, took occasion to express his entire satisfaction at my conduct, and in a manner, which, as your Lordship will perceive by a detailed relation of it, was eminently calculated to add to my zeal and perseverance in the mighty task, which, seeing no other man willing to undertake, I had ventured to impose upon myself. "You have," said His Royal Highness to me, "opened a battery against the Marquis." "A powerful one," said Colonel M'Mahon, who, with Mr. Day, were present at the conversation. "His conduct in Oude," added the Prince, "has been truly shocking. I have had "much conversation with my young friend "Treves on the subject, who gave me the "poor Nabob's picture. I trust the battery "will not be silenced, next sessions, as some "Indian batteries have been." His Royal Highness also stated, that a few days before, at Sir John Throckmorton's, he had conversed fully on the subject, with Mr. Windham, and congratulated me, and the cause I had espoused, on the aid of a gentleman of such inflexible integrity and unbounded talents, on whom I might confidently rely. Delighted with sentiments so patriotic and just, and with expressions of such warm approbation from the Prince, I assured His Royal Highness, that he might safely rely on my perseverance, and that he would have only to regret, that my talents were altogether unequal to my zeal. This conversation took place in July, 1805, just after the prorogation of parliament. On the 17th of the ensuing month of September, when a general expectation of an immediate dissolution of parliament was entertained, Colonel M'Mahon requested me, and, as he informed me, at the particular instance of the Prince, to endeavour to ascertain upon what ground I myself should, in case of a dissolution, stand with regard to my then seat in parliament, as it was by all means desirable to secure for the party as many seats as possible. I reported, on the 20th of the same month, an unfavourable answer; and, in consequence thereof, Colonel M'Mahon, on the 24th, explicitly assured me, in the name of the Prince, that, if a dissolution should take place then, or, at any period before the natural demise of the parliament, I should be so placed, as to a seat, as to leave me no reason to regret, that I had, without attending to personal considerations, entered parliament, at a most critical epoch. The rumour of a dissolution being again current early in January last, the same assurance was not only repeated, but a particular borough in Cornwall, was named by Colonel M'Mahon, who added, that the Prince of Wales, with his own hand, had inserted my name, a few evenings before, together with those of the Honourable Mr. Lamb, Sir John Shelley, and others as intended to be returned for the "favoured boroughs."

Thus, my Lord, stood matters, early in January and previous to the death of Mr. Pitt, as to the continuance of my place in the House of Commons, which continuance was all-important to a person, whose first object was to prosecute an undertaking, which would necessarily require several sessions to bring it to an useful conclusion. To the lively hope, derived from these repeated assurances from such a quarter, was added that which was given me by several gentlemen, who had just left Brighthelmstone, and who informed me, that my cause had been the subject of much conversation at the Pavillion, and that I might depend upon the hearty support of almost the whole of the Fox-Party, but particularly of every one connected with Carlton-House. But, my Lord, men were not then prepared for the events, which the death of Mr. Pitt was preparing for our astonishment, our sorrow, and our subsequent indignation! They were not prepared to see a new ministry formed upon such terms, and composed of such materials. They were not prepared for seeing the spirit of Mr. Pitt prevail, and even with increased influence, after death had silenced his delusive voice, and the tomb had received his earthly remains. They were not prepared to behold the exaltation, the all-controling predominance, of talentless pride, and the silent and submissive acquiescence of those men, and of that man in particular, to whom so many of us had always looked up as an example of high spirit and of just and humane sentiments. Scarcely had the change of ministry been talked of, when, in pur-

suing my undertaking, full of the hopes of that support which had been so firmly promised; I soon found that all those promises were gone to the winds, and that with a few most honourable exceptions, the House was resolved to leave me solely to contend against all the influence and all the arrogance of unbridled power. With the exception of yourself, my Lord, of Mr. Windham, Doctor Laurence, Lord Ossulston, the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. Martin of Galway, Mr. Martin of Tewkesbury, Sir John Wrottesley, Sir William Geary, and Mr. William Smith, who seemed to despise power in the pursuit of justice, and who, the more to their honour, were, only one or two of them, engaged by any previous promise, either express or implied; with these exceptions, I met not, in a single man, with cordial and disinterested support, though, in several, I occasionally met with support dictated by party or personal motives.

It was not, however, until the 27th of January, that I received a full demonstration of the effects of the changes then actually taking place. On that day, when I had, agreeably to notice, several motions to make in the House of Commons, relative to Lord Wellesley, I was requested by Colonel M'Mahon, in writing, and, as he stated, by command of the Prince of Wales, to attend at Carlton-House, between two and three o'clock. On my arrival, I found the Duke of Bedford in audience with the Prince, and the Duke of Norfolk waiting for the same purpose; and, as I was obliged to be in the House by four o'clock, Colonel M'Mahon communicated to me the wishes of the Prince, which were (for I immediately made a minute of the conversation) "that the new ministry being almost formed, Lord Grenville had been at Carlton-House, and had spoken particularly upon the subject of Lord Wellesley; that the Prince, in consequence, wished me to to give up all further proceedings against him; that he had seen with particular regret the notices which I had given for that day; that, at all events, it would be prudent for myself, and pleasing to the Prince and the greater part of the new ministry, for me to lay upon my oars, at present, as Mr. Francis, Mr. Sheridan, and others, had done." My answer was, that it gave me exquisite pain to act contrary to the wishes of the Prince of Wales, but that, seeing that to obey those wishes, as thus communicated to me, would be to abandon the cause of justice and to ruin my own character for ever in the eyes of all honest and honourable men, I was compelled to pursue the line of conduct which I had traced out for myself; and, accordingly, I proceeded to the House of Commons, where I made my promised motions, which you, my Lord, did me the honour to second, and for which support I have only to hope, that, sooner or later, your country will feel as deep a sense of gratitude as that which will ever remain in my own breast.

The next day, having in the mean while, received an expression of regret through Col. M'Mahon, I wrote to Mr. Fox, fully describing the path from which I was resolved never to depart; I depicted the measures and the conduct of Lord Wellesley; I reminded him of the principles which I had imbibed from himself; and I besought him, in a tone the most urgent, and yet the most respectful, to spare me the sorrow, and all his admirers the mortification of being compelled, by any connivance of his at an attempt to screen Lord Wellesley, to think differently of him, who had ever been the object of my esteem and veneration. In answer to this letter, I received a note referring the matter to a personal interview; which interview, after a subsequent appointment, took place in February, when he, with his usual frankness, told me that, "As "Mr Sheridan had given up the prosecution of the conduct of Lord Wellesley in "the Carnatic, and as Mr. Francis had, in "like manner, given up his proposed inquiry into the affairs of the Mahrattahs, "he had much wished, on account of "Lord Grenville, who had resolved to stand "by Lord Wellesley, that further proceedings, on my part also, could have been "given up with honour; that my letter, "however, had destroyed all hope of that "sort; that, such being the case, and knowing, as he did, of the Intended Dispatch "of the Court of Directors, he would countenance a fair investigation, but would, "however, pledge himself to no specific "step to be taken therein; that, though he "would attend in his place, he would not "sound a trumpet in any intermediate "stage of the discussions, but that, when "the question was fairly brought before "the House, he would conscientiously do "his duty. It has," added he, "been "suggested to us," (the Ministers) "to "withdraw, or to keep away, when the discussions upon this subject are to come on; "and some of us have been inclined to do "so; but, for my part, *I cannot and will "not do that.*" Mr. Fox did, accordingly,

attend; but, as your Lordship must remember, neither he nor any other person, yourself and the above-named gentleman excepted, gave me any support whatever, in a contest against all the power and all the influence of both the late and the present ministry, who, though sometimes excessively bitter against each other, never failed cordially to unite and co-operate against every step leading to an investigation into the conduct of Lord Wellesley.

Nevertheless, in spite of this combination, such an one, I believe, as scarcely any single individual ever before ventured to contend with; certain points were carried, much interesting information was obtained, a good deal of exposure was effected, numerous facts never intended to see the light were rendered familiar to the public, articles of impeachment were produced, grounded upon those facts, and the ministry were not bold enough to stifle them by a marshalled majority, brought down by Lord Temple and the brothers of Lord Wellesley. Those articles remained upon the records of the House; and, it was easy to foresee, that, at the opening of a new session, not a moment would be lost by me, in reviving the discussions, and in reducing the House to the necessity of *voting an impeachment, or a censure* at least; or, of declaring in the face of the nation, of Europe in general, and of that enemy whom we are daily reproaching with acts of wanton aggression and tyranny, that the conduct of Lord Wellesley towards the Nabob and the country of Oude, as well as towards the other Princes and states of Hindostan, *was such as the government of England approved of*; a dilemma not a little embarrassing, and yet not to be got rid of completely except by a Dissolution of Parliament, which, as your Lordship is well aware, puts, at once, an end to all the proceedings with respect to Lord Wellesley, and for ever extinguishes all the accusations against him, unless I, or some other person be in the Parliament, and have the zeal and the perseverance again to begin anew, and to prosecute the arduous undertaking. I am not supposing, that this was the sole motive of the dissolution which is now about to take place; but that it was one of the motives, and that a principal one, I can, when all the circumstances are considered, have very little doubt. Aware of the consequences of a dissolution with regard to the proceedings against Lord Wellesley, I lost no time, upon the rumour which first became current about two months ago, in endeavouring to ascertain the disposition of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales as to his before mentioned promise of a seat, in case of a dissolution before the natural demise of the Parliament. But this application, my Lord, was not made with the expectation of insuring a return through the influence of the Prince of Wales, for a "favoured Borough," (which, at the same time, is no free gift); I knew I had sinned past forgiveness. I had rejected the overtures of the 27th and 28th of January. I had aided Mr. Robson in his inquiries into the Abuses in the Barrack Department. I had spoken against the new Commissioners Bill, and I had concurred with Mr. Francis in the propriety of not exempting foreign property (and consequently the king's) from the Income Tax: yet, still I was willing to learn the situation in which I stood, and whether I was actually to be opposed, where I had promises of support: whether, in fact, those whose countenance I had once experienced in the prosecution of Lord Wellesley, and who found it impossible to prevail upon me to relinquish that pursuit, would now join in a combination, to prevent my entering again into the House of Commons. Accordingly, on the 23d of August last, I wrote to Col. M'Mahon, reminding him of all the terms and circumstances of the promise as above-stated, and requesting a candid and an immediate answer. For four days an answer on the alleged want of authority was declined; on the fourth an answer was still declined, but the reason now given was, that the Prince (who was in town when my letter was received), was gone upon his tour to the North, which, as the Colonel informed me, would prevent me from receiving an answer for at least six weeks. On the 21st of September, having obtained unquestionable proof in the mean time that, so far from favouring my views, an opposition, wherever I should offer myself was, as far as practicable, to be made against me, in concert with the Treasury, I wrote again to Col. M'Mahon, for the last time, requesting that my application might be withdrawn; and, in my several subsequent exertions to obtain a seat, I have found obstacles even greater than those which my information, discouraging as it was, taught me to expect; so that, with the faint prospect of success, which in the present spiritless state of the country, a popular contest would afford, and considering that it is a seat, and not an unsuccessful contest, that can favour the cause that I have chiefly at heart, I am constrained to fear, that, for the present, I shall be deprived of the honour of par-

cipating, as far as my feeble powers would enable me, in the prosecution of that cause.

To this statement of facts, brief and unvarnished as it is, I shall, my Lord, add nothing by way of comment; and, your Lordship will, I am sure, perceive by the manner in which the statement has been made, that it would not have been made at all, had it not been absolutely necessary to the justification of my character, by accounting for my probable exclusion from the next parliament, and thereby silencing the calumniators, who have so often and so falsely ascribed my accusation of Lord Wellesley to personal and selfish motives, and who, had the above statement been with-held, would not have scrupled to insinuate, that my absence from parliament was the effect of some compromise, in which I had sought and obtained private advantage. But, a hundred times have I declared, and I now repeat the declaration, that, while I have life, I will not give up the cause I have undertaken, until ample justice be obtained; and, those who imagine that this declaration is to be rendered useless by the effect of a state trick, are little able, I think, to judge of what time is likely to produce, and, certain I am, that they are totally unable to form a true estimate of my perseverance. I am yet young enough, and so is Lord Wellesley, to see other days, and a far other spirit animate the people of Great Britain; and, his Lordship may be assured, that unless death shall prematurely separate us for ever, we shall yet meet, in spite of all mothering attempts, before an unbought, an unsold, an uncorrupted, an uninfluenced, an unplaced, and an unpensioned tribunal.

But, my Lord, though all the efforts I shall be able to make may fail of insuring me a seat in the ensuing parliament, I am still sanguine enough to hope, that the integrity, the zeal, and the talents of your Lordship, and of others, who, from the same honourable motives, have taken a part in the maintenance of the cause, will render abortive all attempts to stifle it quite and to disarm justice, with regard to the Affairs of India. To your Lordship, who is so well versed in the history of Lord Wellesley's administration, and who has so well considered all the effects of overrunning and plundering the states of that immense peninsula, it would be presumption in me to suggest any particular mode of pursuing a remedy; but, when you reflect, that the acts of aggression of Lord Wellesley have far surpassed those of that enemy, against whose violations of public law, we are endeavouring, and justly endeavouring, to excite the indignation and hostility of the world; when you reflect, that these aggressions have rendered the British name hateful in India, and have awakened, in Europe, a general suspicion of our professions and our views; when you reflect, that, while we are thus injured abroad by these flagrant violations of national right, we are, from the same cause, cruelly oppressed at home, the unjust wars and unnecessary expenditure of Lord Wellesley having already caused *four millions of pounds sterling* to be raised in taxes, upon the people of this country, and, in the present temper of the House of Commons, will, in all probability, cause from *twelve to twenty millions* more to be raised from the same source, insomuch that there will not be a labourer in the whole kingdom, whose hardships will not thereby be sensibly increased; when you thus reflect upon the enormous evils, which this system of Indian aggression and extravagance has brought, and is daily bringing in a still greater and greater degree, upon the affairs of this nation both abroad and at home, I am sure you will agree with me, that a speedy and an effectual remedy ought to be adopted; and, as I think, you must also concur in the opinion, that without a full and fair investigation as to the past, and without the infliction of due punishment, where such infliction shall be justly demanded, no remedy can possibly be effectual, so I am confidently persuaded, that, with the support, which you may safely rely on, and with the good wishes of all the just thinking amongst mankind on your side, you will never desist from the pursuit, until, in this great cause, ample justice has been obtained. In this persuasion as to the future, and with a deep sense of public gratitude for your past exertions,

I have the honor to remain,
My Lord,
Your Lordships most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JAMES PAULL.

Charles Street, St. James's Square,
October 20th, 1806.

MR. SHERIDAN.

——Hac mente laborem
Sesse ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
Aiunt, *cum sibi sint congesta cibaria.* *Hor. Sat.* I. v. 90.

Sir,——The late conduct of Mr. Sheridan in respect to the election for the city of Westminster has excited, as far as my opportunities of observation extend, a general and great sensation; and your animadversions on

the subject, some of the severest and most disgracing, but certainly best merited, censure that was ever inflicted on political profligacy, have been read every where with lively satisfaction. The proceedings, however, of this person in this affair, are an inexhaustible source of indignation and contempt; and there is one part, in a constitutional view highly interesting, to which I am desirous of drawing the attention of my countrymen still further.——What I refer to is the train of argument adopted by this long professing advocate of popular rights, in his extraordinary speech at the Crown and Anchor. As an orator he is not usually deficient in ingenuity, and, it is therefore worthy of remark, that his reasoning on this occasion was as feeble, and even stupid, as unconstitutional. With its feebleness I have no concern, except as evidence that the measures which it endeavoured to defend were incapable of rational justification: but its comprehensive hostility against the principles of popular election, and the subversion of the democratic, the most valuable, member of our government, which is involved in the prevalence of these doctrines, are concerns which affect immediately every Englishman, and which, thus originating, demand especially the regard of every elector of Westminster and Stafford.—The reasons assigned by the Treasurer of the Navy for renouncing his opposition against Lord Percy, were simply these: first, that the preference of Mr. Fox himself in the choice of a successor, would have fallen on this heir of the House of Northumberland; and, secondly, that during the solemnity of Mr. Fox's interment, "*the disgusting contest of an election wrangle*" would be unbecoming; and, caused by Mr. Sheridan, would be unbecoming in a peculiar degree.—In respect to the former of these reasons, I would ask, in the first place, how it is ascertained that such was the preference of Mr. Fox? The mere assertion of men obviously interested, who have shewn themselves capable of abandoning, in pursuit of their interest, all political principle, can have no weight either to prove or to disprove any thing. What then are those pretensions of Lord Percy, which as a popular representative could remind him to Mr. Fox with distinguished preference? Tried integrity, and talents cultivated by long experience in men and affairs? The name of Lord Percy, except as heir to the Dukedom of Northumberland, is unknown; such is his youth that, even in our constitution which admits senators at a lower age than almost any other, he is scarcely eligible; and a less experienced man could not be selected throughout the three kingdoms. Is he attached in any remarkable manner, or by any powerful cause, to the democratic branch of our government, which it will be his duty to corroborate? On the contrary, he is bound in the strongest ties, at once by birth and by education, by connection and by hope, to the aristocratic establishment; and must feel at all times the most decided determination to support the aristocracy, of which he is to be permanently a member, against the democracy with which his connection is as transient and disdainful, as it is unnatural and violent. With public sacrifices, which either merit popular gratitude, or contain some pledge for the future zeal of a candidate, he has no relation even the most remote; and the feebleness and littleness of what he has said and done during his election, evince that he has no capacity for these. What then are his recommendations? A disposition, say his advocates, and personal character, as far as it is yet known, of considerable worth, and a descent from noble ancestors, the friends of popular liberty. To such commendation, Mr. Pitt, I believe, had as strong pretensions as most men; and he, I think, may suffice for teaching us how to estimate the certainty of such scales of computation: but love of freedom in a noble family is obvious hypocrisy; an hereditary nobleman is the necessary antagonist of popular independence, and all his professions to the contrary are fulsome fictions resorted to for the despicable purposes of court intrigue. The recommendations, then, of Lord Percy amount shortly to these: his family has possessed great borough influence during former parliaments, and during future it will probably possess the same, (the present parliament of course is perfectly pure); and this family is willing to associate in political concord with the existing administration.—Such then are the recommendations which, according to the statements of Mr. Sheridan and his party, have engaged from Mr Fox a decided preference above every other competitor, and particularly above his most intimate associate in a long professed advocacy of the cause of the people. If we believe these statements, either the whole life of Mr. Fox had been meanly and basely hypocritical, or his attainment of power had wrought an intire change in his principles. Whether or not they are to be believed, I leave to others to determine: but, whatever their foundation, these public men, so ostentatious of attachment to Mr. Fox, have, for their own sordid purposes, betrayed his

reputation and memory. If false, they have profligately invented; if true, have treacherously published, a tale which confounds their friend with the wretched herd of court tools and placemen, or condemns him to the deeper disgrace, if deeper disgrace there be, of thirty years and upwards of systematic artifice and fraud. And the man who may boast the glory of first suggesting this tale, is he whose delicate sympathy is too much interested about the corpse of his friend, to endure the idea of its being interred amidst "*the contest of an election wrangle.*" Here is, indeed, in unsophisticated theatrical pathos, the genuine manager of a playhouse: the pageantry of funeral is to him a sacred object, but the reputation, the permanent fame, the place in the affections of his countrymen, and in the future reverence of history, that are to belong to the deceased, are insignificant trifles which the enthusiasm of friendship may sacrifice without scruple to the maintenance of a situation in power, which, thus maintained, includes every thing that a manly mind might disdain and revolt against.—Considerations however of this nature, refer merely to the personal characters of a few public men who have manifested themselves unworthy of public regard. It is in a more important view that I contemplate the argument. It involves that doctrine of ministerial controul over the freedom of election, which seems now to be forming rapidly into a system of the government, and which, whenever it shall have superseded the independent choice of electors, will have annihilated all that remains of free and honourable and elevated and secure in the nation. Mr. Fox would have preferred Lord Percy!—Assuming, for argument, that Mr. Fox is that noble character which his friends are perpetually asserting that he was, and are perpetually contributing to convince us that he assuredly was not, is the dictation of Mr. Fox to decide, or the general voice of the electors of Westminster? Lord Percy is yet a boy, utterly characterless and unknown to any; allied by birth to the second, or aristocratical, estate of the constitution, and by ministerial connection to the first or regal, both of which it is the chief purpose and most important utility of the House of Commons strictly to controul. The electors resolve unanimously that this is an unfit person to represent their city; but Mr. Fox has preferred him, individual is nominated after individual, the ranks of professing patriotism are ransacked, but the dictation of Mr. Fox is as sacred as his funerals: not a public character will accept a nomination which opposes it, and Lord Percy represents these electors. When Rome had fallen under a military despotism, her Emperors appointed the successor to their vacant royalty; and in the year 1806, a representative of the British people, being also a minister of the crown, nominates even from his grave, the heir to his place in parliament. An election assumes by degrees the placid form of a testamentary devise, and the blood of nobility, in anticipation of its future inheritance, and under the sanction of eloquent executors to the last commands of a dying Secretary of State, lisps its infant periods of ministerial eulogy to the speaker. A new Mark Anthony divulges the will of a British Cæsar, and, in the House of Commons "*the honourable gentleman*" becomes an antiquated title; the benches are crowded with "*noble lords*," and the third estate in the government of England is to consist in due time of an assemblage of ministers in power, surrounded by peers and placemen in expectation.—But to deliver a particular decree of his departed friend which disfranchises merely the electors of Westminster, and that in one instance alone, is too moderate a zeal for the Treasurer of the Navy: a sweeping condemnation must be pronounced, and the electoral office must be consigned in universality to general contempt and aversion. The exercise of this great privilege, the highest department of constitutional sovereignty, and the necessary basis of national independence, is branded with the opprobrious name of an "*election wrangle*;" and the noble ardour of a people struggling in support of their rights against ministerial influence, and aristocratic usurpation, is vilified as a "*disgusting contest.*" The principles of popular freedom are to be undermined in their very metropolis, in the honourable pride and active energy of the elector's feelings; and to resist with independent disdain the mandate of a minister's ministerial colleague, to maintain in being, privileges for the confirmation of which an illustrious ancestry were proud to die, to be true to our progenitors and to our posterity, virtues the loftiest that can dignify a nation, are to be stigmatized as vulgar, and, as far as eloquence can operate, to be shamed out of Britain. Such is the public act of a man who affects to have devoted his life to popular liberty; such is almost his only public act, since he acquired the place of a minister. The rest of his valuable time is devoted to excursions to Greenwich, and to the official pomp of entertainments and dances. He can steal from these illustrious engagements

only one short space to inform electors who have proposed to return him, that their franchise is a vulgar "*wrangle*," and its exercise a "*disgusting contest*." The cringing compliances of yielding meanness, the insipid smile of contented slavery, are to him the contrast to disgust, and he implores from his countrymen to spare him the mortification of national manliness. As the manager of a British theatre, he dared not have admitted on his stage sentiments so revolting to the history of Englishmen; but as a representative of the people, and as a minister of state, he makes an opportunity of delivering them in one of the most public assemblies of the metropolis, and employs his best eloquence to recommend and circulate the poison.——If we could turn from these public reflections, and from the emotions of indignation, to mere personal affairs and the follies of absurdity, the argument of this ministerial orator might be worth notice as a specimen of reasoning. The grounds which he has assumed in deprecation of an election contest are, if they are any thing, strong arguments for engaging in it with vigour. The last representative, it is said, was a sincere advocate of popular independence, and his interment would take place during the period of such a contest. To such a man, then, can there be more congenial obsequies than public manifestations of popular manliness, and the intrepid exercise of that independence of his constituents, which it was the alledged business of his life to confirm? Could his remains be conscious to the honours of funeral, what solemnities would he witness preferably to the conspicuous independence of those whom it was his living labour to maintain in independence, and to the active and energetic freedom of the freemen whom he loved to inspire? No. At such a time the active freedom of his constituents would be a disgusting indecency; "*it is fitting*" that they become a mere undertaker's retinue, "marshalled in mute sorrow;" and the common formalities which all can hire, the parade of pageantry, amidst a silent metropolis, represented by the man whom it has publicly resolved to be unfit to represent it, these are the glories recommended for his interment: his hearse is to pass in pomp, through the stillness of political desolation and despair. While such is the last scene of the deceased, the contemporary occupation of his ancient associates is congruous. His nearest friend is solicited to maintain that electoral spirit and popular boldness, in which the departed representative is said to have been sincerely interested; he is earnestly invited to continue and corroborate this from the same hustings whence the colleague whom he professes to lament had roused it so conspicuously: but he prefers superintending the funeral ceremonies. On that day the popular candidate he might have been: the parade colonel of a corps of tax dependents he is. The first course would have commemorated his dead friend with honour, with lustre to himself, and benefit to his country; the last is a despised absurdity pernicious and disgraceful to all: but the one would have hazarded, perhaps have sacrificed, the gay conveniencies of place, the other secures them.——I have heard it reported in political circles, that Mr. Sheridan, having now properly withdrawn himself from the electors of Westminster, will be nominated as their representative at the ensuing general election. The incomparable Lord Percy still remaining one member for the city, Mr. Sheridan is to take the place of Lord Gardner; and, at the same time Sheridan, junior is to console the electors of Stafford. These, I understand, are the ministerial arrangements, and here appears the *quid pro quo* among the high contracting parties during the late vacancy. The electors of Westminster will at length be gratified; the intrepid Sheridan will have obtained leave to offer himself, and they to return him: while the no less favoured inhabitants of Stafford will possess a new boast, equally conspicuous, no doubt, in eloquence of profession, equally superior in the pageantries of friendship; and, after a short course of attentive experience, not less illustrious in the splendours of official gaiety. Such are the blessings of a truly paternal administration. Like ignorant children, the silly people demanded an untimely representative; restrained in their inconvenient desires, the just measure of gratification will be doled out to them at the expedient period, they will "receive their meat in due season;" and our polished and tranquil nation will return the general body of its parliament safe from the "*disgusting contests of an election wrangle*." Heaven forbid that popular vulgarity should mar these refined arrangements, by the indignant rejection of court puppets, and court commands, and by constitutional independence of vote!——BRUTUS——*Oct.* 13, 1806.

COUNTY-CLUBS.

"It is only, gentlemen, in the County "of Middlesex, and very few others, and "in still fewer cities and towns, where "there are any remains of true popular in-

"dependence in the choice of representatives: and even in Middlesex, the most "independent of them all; we know but "too well the weight of the undue influences which are exerted to degrade the "county into the condition of a court-borough; and we likewise know the "strength of the existing combination "against our freedom; and these demand "from us vigilance, UNION, and energy. So "*uniting* and so exerting ourselves, we can "have no doubt of triumphant success; but "should we cont nue a rope of sand, and "supinely desert the *duty of conjointly defending the freedom of our elections*, Middlesex would most assuredly sink into the "ignominious condition of a Midhurst, a "Gatton, or an Old Sarum."——Major Cartwright in his address on the first meeting of the Middlesex Club.

SIR,——Some gentlemen of the independent interest, who took an active part in the last contest for the representation of Middlesex, and who then witnessed with deep regret the lavish expenditure chiefly occasioned by a neglect of previous arrangement, and by a want of concert among the supporters of the popular cause, which deplorably counteracted the ardent zeal manifested at that election, to prevent a recurrence of the same difficulties, determined on forming A FREEHOLDER'S CLUB. They accordingly spoke on the subject to their acquaintances, and after a certain number of freeholders had agreed to the measure, they met; when it was resolved, that every one present should each give in the names of two more freeholders, who with the then meeting should associate themselves to guard the Freedom of their Elections, and to preserve the Independency of the County. A committee was appointed to frame regulations as to the mode of admission of members in future, and to draw up what other Rules were requisite for the general purposes of the association. The propriety of such a Club has been acknowledged very generally, and it now consists of (I believe) nearly three hundred, and is rapidly increasing in numbers. Full thirty were ballotted into it at one of their meetings in the last spring. I select and subjoin for your highly valuable publication, some of their regulations; with the hope, that a knowledge of the success in Middlesex, may incite other counties and large elective bodies to institute similar clubs. Associations, Sir, of this description offer the only resource now left to the people of opposing with any (the slightest) effect the colossal influence of government, and its hosts of retainers. Thus to concentrate what in these disastrous times remains of independency among us, can be objected to by no man who feels the enormous demands made by parliament on his property, session after session, or, who has the liberties of England at heart. It might procure to us a few trustworthy representatives, who, unshackled by party attachments of any sort, would by their motions lay bare to the public eye the actual management of our national concerns. Mr. Robson's treatment in his very laudable inquiries into the rank abuses prevailing through the Barrack Department is fresh in the minds of all, and affords a melancholy proof that a gentleman who means to do the public a service by an exposure of any waste of their money, must when in the Commons' House look neither to the right nor to the left: at the same time, this "our experience both late and sad," to borrow Milton's phrase, is a practical demonstration of the incalculable utility to the country, if we could obtain a few more members actuated in their parliamentary conduct by the same honourable principle. But the benefits which would accrue by such a regulated effort of public spirit as I suggest are innumerable. With the popular strength embodied in this manner, no county could ever be harrassed with a poll of fifteen days continuance; nor a popular candidate by that means be again fined twenty-thousand pounds for his patriotism. However sharp the struggle between the conflicting interests, the promptitude of co-operation which would result from an arranged plan, among men who are voluntarily enrolled together for the same end, would insure a speedy close to the contest; unquestionably a consummation devoutly to be wished by all sides in popular elections, as they are at present conducted.—The Independency of a County would in another view be maintained wherever such a club is established; I mean it would assuredly set the political opinions of the county at large, above the control of two or three of the nobility, who may happen to reside in it; to which vassalage too many counties tamely submit, who if they were true to themselves, might vindicate their own consequence with ease. For instance, had a club of such friends of the constitution existed in Staffordshire, we may safely pronounce that the Lords connected with that opulent county, would not have settled it in London among themselves, and *declared* openly that Staffordshire should not meet to consider the question of Lord Melville's guilt! Very many are the conjunc-

tures where a Club of Electors, though not strong enough to carry a seat in parliament, would not be associated in vain: *conferre injurias, et interpretando accendere.* Whenever any expression of the general voice was called for on public questions, they would necessarily have great weight. No doubt, you are aware, Mr. Cobbett, that the members for Hampshire, saw cause after the meeting at Winchester, to vote on the affair of the lord I have just mentioned, in contradiction to the votes they had before given. In the same manner, and on the same occasion, after a respectable proportion of their constituents had made known their sentiments, a new light broke in upon the members for Essex, and other shires. How important then, to have men who act systematically together on the alert, to take the lead in like emergencies.——These are among the advantages to be derived by the people from associations of electors, wherever they possess sufficient public spirit to follow the example of Middlesex. I refrain from pointing out any more of them, at least for the present, lest I should trespass too far on the columns of your Register.——I am, Sir, yours, &c.—A FRIEND TO FREE ELECTIONS.

Acton, August 20, 1806.

Extracts from the Regulations of the MIDDLESEX CLUB.

There is at all times to exist an annual committee of eleven members, five of which make a quorum.——The committee is to be provided with a plan for canvassing the county in convenient subdivisions, and to register all instances of promises, threats, bribes, &c. tending to corrupt the freedom of election.——The club to hold three regular general meetings every year, when they dine together.——Extraordinary general meetings may be convened when a majority of the committee judge it expedient.—Every candidate for admission to the club must be proposed and seconded in a general or committee meeting, and be balloted for at the next general meeting.——In the circular summons for convening the club, the names, professions, and places of abode of all persons to be balloted for, are to be inserted with the names of those who propose and second.——Each member, on signing the regulations at his admission, is to pay one guinea to the treasurer, which includes his first year's subscription; and for each subsequent year he is to pay half a guinea.——After the business of the club shall be finished, each member may introduce with dining tickets as visitors, any freeholders of the county who have never before dined with the club, not exceeding three in number.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."

SIR,—Having just seen your last week's Register, in which I find you have taken no notice of a paragraph in the Morning Post of the 1st inst. addressed to "Jack Cade," I conclude, that you have considered it as too contemptible and ridiculous for reply. I cannot, however, refrain from offering you a few remarks upon this defence, so perfectly original in its manner, and so preposterous in its *effect*.—First, says this lusus naturæ of wisdom, "any one but Jack Cade would "see that the fact of two barristers (one of "whom is intimately connected with the "ministry) being employed *at the desire* of "the Princess of Wales, *to prepare the re-*"*port for publication*, is a very *different* "thing from their being employed by her "to *garble* the report." And, again, "they "are engaged to *prepare* the proceedings "before the commissioners for the *public* "*eye*;" for, says he, "the examination "of a charge of such *vague* latitude, as that "of a *general impropriety* of conduct, "much of *minute particulars* may be given "in *evidence*, which would be *disgusting to* "*the public and unfair* towards the illus-"trious individual accused, when NO CRI-"MINAL RESULT WAS ESTABLISHED."—— Now, in the name of all that is rational, what is the inference that *must* be drawn from this? He sets out with denying that the report will be "garbled," and he ends with an *apprehension*, that were all the *minute* particulars which were given in *evidence* to be laid before the public, they would be not only *disgusting*, but *unfair* to the party accused. So, then, he admits a report is to appear, with many of the *minute particulars in evidence*, SUPPRESSED; but "*not gar-*"*bled*." Oh, no.—Garbled.—A couple of big wigs *eminently* stuffed with law are to ABRIDGE it for publication.—*Abridge* it, not *garble* it, Mr. Cobbett—are to favour the public with the inspection of *part* of the evidence. And why only *part*? Because, if the *whole* were given, it would "disgust" the public, it would be "unfair" to the party accused; and, wherefore would it "dis-"gust?" Whence the "unfairness?" Can any evidence respecting the innocence and virtue of a Princess prove disgusting? Can the publication of evidence ever prove "unfair?" But, remember, he *assures* us that "no *criminal* result has been establish-"ed." Perhaps not; but might he not allow us to judge for ourselves, who shall de-

termine if only *part* of the evidence is to be delivered? Assuredly, give *none* or give the *whole*. And, though no *criminal* result be deduced, may not *much* IMPROPRIETY of conduct be established?——Again, says this mischievious advocate, "we understand that "the depositions of some of the principal "and most malicious" (as he chooses to call them) "of the witnesses, to be given in a "style of grossness which could not in any "circumstance be published without offend-"ing decency; and which, after the *com-"plete* ACQUITTAL," of the illustrious destined victim of such horrid malice, could "not without the utmost injustice as well "as the utmost indecency be published "about her." Now, was there ever so clumsy a defence as this? *Defence*, do I say? No, rather was there ever so calumniating a report, such injurious reflections, for, to my mind, it casts more suspicion upon the character, and conveys by far more gross insinuations upon the conduct of this "*il-"lustrsous* personage" than any which her bitterest enemy could have produced. And, if it really and *seriously* is intended for a defence, I shall only say with you "from such "defenders God send her a safe deliver-"ance."——*Evidence* which cannot be published without *offending decency!* Evidence containing *minute* particulars that would be *disgusting! Depositions*, aye, and those too of the *principal witnesses*, containing such *grossness* as could not be given to the public without "the utmost INJUSTICE as well as "*indecency!*"——Heavens and earth! Are these the expressions applied to the *innocence* of a *modest and virtuous* Princess!!! Whence these "indecencies?" Whence this "grossness?" Whence these "minute "particulars that would create disgust?" (or, as you have well expressed it in page 395) "What! the language so gross and "disgusting as to be unfit to meet the eye "of decency! The language of evidence "too! What could these *filthy* witnesses "have to give *evidence of?* Tell us THAT "thou able advocate!"——Thus, it is admitted, that the depositions even of the principal witnesses are to be suppressed, to be withheld from the public, or what is worse, to be given only in part. But, the report is not to be *garbled!* No! that is not the right phrase, Mr. Cobbett, it is not to be *garbled* but only *manufactured*, manufactured for the public eye, by eminent barristers!!! However, he does say, "when the "publication is made, as we hope it will "*soon* be," he" (Jack Cade) "will know to "whom to apply for *such part* of it *as may* "*be omitted.*" So, it seems we are to have a *peep* at it *somewhere*. O judicious garblers! With how good a grace will it meet the *public* eye at last! For if it is to be *peeped* at, to the *public it will come.*——O, wisest of the wise inhabitants of Grub Street! O judicious advocate! O noble defender! Well mightest thou rival even the renowned Don Quixotte de la Mancha, and descending from thy lofty garret, become the rightor of all wrongs, the redresser of all grievances, in honour of thy peerless Princess, the high born and illustrious Dulcinea Del Toboso!——But, indeed, Mr. Cobbett, I cannot yet bring myself to believe that all this is *seriously* intended for a *justification*. No, it is absolutely impossible. It never was meant as a defence. And, until I am assured, that the writer really is the most sovereign fool, of all that swarm of fools and vermin, which fertile Grub Street has yet produced, I shall continue to believe that you and he apparently are adversaries, yet, in fact, that you both aim at the same point, and both have the same object in view, namely, a true publication of the whole report. He, to be sure, has chosen an infinitely more cunning and crafty mode of obtaining his purpose than you; though, indeed, I do believe he has hit upon the most effectual. Do but observe, it in this point of view, and I am sure you and every one else will be convinced that he can have no other intention; for under the specious mask of defence has he veiled accusation; but has industriously covered it with so thin a veil, that he has the satisfaction of observing that every one sees through it; or, at least, that they see just enough to make them pant to see more. And by thus disguising himself under the cloak of a defender, he raises and excites curiosity to the highest pitch, by giving hints of indecencies that must shock modesty, and of grossness that would create disgust: all of which must be carefully *concealed* from the public eye; for, says he, you know that the "acquittal is already public and uncon-"tradicted," therefore, why should you wish to know more. And although the evidence does contain some gross indecencies and impurities, yet, surely the purity and innocence of the illustrious personage can never be doubted. O thou unreasonable public! wherefore shouldst thou seek to know whence these "indecencies could proceed." or upon what foundation the *nasty witnesses* had recourse to such *disgusting grossness!*——Hoping, therefore, Mr. Cobbett, that this explanation will no longer permit you to consider the writer in the

Morning Post as a friend to concealment; but that you will do him the justice to believe that a "full and genuine report," is as much his wish as it certainly is yours; so I shall conclude with hoping, that instead of considering him as an opponent, you will on the contrary greet him as a fellow labourer, most indefatigable in the cause of publicity, and that you will therefore act in concert together, by continuing to pursue this laudable purpose, though by different routs and with different weapons.——I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, ever,—A FRIEND TO PUBLICITY AND JUSTICE.——*Oct.* 13, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Declaration of the King of Great Britain. From the London Gazette, October 21, 1806.

The negociations in which his Majesty has been engaged with France, having terminated unsuccessfully, his Majesty thinks proper to make this public declaration to his subjects, and to Europe, of the circumstances which have led to an issue which his Majesty deeply regrets. He has no object nearer to his heart, than the conclusion of a secure and permanent peace. He laments the continuance of a war, affecting the happiness of so many nations, and which, even amidst all the successes that attend his arms, is so burthensome to his faithful and affectionate people. But he is confident, that there can arise on this occasion no other sentiment, either in his own dominions, or in any part of Europe, than that of an increased conviction, that the restoration of general tranquillity is retarded only by the injustice and ambition of the enemy.—The French government, unsatisfied with its immense acquisitions on the continent, still openly perseveres in a system destructive of the independence of every other power. War is pursued, not for security, but for conquest; and negociations for peace appear to be entered into for no other object, than that of deluding the neighbouring powers into a state of false security, while France is herself preparing, arranging, and executing her unremitted projects of encroachment and aggression.—Her conduct in the recent discussions has afforded but too many proofs of this disposition.—The negociation originated in an offer made by the French government of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession, which was stated to admit of mutual compensation; and a distinct assurance was added, that his Majesty's German dominions, which had been attacked without even the pretence of any cause of hostility, should be restored.—Such a proposal appeared to his Majesty to afford a just foundation for negociating; it was therefore accepted with this reserve, that the negociation should be conducted by his Majesty in concert with his allies.—No sooner had this basis been mutually admitted, than it was departed from by the enemy, and that too, in points of so great importance as to call for an immediate declaration on the part of his Majesty, that unless the principle proposed by France herself were adhered to, the communications which had been opened between the two governments must at once be closed. —This produced new professions of the dispositions of France, to make considerable sacrifices for the attainment of peace, if the discussions were suffered to proceed; at the same time, that a difficulty was started on account of the want of full powers in the person intrusted by his Majesty with this communication. Steps were thereupon taken by his Majesty for opening a regular negociation by ministers duly authorised, in order to ascertain, in a manner the most satisfactory and authentic, whether peace could be obtained on terms honourable to the King and his allies, and consistent with the general security of Europe.—During these proceedings, a minister sent by the Emperor of Russia to treat for the same important object, in concert with his Majesty's government, was induced by the artifices of the enemy, to sign a separate treaty, on terms equally repugnant to the honour and interests of his imperial Majesty. —Unmoved by this unexpected event, the King continued to negociate precisely on the same principles as before. He relied, with a confidence which experience has amply justified, on the good faith and steadiness of an ally, in concert with whom he had begun to treat, and whose interests he maintained with the same firmness as his own. The French Government, on the contrary, elated by this advantage, of which it boasted as equal in importance to the most decisive victory, departed in every conference more and more widely from its own offers and engagements. Not only did it take upon itself to change, at its own will, the basis of the Negociation with Great Britain, but violated, in points still more important, every principle of good faith with Russia. The chief inducement offered to that power, as the price of all the sacrifices extorted from her minister, had been the preservation of Germany. Yet, before the decision of Russia on this treaty could be

known, France had already annihilated the whole frame and constitution of the German Empire; had reduced under her own yoke a large proportion of the states and provinces of Germany; and not content with this open contempt of obligations so recently contracted, had, at the same time, instigated the Porte to measures directly subversive of her subsisting engagements with Russia.—While such a conduct was pursued towards His Majesty, towards his allies, and towards all independent powers, there appeared so little hope of any favourable issue to the negociation, that His Majesty's plenipotentiaries demanded their passports to return to England.—This demand was at first eluded by an unusual and unexplained delay, and the French government afterwards, by some material concession, accompanied with intimations that others of still greater consequence might be the result of further discussion, procured a renewal of the conferences, which were protracted from day to day, till at length it was announced at Paris, that the Emperor of Russia had indignantly rejected the unauthorised and separate treaty signed by his minister.—In consequence of this important event, the strongest assurances were given to His Majesty's minister, that France was now prepared to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order, by securing peace with Great Britain, to re-establish the tranquillity of the world. —The object of these assurances appeared however to be, that of engaging His Majesty in a separate negociation, to the exclusion of his allies: a proposal which His Majesty had rejected in the outset, and which he could still less admit of at a time when the conduct of Russia had imposed on him an increased obligation not to separate his interests from so faithful an ally. To these insiduous overtures, His Majesty steadily refused to listen; but he took the most effectual method to avoid all appearance of delay, and to accelerate, if possible, the favorable issue of the negociation. The confidential intercourse which he had constantly maintained with Russia, enabled His Majesty to specify the terms on which peace with that power might be obtained; and his minister was accordingly instructed to state to France, in addition to his own demands, those of his ally, to reduce them to distinct articles, and even to conclude on those grounds a provisional treaty, to take effect whenever Russia should signify her accession. —This form of negociating was, after some objection, acceded to by France; terms were now offered to His Majesty, more nearly approaching, than before, to the original basis of negociation; but these were still far short of what His Majesty had uniformly insisted on, and was now more than ever entitled to expect, and the decisive rejection of the just demands of Russia, as well as of the conditions proposed by His Majesty in behalf of his other allies, left to His Majesty no other course than that of ordering his minister to terminate the discussion, and return to England.—The foregoing short and simple exposition of facts stands in need of no comment. The first overtures which led to negociation were made by the enemy, and they were accepted by His Majesty in the sincerest spirit of peace. Every opening which seemed to afford the most distant prospect of accomodation has been anxiously embraced, nor was the negociation finally broke off, while any hope of a favourable issue could be entertained. His Majesty's demands were uniformly just and reasonable; directed to no objects of personal aggrandizement, but to such only as were indispensably required by the honour of his crown, his engagements to his allies, and a due consideration of the general interests of Europe.—It is with heartfelt concern, that His Majesty contemplates the continuance of those evils always inseparable from a state of war; but it is with his enemies that this awful responsibility rests; and for the issue of the contest His Majesty trusts, with confidence, to the justice of his cause! to the resources and bravery of his people; to the fidelity of his allies; and, above all, to the protection and support of the Divine Providence. —In contributing to the great efforts which such a contest must unavoidably require, his faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget that all their dearest interests are at stake; that no sacrifices they can be called upon to make are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin of yielding to the injurious pretensions of the enemy; that with the inviolable maintenance of the good faith and public honour of their country, its prosperity, its strength, and its independence, are essentially connected; and that in asserting the rights, and upholding the dignity of the British Empire, they defend the most powerful bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it possible you can conceive, that any person, who holds an office "of some hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will, "if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing when he sits in the House, that he "knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, "these are not times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing stars are much "more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds "by digging in my garden, than such a phœnix, by searching among the present race of mankind. Count "upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is not master for life, will "ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe "him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood. But he loves his employment "better than he does you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth."—SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——To give a narrative of the occurrences of the war would be useless, seeing that those occurrences are detailed, much more fully than my space enables me to detail them; and, seeing besides, that, as to making an authentic record of them, as matter for history, that will be, in due course of time, done by carefully inserting, as has been done in former cases, all the papers officially promulgated by the negociating and belligerent powers.——The defeat of the Prussian army seems to have excited very little surprise, amongst any description of persons, notwithstanding the flattering hopes that were held forth by the writers in the Morning Post and in some other of the London prints; and, it is indeed, to me, no small satisfaction to perceive, that the public mind has, at last, arrived at a state to reject, with contempt, the attempts at delusion made by the proprietor of the print just mentioned, who, it is confidently stated, has received, in a way the most likely to produce effect upon the conscience of a trading politician, a convincing proof that even his well-dressed rabble of readers are no longer to be deceived.——The public were duly prepared for what has happened upon the Continent of Europe. There was not, as I had before occasion to observe, one man in the kingdom, of plain good sense and of common information, who expected to see the war terminate in favour of the allies, if, indeed, an *alliance* can be said to exist.—— As to the future progress of the war, it appears to me most likely that Prussia will make peace, if possible, upon any terms that Napoleon shall dictate. What these terms may be it is hard to anticipate in detail; but we may confidently expect, that, if they leave the king of Prussia upon his throne, if they leave him the *name*, they will rob him of all the powers of a king. *Poland* seems likely to receive a new master; and, that measure once accomplished, who shall give us security, that Russia, far as it is from France, will not feel the effect of her arms and her principles; for, though we, in this country, though there is not a man amongst us, weak enough to see any thing to envy in the situation of Frenchmen, yet, we should consider, that the Russians may not think like us. In short, there appears to be but too much reason to fear, that, unless some most extraordinary and unexpected event should take place speedily, the whole of the Continent of Europe will either be conquered by Napoleon, or that, at least, there will remain no part of it free from his absolute controul.——It only remains, then, for us to inquire, how, in that case, we shall be able to prevent our own country from being conquered. That we shall continue to be masters of the sea; that we shall defeat the fleets of Napoleon wherever we meet them; that we shall materially annoy him in many ways, there is no doubt; and, I think, it is equally evident, that it will be out of his power materially to injure our trade. But, *how long* can we, staggering as we now do under our burthens, continue the contest against him, who will have all the means, of every sort, of the whole of continental Europe at his command? This is the question. Disguise the matter how we may: deceive ourselves as much as we please: lay, as long as we like, "the flattering unction to our souls," this is the question for every man to put to himself, and never to turn from, until he has made up his mind to an answer. It is useless for us to call one another names. The accusations conveyed in the words *Jacobin* and *Leveller* will do nothing against the enemy. It is perfectly useless for us to revile and curse and endeavour to hang one another.

This question we must make up our minds to answer; and we must seriously and unanimously prepare to act accordingly; or, we may be assured, that the sword of the enemy will put an end to all our animosities and our squabbles.——It is, and it has uniformly been, my opinion, that, to be able to withstand the power of France, let who will be her ruler, we must have a change of system; I mean particularly in affairs of finance; because, my great fear is, as I have so often expressed it, that the burdens of the people may be increased, until they shall become as indifferent to the fate of their king and country, as the people of the continental states have uniformly been. Of the means of preventing this, the greatest of all evils, I have often spoken; and, upon the change of ministry I was in hopes that some, at least, of these means would have been adopted; but, alas! the same causes that subdued the mighty spirit of Mr. Fox, who was, I sincerely believe, as honest a hearted man as ever breathed, have hitherto prevented any measure of that sort. Let us hope, however, that *this Ministry* (for I am by no means anxious to see such a change of men as, at this time, could alone be hoped for) will yet, when they see that there is no other hope left, have recourse to some means of lightening the burdens of taxation, and of infusing a new spirit into the people. But, at any rate, whatever we may think of the conduct of the Ministers; however some men may dislike them, let no man act as if he disliked his country or his king. Let each man take care of his own character; let him manfully resent the injurious aspersions of venal tongues or venal pens, but let him never, for one moment, suffer that resentment to hurry him into any step favourable to the enemy, or inimical to the permanent stability of that kingly government, without which experience has proved to us that there is no real freedom to be enjoyed by the people.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——My readers, as well as all the sound part of the nation, will have been agreeably surprised at the turn which things have taken in this great city. MR. PAULL's addresses to the Electors will have been read by every one, long before this sheet reaches the press; and I should not now have inserted an *Account of the Proceedings at the Crown and Anchor Meeting on Thursday last*, were it not necessary for the purpose of counteracting the effect of certain gross misrepresentations, which have been made, particularly in *the Morning Chronicle*, of what passed upon that occasion. I shall first insert an Account as published in the ORACLE news-paper of the 31st ultimo, and shall then beg leave to trouble the reader with a few remarks of my own, first, observing, that this account does great credit to the industry as well as to the liberality of the Editor; and that, if this Editor does never happen to exercise any of his liberality towards *me*, I ascribe his conduct to the pitiable dependence of his situation, and by no means to the badness of his heart.

ACCOUNT.

"Yesterday a Meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, pursuant to advertisement, of the Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster, professedly in the interest of MR. PAULL.—Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was in the Chair. The number present appeared to be about 300.—After dinner (which was a good one) and the cloth having been removed, the first toast was

"THE KING"—which was drank with great applause.

"The Independent Electors of Westminster."

"Sir Francis Burdett."

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT rose, and spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I never rose more cheerfully in my life than I do now, to perform a duty, for I think it is a duty, to support a public man, who comes forward as a Candidate for Westminster, and who comes forward upon independent principles. I never rose, I say, more cheerfully or more satisfactorily to perform a duty to the Public than I do upon the present occasion, in recommending to you a Gentleman who sits near me, Mr. Paull, to represent the Independent Electors of this great city.—I will not detain you long in observations preparatory to drinking his health; but shall briefly state to you one or two observations, which, I trust, will induce you to concur with me in thinking that Mr. Paull is the *only* person who can be supported, upon this occasion, on honourable and public grounds by the independent part of the Electors of this City.—Gentlemen, the advertisement of your late Representive (Lord Gardner) who now declines coming forward as a Candidate for your future suffrages, carries in itself, strong, and, indeed, sufficient reason, why he ought never to have been a Candidate at all, and why a person, who stands under the same circumstances, and in the same predicament, cannot, any more than himself, fulfil that duty, which ought to be the first, if not the only object of those whom you

deign to favour with your support. In his advertisement, Lord Gardner states, "*that "he cannot come forward as a Candidate to "represent you in Parliament, on account "of his professional duty, which compels "him to be absent from the House of "Commons.*" I do not mean to insinuate, for I do not feel, that either of these gallant officers is not a very fit object of any honour or professional reward or emolument, which their country could bestow upon them; but this is the only situation—I mean, that of being Candidate for your suffrages to represent you in parliament;—I say, the only situation wherein an English naval officer can appear to any disadvantage.——Gentlemen, upon reflection, I say, it is the only possible situation in which an English naval officer can be made an instrument to oppose the liberty, the independence, and, I must say, the interests of his country.——Gentlemen, if Sir Samuel Hood, of whose gallantry and meritorious conduct there can be entertained but one opinion, was asking only some mark of honour or respect from his countrymen, no man in England would oppose him; nor would any be more ready to shew him respect than the electors of the City of Wesminster; but, on the present occasion, wherein your choice confers no sinecure office, but a laborious duty, and not less important even than his professional duty, requiring, as it does, so much attendance and exertion, and admitting of no absense, I think that under all such circumstances, you will concur with me in thinking that the gallant officer cannot be fit to fill it.——Therefore Lord Gardner has left behind him a legacy which has not only excluded himself, but every other naval officer, from claiming your suffrages to represent you in Parliament. Then, gentlemen, conceiving that the profession of Sir Samuel Hood, and the duties which attend it, are inconsistent with a faithful discharge of those of a Member of Parliament, which is no more than saying that no man can act in two places, and act in two capacities at one time, it cannot be any affront to him to refuse him support in an application made on his behalf, in which he has no claim; because it is impossible for him to serve you as a Member of Parliament without neglecting his duty as a naval officer, for which reason he is an unfit candidate to represent you in Parliament.——After having disposed of that part of the question before you, I come to the next candidate for your suffrages, Mr. Sheridan. On the propriety of his being originally a candidate, I have already given my opinion—that opinion is before the public—I maintain that opinion now upon that subject—but putting all other observations out of the question, I cannot but think that a treasurer of the navy is unfit to represent this great and independent city in Parliament — (bursts of applause — bravo! bravo!)—Gentlemen, there remains then for our choice but one candidate, Mr. Paull—who, if he had no other merit, than that of being unconnected with and independent of the other two would give him a decided preference to both. He comes forward to afford the Electors of Westminster an opportunity to maintain the independence of their city; so that, upon that foundation alone, I think you cannot doubt which of the three candidates is best entitled to your support. But Mr. Paull stands on ground still higher, on ground which, I will be bold to say, not only claims, but deserves, the independent support of every man in the community. I will state, as briefly as I can, the merits of Mr. Paull's conduct; and I am sorry to say that he stands as a singular individual in the present time, on account of his adherence to public principles; of his pursuing oppressors; of his bringing accusations against alledged delinquents, and all this under such singular disadvantages, that I will be bold to say, without compliment to him, few indeed would, under the same circumstances, have adhered to the cause of public virtue in the same manner as Mr. Paull has done.—(Great applause.)—Every art and trick that could be employed to create obstruction, or to present all sorts of opposition to the object of Mr. Paull, open or underhanded, to prevent him from pursuing that object, were exercised, either to cajole or terrify him from the pursuit of it; but they all proved unavailing. But what is the strongest recommendation of Mr. Paull to your suffrages is, that it has been a strong motive with ministers, perhaps the strongest, to dissolve the present parliament, in order to stifle his voice in it — (vast applause) — for they are well aware, that Mr. Paull cannot come into parliament for money—he is a proscribed person amongst those who have seats at their disposal. He cannot come in again to perform what he has so nobly begun, by any means but those of the independent exertion, by the uncorrupt and energetic support, of a popular election, such as yours, and to which, I say, he has a right to look for support; nor do I know where he can look with such well-founded confidence of success, as to the public spirited and indepen-

dent Electors of this great and enlightened city. I say, therefore, that for these reasons only, being engaged as he is against a great alledged delinquent, and being proscribed from all places except those that are populous and independent, he has a claim upon your integrity—with your assistance he will stand upon a rock from which he cannot be removed; and this consideration is of the utmost importance, for he alone can do it with effect; nobody but himself can effectually carry on the enquiry which he has commenced, and with your assistance he will be a *fulcrum*, sufficiently powerful, perhaps to remove even the present broad bottomed administration. Gentlemen, I shall not detain you any longer, because this is a meeting of business. We should now proceed on the true purpose of it, on which I trust we are agreed unanimously, that of securing the election of Mr. Paull. But before I proceed to drink that gentleman's health. I will read to you certain Resolutions which I shall submit for your approbation, as being descriptive of the fixed principles of Mr. Paull, and upon which he is to be recommended to your notice." He then read the following RESOLUTIONS, which were all carried unanimously, *viz.*

"Resolved.—1. That, to be represented "in the legislature by men sent thither by "our own free choice, is our undoubted "right as Englishmen; is the only security "for the possession of our property or the "enjoyment of our personal freedom; and "is, indeed, the only thing which distinguishes us from the subjects of a despot.

"2. That duly impressed with the value "of this, our constitutional privilege, and "perceiving, with deep affliction, that, "through the influence of corruption and "venality, this inestimable privilege has, in "numerous instances, been undermined and "annihilated, it is, at this critical period, "the duty of every body having a right to "vote, and particularly the Electors of this "great and populous city, so to exercise "their franchise as to exhibit to the rest of "the kingdom an example of good sense, of "public spirit, of purity of principle, and of "resolution to maintain or recover those "rights, which, when constitutionally enjoyed, have always proved to be the greatest blessing to the people, and the securest foundation of the throne.

"3. That we have observed, with unfeigned sorrow, that out of the 658 members of the late House of Commons, a "comparatively very small portion ever attended their duty: that nearly one half of "the whole were placemen, dependent officers, and pensioners; that, it was but "too often evident, that the motive of action was private interest rather than public "good; and that, amongst those who were "loudest in their professions of devotion to "the king, the chief object was to render "him, as well as his people, the slaves of "faction.

"4. That in the parliamentary conduct "of Mr. Paull, we have observed a constant "attention to his duty, a strict adherence "to every promise made to the public, a "virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and peculators, an inflexible perseverance in the "prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations, "by which so many other men have been "seduced to betray their trust; and, that "upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon "us, collectively and individually, to use "all the legal means within our power to "secure his election, and therein to do all "that rests with us to preserve our country "from a fate similar to that of so many "European states which have fallen an easy "conquest to the enemy, only because the "people had neither property nor liberty to "defend."

SIR FRANCIS then drank "the health of MR. PAULL and success to his election."

Mr. PAULL rose and said; "Gentlemen, I am almost an entire stranger, and utterly unknown to you as a public character, and I feel greater diffidence in addressing you, than I felt in addressing that assembly in which I had once, and in which I still seek a seat. I claim your indulgence, without making many professions. I will not say as some do, I have no words to convey my thanks to you for your kindness; but although I use but few words to express those thanks, I hope I can feel more affection for your interests than a man who can say more —(Bursts of applause.) — I say, I hope I feel more than a man who can say more, and that my conduct will hereafter prove the truth of what I now assert on the subject of the great national contest, for so I call it, in which we are now engaged— I mean an appeal to you for a seat in parliament. I certainly had no intention to offer myself to the Electors of Westminster before I had some claim; and now I have the greatest, because I am proscribed by every man in power in this country. I appeal to you, as a body able to defeat that proscription, and as disposed to do so, for there is a spirit in this country which can always defeat any despotic minister of the crown. From the first

time I have been able to think upon political topics, I have been determined to follow the steps of a distinguished and illustrious patriot, for whose principles I have been an avowed advocate, with whom I should wish to live, and with whom and for whose principles I am ready, if necessary, to die—I mean Sir F. Burdett— (Applause). I can only add, that if I am returned for this city to parliament, I will attend my duty as I have always done; and as I have no doubt my friend (Sir F. Burdett) will be returned, I shall be proud to be at his back; I pledge myself to support him in resisting the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and every other measure that may tend to encroach on the liberty of the subject. I shall think with pride on the proceedings of this day; and rather than submit to tyranny, I will with pride even go to the scaffold with that distinguished patriot Sir Francis Burdett, if such should be our fate in our last efforts to resist it! Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for drinking my health, and with drinking yours most cordially I now beg leave to retire, in order to pay my respects to some of those of my friends who have not been able to favour us with their company here.

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after expressing his conviction that the Meeting would naturally sympathise in the feelings of any body of men assailed by ministerial influence, proposed, at the request of Mr. Cobbett, "THE INDPENDENT ELECTORS OF HAMP-"SHIRE, *and success to their endeavours to* "*preserve the remains of their freedom* "*against the attacks of an arrogant Minis-*"*ter*."—This toast, and that of "The IN-"DEPENDENT ELECTORS OF MIDDLESEX," which followed, were drunk with three times three. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after a description of the plan of Committees and canvassing, upon which the Electors ought all to act in order to secure the election of Mr. Paull, took his leave, accompanied by Mr. Paull, Colonel Bosville, and several gentlemen who sat at the top of the room, and followed by the applauses of the company.—Upon Sir Francis having vacated the chair, Mr. Cobbett was called to it, and he immediately proposed, "*Success to the election of Sir Fran-*"*cis Burdett*," which was drunk with the most ardent expressions of enthusiasm.—Mr. Cobbett pointed out the several divisions to which it had been found convenient to apportion distinct Committees, and exhorting Gentlemen to put down their names, who were disposed to canvass in their several parishes, and to proceed to business as soon as possible, he begged to take his leave, in order to attend a Meeting in Westminster.—Mr. EWLINGS was then called to the chair. His health was drank, as was that of Mr. GIBBONS, both of whom made speeches expressive of thanks. And after a few toasts and songs, the company separated with the utmost harmony."

This is a true and fair account of all that passed. But, in the *Morning Chronicle*, it has been stated (I hope by mistake), that MR. PAULL, in his speech to the electors, said: "Of the Candidates who contended "with him for the high honour of represent-"ing Westminster, he was unwilling to say "much, but this he had no hesitation in "stating, that that illustrious man, Mr. "Sheridan, was entitled to a decided prefer-"ence."—This is a sheer fabrication, on the part of the person (whoever it might be) that imposed it upon MR. PERRY or MR. SPANKEY; for, not one word did Mr. Paull say of either of the other candidates, and not the most distant allusion did he make to either of them. It is very material that this should be known; for, were it to be believed that Mr. Paull uttered the words attributed to him, it must also be believed that he was guilty of an inconsistency of which his friends ought to be ashamed.—It was Mr. Paull's resolution, from the beginning, to stand or fall entirely upon his own ground; not to connect himself with any other candidate; and *by no means to begin hostility towards either*, which last resolution I communicated to Mr. Sheridan, informing him, at the same time, that I was come to town for the express purpose of lending Mr. Paull all the assistance in my power to secure his election. Some hostile, not to say low and scurrilous publications, have, however, on both sides appeared; but, as I am well-informed that they have, on the one side, taken place against the wish of Mr Sheridan, so I can take upon me to aver, that, on the other side, they have been decidedly disapproved of by Mr. Paull. —A great deal of virulent abuse has in some of the daily papers been poured forth against the doctrines, contained in Mr. Paull's Addresses to the Electors, connected as they have been, and as they fairly may be, with Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, and a phrase in which Address has been so scandalously, and, I must say, basely misrepresented. "*The best of kings*," Sir Francis represents as the "*catch-word*" of a faction, whose only object it is to grasp, by the means of a reputation for loyalty, that power, which enables them to

rob the people of their money and the King of his due authority. But, this faction, as indeed, their interest imperiously dictates, have endeavoured to twist this expression into a sarcasm upon the character of the King, than which nothing, I am satisfied, could be farther from the mind of the writer, nor, indeed, could any thing be farther from the fair meaning of the words, taken into view with the context of the Address; which address, in substance, has a hundred and a hundred times been repeated, as expressive of the sentiments of the great Lord Chatham, and of almost every other man that has, in this country, for the last hundred years, been distinguished for public virtue.——It is well known, and must be particularly well remembered by every reader of the Register, that I expressed my approbation of the whole of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct during the last contest for Middlesex. I did so, because I saw nothing exceptionable in it; because I was convinced, that his views were for the public good, a conviction which had been produced in my mind by his then recent conduct in parliament; and because I saw marshalled against him the foulest combination that ever existed upon earth. At that time I was not personally known to Sir Francis Burdett. Since that time I have known him personally, and I *know*, as far as the nature of the case admits of certain knowledge, that his views are the same as my own, and that, with some little difference of opinion, perhaps, as to the *means*, our common end is, to preserve the kingly government and constitution of our country; to restore, as far as may be without hazard to these, any of the popular rights that may have been lost or impaired; and, at all events, and under any circumstances, to maintain, against every enemy, the independence and the honour of England. And, most anxiously do I wish, that the horde of jobbers and placemen, who have still the impudence to set up the cant cry of *Jacobin*, and thereon to combine against him, may, in the day of trial, be found as faithful to the king, and to the people whose blood they have sucked, as Sir Francis Burdett will be.——The Resolutions, proposed by him, and inserted above, may be regarded as his creed. Is there, in the whole kingdom, one single good man, who will not avow as his own every sentiment therein expressed? Does not every sentence contain an undeniable truth? And, if this be so, where, except in the interested hearts of the crew that is combining against him, is there any foundation for those slanders which are now in circulation? Such slanders, however, every man who dares to stand against the torrent of corruption must expect to meet with; and to him, they are matter of much less concern than to the people themselves, who, particularly the Freeholders of Middlesex, if they have not public-spirit enough to show their resentment of such slanders by disinterestedly choosing the object of them, deserve to be slaves all the days of their life. The Electors of Wesminster are now showing to the world, that they want no inducement, other than that of the public good, to bring them to give their votes; and, if the Freeholders of Middlesex want any other motive, they are unworthy of any representative, except such an one as will take care to draw from them in place or in pension more than a sufficiency to defray the expenses of ribbons and coaches. Sir Francis has now done what he should have done before. He has resolved to put the public spirit of the county to the test; and, if there be not a sufficiency of that spirit to return him to the parliament, the county is too worthless to be an object of his care.——Now, as to myself, and the part I am personally taking in the election for Westminster, having been so long accustomed to the abuse of wretched hireling writers; having, in so many instances, published the slanders of others against myself as the surest means of defeating the object of them; having constantly found, that the abuse of such men has added to the number of my friends, and to the influence of my writings, it will be readily supposed, that the low and clumsy personalities now circulated against me, have given me pleasure rather than pain: but, there is one point upon which I am a little anxious, and that is, not to be regarded as having *thrusted myself forward personally* upon this occasion. My habits are perfectly domestic. I *love home*, perhaps, to a fault. I shun public scenes. And, as to popular applause, one single tune from the little Robin, who, at peep of day, sings at my window, gives me more pleasure than would the united shouts of a nation. But, having promised to aid Mr. Paull, in his great undertaking, at the suggestion of some of the men at present in power; having added my voice to theirs in encouraging him therein to proceed; having seen him pursue his course with unshaken integrity, though deserted by almost all those who had promised him support; and having, at last, seen him

proscribed as the price of his integrity: I could not, when called upon to join him in an appeal to the people, add my name to the long list of deserters; and, having resolved to assist him, I also resolved, that that assistance should not be in secret and underhand.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

TO THOMAS HOLT WHITE, ESQ.

My dear friend;——You tell me of a well written animated letter, calling on Westminster to ask me to become a candidate for representing that city. I much fear that I, my friend, no more than yourself, have the qualities now in request at general elections; and, therefore, I believe we shall both remain very sure that our retirement will not be invaded with invitations to represent either borough or city of any description.

Your letter, however, having put me upon a review of my pretensions, I have weighed them, and find them wanting. I am, it is true, rich enough for independence; but I am too poor to buy of electors the office of their protector, especially when my independence must go towards the purchase. With that independence I cannot afford to part, because I am too proud to say yea or nay when I am bidden. Besides, I am subject to a weakness that would unfit me for a tool of faction; I could not stand the finger of scorn, pointing me out as an apostate from the principles I have ever maintained. Nay, were I now capable of the affectation of acting the part of a political profligate, nature and habit would certainly betray me, and soon lose me the wages of prostitution. Doctor South tells the man of avarice, it is bad economy to be damned to save charges; what would he say to the sot who through life had enjoyed the noble office of a defender of liberty, and to the years of sixty-six had lived with honour, who should think to cheer the evening of life by becoming a traitor to freedom, and by wrapping his old age in the robe of infamy! Thus, my friend, you see, I am as unqualified as yourself, for being made a modern member of parliament.

If the electors of Westminster should be seized with a fit of public virtue, they would do much better to seek a representative at Chase Lodge than in Well Vale. At the Lodge they would find a lawyer ever ready to plead for the constitution without a fee; as well as an able bodied Englishman ready to serve his country without pay. In the Vale of Well they would only find a hobbling veteran far advanced in the vale of years, who now perhaps can preach better than he can act. From your intimate knowledge of him, you pretty well know what he would have to say on such an occasion.

Political liberty he holds to be the direct object of the English polity. That polity he finds to consist of two distinct parts, which he has been accustomed to call the civil and the military branches of the constitution. In the *civil* branch, the prominent features are a free press, equal law, trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus for personal security, and even after death (in cases capable of suspicion) a solemn inquest into the cause. But, above all these distinguishing rights of Englishmen, and without which they have no shield, nor one moment's assurance, we must add A REAL AND SUBSTANTIAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

In the *military* branch of the constitution will be found, a system of arms-bearing for national defence and national strength, the most simple, the most perfect, and the most grand, that human genius ever devised or human virtue ever adopted. Had such a system been common to the several continental states, there had been no French revolution; nor had Napoleon ever become the dread of Europe.

If these be correct delineations of the *English constition*, it will of course follow, that, inasmuch as the *English government* may have practically departed therefrom, it hath degenerated from its purity, and is impaired in its strength. In such a case, it would not be matter of opinion, but of certainty, that it stood in need of political reformation; and that without it, the English must become as slavish and contemptible, as the most degraded of the nations that lick the dust at the foot of an upstart sovereign.

You and I, my friend, well know, little as the truth has sunk into the bosoms of our thoughtless countrymen, our danger greater than any we have to fear from Napoleon; from *a borough parliament, which does not represent the people*; and from *a standing mercenary army, dependent on the crown*. In a House of Commons, neither of us could ever cease to deprecate taxation without representation; or to endure in silence a standing army which should not be at least ten times outnumbered by freemen armed under a constitutional organization, securing *permanence* and discipline, as well as prompt and orderly array, under the most

respectable persons of rank and property in the country, whenever the moment of danger should arrive.

If, in the science of government, it be an undeniable proposition, that, with either a standing borough parliament, or an unbalanced standing mercenary army, it would be impossible for liberty to exist, what must be the fate of our country if both are to take root, and our constitution is to be blasphemed by arguments in support of such abominations!

If, in the degradation of Spain, Italy, and Holland, if in the abject condition of haughty Austria, and the puny resistance of which Prussia is capable, ministers cannot discern the radical weakness of despotism, and the madness of relying in the day of trial on standing armies, they must be stricken with the blindness of infatuation. And if, as the last resource of civilized nations, and the example best instructing them how to cope with France, they shall not instantly proceed to raise the energies of England to their highest pitch, by restoring to her the full measure of her political liberty, by means of a complete reformation of parliament, and a true revival of the military branch of her constitution, they must in my judgment be alike destitute of the qualities of statesmen, or the integrity of patriots.

And I am persuaded, my friend, I do not hazard a difference of opinion from you, when I infer that England without liberty must soon experience a fall ten times more terrible than that of any nation I have named. Notwithstanding her insular situation, notwithstanding her navy, notwithstanding her gold, if she shall cease to be free, the man who has set on his own head the iron crown, will in due time lay upon her loins the full weight of his iron sceptre. With such a spirit ruling over Europe, and commanding the coast from the Baltic to the Adriatic, do the king's ministers resort, for the sense of the nation, to the rotten boroughs? Do they apply for political wisdom and public virtue to the corporations, where the votes are notoriously sold; and where, consequently, no man who obeys the law, or scruples to bribe, can find his way into parliament?

Should the electors of Westminster want an honest man, who knows and who reveres the constitution, to represent their city, they need not send farther than to Chase Lodge to find one: But such, in the present shipwrecked state of all the principles of true English election, is the ignorance of the mass of our electors, even in and about the capital, that I confess I do not expect any such thing.

I remain truly yours,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Will Vale near Alford,
October 26, 1806.

ELECTION FOR WESTMINSTER.

SIR;—The result of the late election for Westminster, if it be not profaning the name of election so to term it, and the present determinatton of ministers to dissolve the parliament, has led me to consider, whether it be not within the moral and physical powers of the electors of Westminster at the next general election, although assailed as I conclude they will be, with the usual instruments of corruption, money and interest, to retrieve a character once admired for its independency, and which remained in great measure untarnished, until it compromised its honour in the recent return of Lord Percy.—It may be necessary to observe, that I mean not the least *personal* disrespect to that young nobleman, inheriting probably the illustrious character of his ancestors, his virtues may be exemplary, and his vices few. I only speak of him relatively as member for Westminster, in which situation he appears to me extremely misplaced, on two grounds; first as being the eldest son of a peer, and secondly, as being the agent of ministers, or what is more generally called a ministerial member: the first ground many would think, and very justly so, sufficiently forcible; for it is impossible to reflect an instant on the object of representation, and say that a peer can represent a commoner; nay, so distant is it from a representation, that it is completely a clashing of interests; it is the substitution of extravagance for economy, and luxury for poverty; it is making the unindustrious inheritor of overflowing coffers, the distributor of the hard-earned penny of anxious labour: but the second ground is with me still more formidable, for can any thing be more absurd than to talk of representation, when we are told that ministers can dictate to 14,000 men, who they are to elect for their member.—This leads me to inquire what are the generally assigned causes for a city degenerating so far as to join in the election of a man that common sense proclaims ineligible; and how far these causes are collectively or individually adequate to such an effect.—The causes generally attributed are wealth and interest; now, when it is considered that the electors of Westminster are in number 14,000, one cannot listen very seriously to the assertion,

that wealth is the chief source of corruption; upon the maxim indeed, of Sir Robert Walpole, that every man has his price, the position may by possibility be substantial, but if we allow, degenerated as we are, a very trivial sum as the price of each man's liberty, where is the purse that is likely to become so powerful an instrument; and in the very recent election there was no pretext for alledging any such ground of influence.—Can interest then effect the purpose? Admitting that the illustrious families of Northumberland and Devonshire should colleague in the honourable determination of attempting to undermine the rights and liberties of fourteen thousand electors, is it probable that they can have so absolute a controul over the consciences of so great a mass of mankind, as to effect so ungracious a purpose; this is equally difficult of belief. To what cause then can this evil be attributed? I will answer, Mr. Cobbett, to the *credulity*, to the *implicit* and *slavish obedience* which is paid to the harangues of artful men; without at all weighing the merits or demerits, the wisdom or imbecility of their discourses; without considering what powerful springs stimulate these orators to seduce and mislead the persons they address. It is the infirmity of man to place too great dependence on the assertions of others, instead of increasing his own faculties and *daring to think* and *judge* for himself. Providence in the plenitude of its gifts, gave many reason, and with that one gift made him pre-eminent over all; but to what purpose was this invaluable quality afforded us, if we suffer it to lie in listless inactivity, and yield our intellects the prostrate prisoners of artifice and cunning I have a strong conviction, Sir, that neither money or interest are the formidable opponents to our independence so generally imagined. It is the *trick* of *power* to disseminate a belief that they are irresistible, but the fact is otherwise; it is to the insidious, crafty, and designing speeches of your Sheridans, and your Whitbreads, to which the disgrace of cities must be attributed; the men who can gull an all credulous public with the belief that they exclusively possess *socratic wisdom* and *stoical virtue*, are engines infinitely more dangerous than riches or interest; they lead captive the understanding, and leave us to wake from our transe of folly, when the calamities they have brought upon us are no longer to be reminded. This may be illustrated by bringing to our recollection the applause that resounded from all parts, on Mr. Sheridan's late speech at the Crown and Anchor; what could have induced a patient hearing of such an harangue, but a fatal deception that seized the minds of the electors, and made them imagine this Man a wonder; a phœnix who forms a class in the individual: even violated friendship and public infidelity which shocks the feelings of the most obdurate on a deliberate perusal, received the tribute of *applause* only due, and but seldom paid, to *virtuous integrity*. But let it be remembered that this delusion is of our own seeking: every man, with the fewest possible exceptions, has implanted in him an intellectual capacity which will lead him from error, and conduct him into the paths of truth; we have but to use with *candour* what the Great Artificer of Nature has so richly gifted us with, and we shall "laugh to scorn" all the treacherous attempts upon our privileges, from whatever source they may emanate. It only remains for us to see through this great engine of political abuse, and prevent our reason from being subjugated, to enjoy that civil liberty, which it has been remarked by Swift, was always understood by Britons to be the inheritance of a human creature; for, I cannot but repeat, that it is by poisoning the mind with insidious harangues, and artful compositions ushered into light, through the polluted medium of hireling prints, that we are reduced to a state of mental degradation, that fits us to be the tools of political artifice, and render ourselves the authors of all the evils we experience. We have a memorable example before us, Mr. Cobbett, which one would imagine ought to remove in future all our credulity: I mean the elevation of the Whigs to power. Here we have "philosophy teaching by example" what empty things are high-sounding professions of unshaken integrity; for we see the very men, whose lips for twenty years together have vibrated with the sounds of the people's rights, and parliamentary reform, when raised to power and emolument, forego at once all their former promises, and with a kind of fatality which seems inseparably attached to place, pursue the very worst of those measures, that the greater part of their lives they have been employed in reprobating. The reflection of these things, will I trust, rouse our torpid senses from the delirium in which they have long languished, and impel us to assert in future the dignity becoming man; that we shall hesitate not to examine with scrupulous care and manly independence, *even* the discourse of a *bishop*, though the subject should *be piety*; we shall then find that the cloud of ignorance which has so long envelloped us, will begin

to disappear, and we shall view the sun of truth and science shedding its genial rays around us; we shall then live happy and admired, and when called upon to pay the great debt of nature, we shall yield our last breath in the distinguished satisfaction, that we are bequeathing to posterity an indelible claim to their gratitude, and not leaving their curse to execrate our existence.——
S.—*Lincolns-Inn, Oct.* 22, 1806.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR,——I have delayed writing on the subject of this letter, hoping to have had the opportunity of a personal communication with you, but having learned that it will be in all likelihood some considerable time before you will again visit town, I beg leave to submit the following ideas to your consideration.—Among many abuses that have by degrees crept into the representation of the Commons House of Parliament, a very prominent one is the great number of fictitious qualifications which are constantly given for the worst and most corrupt purposes to the venal creatures of the great political leaders of the day. When the constitution fixed a maximum of property as necessary to qualify a representative of the people of England, it meant it not as a mere matter of form, but as a fixed and certain security against low and improper persons obtaining that honourable and trust worthy distinction, as well as to place them by such required independence beyond the reach of corruption. It has been stated with very apparent precision, that upwards of 100 members of the present parliament, are really and *bonâ fide* not possessed of the requisite Qualifications, but that the Qualifications given in by them were colourable and fictitious, and merely given them to comply with the letter of the law, and granted back again to those from whom they had been received the moment they had taken their seats, contrary to the true spirit and meaning of the law relating thereto. Many of the persons thus corruptly and colourably qualified, secure a seat in the Commons House of Parliament, for the entire purpose of protecting themselves from the just demands of their creditors, and selling themselves to any party that can afford them the means of pursuing their extravagance and debauchery. It would be insidious to point out by name, members sitting in that House against whose property extents at the suit of the crown, and process from their other creditors, have been issued and in force for years, and who, consequently, do not possess a single sixpence of their own. While the names of other members (aye, and Right Honourable ones too) are quoted every where, and in common conversation, for dexterously evading the payment of their debts by shameful devices, and obtaining new credits from the unwary, by ingenious and new stratagems little short of swindling. But, in some measure to remedy the above stated abuses, I would propose:—That the Qualifications of all members of parliament be registered when they take the oaths and their seats; and that they swear they are not colourable or fictitious, but really and *bonâ fide* their own property, and of the value required by law *above all reprisals*. Which are the words in the act:—That such Qualification remain registered during the whole time such member sits in parliament or represents the county or borough he is returned for:—That upon every meeting of parliament after a prorogation, the proper officer do return to the House the names of such members whose qualifications may have been withdrawn or lessened in any way beneath the required sums of 300l. or 600l. And that such members so having withdrawn or lessened their qualifications, be declared to have vacated their seats. And that the speaker be impowered to issue a new writ for the election of a member to serve in his or their stead:—That such Qualifications so registered, shall at all times be attachable by due process of law, and liable to all legal claims of real and *bona fide* creditors, in the same manner as any other real estate.—But in case any creditor shall under any colourable or false pretext obtain any judgment against any registered qualification for the purpose of causing any member to vacate his seat; upon due proof thereof he shall be fined in a sum not exceeding ten times the amount of such qualification, whether it be 300l. or 600l. and the jury to give such special damages to the party aggrieved as they may think fit.——These Regulations would completely get rid of fictitious Qualifications, and the House of Commons would no longer afford protection to titled or untitled, right honourable or dishonourable debtors, against the just demands of their creditors. The verge of the Palace has long ago been deprived of its injurious privilege. Honour, talent, and real independence ought to be the only privileges of the British House of Commons.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

T. F.

London, Oct. 19, 1806.

THE GRENVILLE FAMILY.

Sir;—Retired to a remote corner of the kingdom, much more than 200 miles from the capital, I have for a long time ceased to mix in political matters; but the attempts now making to establish in power, and to increase the wealth of a Family determined to maintain themselves in both by choosing a parliament entirely to their liking, have induced me to point out to you the extent to which that Family has already enriched itself at the public expence.

The Marquis of Buckingham, Teller of the Exchequer, nearly about per year, - - - - -	£30,000
The profits many years ago were £24,000, and they increase annually, as the public revenue becomes heavier.	
Mr. Thomas Grenville, C. J. of Forests South of Trent, per year,	3,500
First Lord of the Admiralty, supposed about - - - -	4,000
	7,500
Lord Grenville, Auditor of the Exchequer, - - -	4,000
First Lord of the Treasury - -	7,000
	11,000
Lord Temple, Paymaster-general	4,000
Lord Carysfort, his brother in law, Postmaster-general - - -	2,500
Total per year	£55,000

These are however only the universally known profits and emoluments the Grenvilles have. But those who have looked at all into Reports which have been made to Parliament will see that Lord Buckingham, not content with the enormous profits of his Tellership took from his first clerk more than two thirds of his fees and emoluments, and sunk those of the second clerk entirely into his own family, having appointed to that honorable situation one of his own relations, as the most secure means of obtaining his object: whether that relation is still second clerk to the Teller I do not know, for his name never appeared in the red book. The first clerk who submitted to be stripped of more than two-thirds of his income was Mr. Freemantle, whose yielding probably recommended him to his present situation of secretary of the Treasury.—These facts will positively be found in the sixth Report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, page 94, or I should not expect you to believe them from an anonymous correspondent. I write from Cornwall by a friend going to London, not wishing to put you to the expence of postage, as you may not think my information worth it; but the temper and firmness with which you appear to resist the most oppressive ministry that has existed since the Revolution has induced me to take the chance of being useful. You can form no imagination of the threats and promises held out in this part of the country to induce persons in Boroughs to quit their old connections and betray their benefactors.—Yours, &c. Z.

NAPOLEON'S POWER OVER OUR FUNDS.

[Answer to Decius in page 620.]

Sir;—The candour so conspicuous in the correspondences of your paper encourages me to offer you the following correction of an error so monstrous that it cannot be ascribed to the sometimes excusable inadvertency of composition; it is a new proof of the danger of meddling with such subjects as are altogether incomprehensible, of this description are the advantages of the national debt and sinking fund.—In your last number, page 620, Decius says, "for the sake "of precision, let us suppose the quantity "of stock sold (by French emissaries) to "amount to two millions, and let us further "suppose that by some diplomatic contri-"vance he (Buonaparté) had caused a rise or "fall in the funds to the amount of 5 per "cent, here then would be a clear gain of "£50,000. Before this £50,000 would "amount to the six millions you speak of in "page 421, this same operation must have "been performed twelve times in two years."—Such is the stupifying effect of the national debt that in its consideration Decius loses the use of the commonest operation of calculation. In the first place 5 per cent on 2 millions is double the sum he mentions, and if instead of money he meant stock, the result will be equally erroneous, and in the next place his £50,000 to make six millions must be multiplied one hundred and twenty times in two years instead of twelve, as Decius from the confusion too often attending such incomprehensible calculations in numbers that exceed the conception of the human mind has stated; to put his position in simple arithmetical language,

£2,000,000 at 5 per cent is £100,000,

and

£100,000 × 60 = £6,000,000.

Thus the operation being repeated with equal success sixty times, in two years, six millions sterling might be withdrawn from the produce of the land and labour of the country; supposing half or quarter or only a tenth

to be realized, you have pointed out another evil resulting from the national debt, you have exposed another deformity of the monster to whom we sacrifice the fruits of industry and the means of independence, for which, and other proofs of your sagacity, I as an individual deeply interested in the welfare of my country, and feeling for the happiness and honor of the age in which we live, return you thanks; and I beg leave to add an admonition to Decius and all other well-intentioned advocates for a system, that to me seems pregnant with horror and devastation, in contemplating the national debt, let them first of all be fully sensible of the importance of one million, to count which with pebbles or nut-shells, would I fear exhaust the patience of the most stupid disciple of Pitt's school of economy and figures: with all due deference to the intentions of some, I am sometimes disposed to think indifferently of the talents without questioning the integrity of a man, who is said to have been acquainted with the secrets of all our manufacturers, who could tell the Brewer and Distiller the exact amount of their profits, and apply his fiscal rod to our cellars, our windows, and our purses; but who wanted capacity to audit the public accounts during the whole course of his administration: who had the eyes of an eagle for the smallest neglect of tribute in the distant parts of the Island, but winked at the collusion of Melville and Trotter.—To those who, like yourself Mr. Cobbett, do not abandon the country to its fate, and think it not impracticable to avert the impending ruin, the national debt must present itself with the same aspect as the incumbrance of an individual, whether of landed property, or of mercantile eminence. Where the growing produce of the land or labour are not adequate to the payment of the interest, whether due on mortgage or the discount on fictitious bills, foreclosure in one instance, and bankruptcy in the other, must ensue; in either case, if extravagance in the Lord or Merchant require annual loans in addition to a debt already excessive, it may be from want of information, but I cannot perceive any advantage to be expected from what I conceive to be the principle of the boasted sinking fund.—I am, Sir, &c. SYDNEY.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR;——Although I feel persuaded that yourself and the greater part of your readers regard professions as things of a very questionable nature, yet I shall take the liberty of professing myself to be as zealous a Protestant, as your correspondent A. B. is a Catholic; but as the tenets of my religion have impressed me with the propriety of a most admirable precept, "that of doing unto others as I would they should do unto me," I shall endeavour to refrain from any angry expressions towards A. B., a forbearance that *his* religion, and the sage remark of the inimitable Hudibras, who observes,

> That zeal's a dreadful termagant
> That teaches saints to tear and rant.

it should seem has failed to teach him.—— A. B. complains that I lopt off a most important branch of my argument, by deciding that every state has a *right* to a national religion, and to *point out of what persuasion that national religion shall be composed*; and, he observes, that he does not apprehend the imputation of treason against the state, if he *denies* the existence of such a right. Now, I do confess, that the denial of this right is what I did not expect the most zealous Catholic would have ventured to have undertaken; and the affirmative of the proposition seems to me so self-evident, that I scarcely know how to add strength to that intuitive feeling, which on the least reflection every impartial man must entertain upon the subject. I could indeed, simplify the idea of a government into that of a private compact, and suppose that a number of persons should form a society with the liberty of admitting other members on certain conditions; surely these persons could make a resolution that Catholics should be *ineligible*; and no Catholic as far as I can see, could fairly complain of such a resolution: most *clearly* he could have no right to prevent its being carried into effect. Upon what possible principle then, can a state be considered more imbecile than a private society; it is very natural to suppose it should have greater powers, but it seems quite absurd to suppose it to have less. The only ground offered by A. B. in answer is, that "men never made, or are they implied to "have made, a sacrifice of conscience on "entering into society: the religious belief "of every individual must be independent "of any respect for human institutions," but the whole of this answer is founded on misapprehension; for the state does not, any more than the society, interfere with the consciences of others; on the contrary, the state protects individuals in the exercise of their religious tenets whatever they may be; and claims no right of controul over private conscience. But if the state has no such right in this particular, as is asserted by A. B., what rights has it? because it should

seem to follow from the same principle, that the Catholics may insist on the new-modelling the state altogether. But possibly an extract from so unexceptionable an authority as Dr. Paley, who has afforded more assistance to the arguments of Catholic claimants, than perhaps any other man, may prove conclusive upon the subject. "The acts (says "Dr. Paley) of the legislature, the edicts of "a prince, the sentence of the judge, cannot "affect my salvation; nor do they without "the most absurd arrogance pretend to any "such power; but they may deprive me of "liberty, of property, and even of life itself, "on account of my religion; and however "I may complain of the injustice of the "sentence by which I am condemned, I "cannot alledge that the magistrate has "transgressed the boundaries of his juris-"diction, *because the property, the liberty, "the life of the subject may be taken away "by the authority of the laws for any rea-"son, which in the judgment of the legisla-"ture renders such a measure necessary for "the common welfare.*" Thus much on the question of right. With regard to the great impolicy of admitting the Catholics into power, that point, although somewhat more problematical than the former, is still, I contend, established on the ground I before advanced; viz. that discord would be the inevitable consequence of a cabinet formed of an *incongruous mixture* of Protestants and Catholics; and I cannot but believe that such a cabinet would, to borrow once more the assistance of Butler,

> Cut out more work than can be done
> In Plato's year, but finish none,
> Unless it be the Bulls of Lenthal,*
> That always passed for fundamental.

But A. B. challenges me to name a Premier, a Secretary of State, and a First Lord of the Admiralty within the last century, who did not differ in the fundamental principles of *religious or philosophic belief* as much as the three sectaries I contrasted together; to this I answer, there never was a ministry constituted of such HETEROGENEOUS RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES; I denied, and I still deny, the possibility of such an *unnatural combination* acting in *unison*; I assert that it is contrary to the principles which are known to be predominant in man, that they should do so; and I leave it to A. B. *who asserts the converse of this proposition*, to state a ministry that ever existed in this country of such discordant religious opinions; it is for A. B. not me to prove, what he advances as a truism, that *contraries can be united*. With regard to men of *different philosophic opinions* agreeing on other topics, the case is materially different; there is generally a narrowness, a gloomy rancour, that accompanies religious controvertists, that finds no place in the more liberal and expanded minds of philosophic disputants. A. B. produces the examples of foreign states, and brings before us Prussia, Saxony, and Russia; but the first answer themselves; for A. B. admits that the greater part of the King of Prussia's dominions, all the Poles and Silesians, to be Catholics; so with respect to the subjects of the Elector of Saxony (who is a Catholic) they are all Protestants; how then, supposing each of these states to feel the evils attendant upon this contrariety of religious opinions, how are they to redress themselves? *their condition is matter of necessity*; and to shew an evil without a remedy is shewing nothing. With respect to Russia the reason is obvious; who but can admire the wise policy of a Peter and a Catharine, in giving the greatest encouragement to all religious persuasions, as the most effectual means of rescuing their subjects from an abject state of barbarism. But why, instead of these so feeble examples, did not A. B. furnish us with some more appropriate, from that great nursery of Catholics, the Italian states? Are there none there to be met with? Will not this once enlightened portion of the globe, yield a single instance of charitable toleration? Can no examples be supplied from the erudite and illumined descendants of St. Peter, for granting to others, what they so modestly ask of us? No! not one Pope from the days of Gregory VIII. who ever dreamed of any thing half so heretical as toleration! Thus feeble then in argument and poor in examples can we view the dogmas of Romish superstition; reflect on the arbitrary despotism which accompanied Rome under Catholic rulers from her prosperity to her decline; recollect the miseries which this country experienced in the detested reigns of a Mary and a James, and yet admit that it would be policy to let the Catholics interfere in the Legislation? However short-sighted we may hitherto have been in our political measures, I trust we never shall be reduced to the condition of such total ablepsy.

Lincoln's Inn, October 23d. W. E. S.

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* Lenthal was Speaker of the House of Commons which began the Rebellion, and was afterwards turned out by Oliver Cromwell; the ordinances of the House were signed by Lenthall, and therefore called his Bulls.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Proclamation issued by the Prussian Administration of Eichfield and Erfurt, announcing his Prussian Majesty's determination not to consent to cede or exchange any of his Provinces whatever. Dated Heiligenstadt, September 12, 1806.*

The well intentioned inhabitants of the jurisdiction of this department have been alarmed for some time by all sorts of reports of the cession or exchange of their country. Though convinced of the falsehoods of these reports, the presidency of the royal chamber of war and domains, has thought it owed it to the fidelity and patriotism of the inhabitants of the province to procure them an authentic contradiction of the said report, which might set them perfectly at ease. It applied in consequence to the king, and by an order from the cabinet, dated the 28th ult. and received to-day, it is authorised by his Royal Majesty to contradict in the most solemn manner the said false rumours, his Majesty according to his own paternal expressions, not having even in the most distant manner the idea of ceding or exchanging this province or any other whatever.—The undersigned presidency hasten to communicate the paternal assurances of the monarch to all his subjects, persuaded, that they will still further increase their already proved patriotism, and dispose them to every sacrifice which circumstances may render necessary. Though no reports ought longer to alarm the inhabitants, all those who shall circulate them designedly must expect to be seriously punished.——(Signed)——DOHM. BORSCHE.

HOLLAND.——*Letter from the King of Holland to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses. Dated Hague, Oct. 3, 1806.*

My Lords;——When we took a temporary leave of you in the month of June, we flattered ourselves with a happy return. Sensible of the burdens and grievances of our good people, it became an object of our indefatigable zeal to discover the means of putting an end to the general inconveniencies arising from the situation of the finances; inconveniencies which might have been foreseen several years past, and which, if we may use the expression, have been at different times occasioned by rash and inconsiderate conduct. We flattered ourselves, that the same Providence which had imposed that difficult task upon us, would also have rewarded our zeal and exertions in behalf of our beloved people, by putting the means of their delivery in our power. The public expenditure was already regulated in proportion to the revenue; we already enjoyed in perspective the period of a manifest improvement; we began to be acquainted with the affairs of the country; and in our own mind we had already fixed the day when we should be able to diminish the burdens of the people, which had become indispensibly necessary for the existence of the state.——On a sudden, rumours of war were spread abroad; numerous preparations were observed at no great distance from our frontiers; and, notwithstanding our extreme willingness to believe that these hostile rumours would not be followed by any untoward events, it is not less true that we, charged as we are with the important task of defending and protecting our faithful subjects, have found ourselves obliged not to lose a moment, but, on the other hand, to collect all the means in our power for the security of our dominions.—Whenever war is just, it carries with it a certain degree of confidence which we have already experienced; and though we are threatened with hostilities at a moment when the army is reduced, we take upon us to assure our people that they have nothing to fear; and that our vigilance and activity are fixed upon those objects most intimately connected with the security, the independence, and general welfare of our subjects.—We have assembled our troops; we shall hold ourself in readiness to repel any attack, from whatever quarter it may be directed; we hope, nevertheless, that, notwithstanding these unforeseen circumstances, we shall arrive at the constant object of our thoughts and actions. But as these measures of safety cannot be adopted without occasioning an extraordinary expenditure, you will feel the necessity of affording us larger supplies of money than those intended for the service of the present year, which were only calculated for the war service of the navy, at the period when the last general computation was settled.—Do not however imagine, my lords, that we shall be able at once to make head against the extraordinary expenses which the necessities of the state may demand, which have already been, and may yet be, applied for the safety and preservation of the kingdom; or that it is our object to propose to you any of those expedients, the pernicious consequences of which would be generally felt. No forced impost shall be laid either upon capital or income. We only require the customary imposts which the public treasury have already received of the

inhabitants. But, for the promotion of our object, the period of payment alone remains to be anticipated, and that within the shortest time that can possibly be fixed.—We had reckoned upon a momentary aid from our faithful cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, to forward the preparations for war, without having recourse to any other means; but though we acknowledge the zeal and exertions of our counsellors of state residing at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, it seems that a concurrence of peculiar circumstances has opposed obstacles to the complete success of their undertakings.—We thus find ourselves compelled to lay a proposal before you, the object of which is, for you to demand some sacrifices from the people. This proposal you will find contained in the decree, which will be transmitted to you by the orators of the council of state.—If, my lords, on one side, the contents of our project shall make it evident that we have carefully avoided deviation, in any degree, from the perception of the new poundage, established by the law of July 12, 1805; so, on the other hand, we wish you to observe that, in proposing an anticipation of the payment of the new imposts, regulated upon the same footing as the old poundage, which is abolished, we are still pursuing the same steps for accomplishing our views. It is upon this footing only that the new imposts can be productive, and which will be the object of your deliberations.—We also wish you to observe, that we have no time to lose; that the business is pressing; and that any delay will be productive of the most injurious consequences. You will, therefore, my lords, make use of all possible expedition consistent with the object of your deliberations; and, whatever may be the remarks made, in opposition to the measures proposed, you will not reject them, admitting that any other means can be devised which may be better calculated to answer the pressure of the moment. As this extraordinary sitting has been convened solely for the present object, it will not continue beyond the moment your deliberations are concluded.—My lords, when you return home, assure your fellow citizens that we have no object in view but their happiness, to which we shall incessantly devote our care and vigilance; and assure them, in particular, that we have a claim to their most perfect confidence. And how can this confidence be refused to us? Does not the character of an inhabitant belong still more to us than themselves? There is none among them who is not at liberty to choose another country if he does not feel himself happy here, while we only are confined to the spot without the possibility of leaving it.—If honour affords any certain pledge for the actions of mankind, the Hollanders will most undoubtedly remain faithful to their engagements. They will support us in the execution of that task which the country has laid upon us; and we shall be grateful to Providence, that the present opportunity is afforded us, of knowing the extent of that confidence which we may repose in the sentiments of the nation, and particularly in those of your High Mightinesses.——My Lords, we commend you to God's holy keeping.—(Signed) Louis.——W. F. Roel, Secretary of State.

This communication being taken into consideration a Report was made upon it, by two of the Members, and presented to the Government along with the following:

Sire,——During a number of years, our country, groaning beneath an unremitted series of oppression, has been flattered with distant gleams of hope, which have as constantly vanished.—The great events, which must finally decide upon the fate of the world, and which have had such a remarkable influence upon this kingdom have frequently deceived the best grounded expectations, and have caused the failure of the best concerted measures.——The present period offers a new proof of the truth of these assertions; and we lament with you, Sire, that the flames of war, which threatened our country and mankind at large with new disasters, have not been at this moment prevented by the happy result of the beneficent and wise measures adopted by your Majesty. The events connected with the present period are intirely out of our power; but that Providence, in which your Majesty so justly confides, can so far overrule them as to render their result favourable to the continuance of the public welfare. We have been long accustomed to misfortune, and wait the course of things with calmness and tranquillity. Far from wasting time in unavailing complaints, we have thought it our duty to fix our attention to the measure on which your Majesty demanded our deliberation, as being necessary for the preservation of the state. The measure expressed in your Majesty's letter, we have taken into consideration with the most convenient dispatch, together with the decree added to the same; and we have agreed to the other measures for obtaining the necessary sums, an introductory detail of which your Majesty has been pleased to lay before us.—We have ac-

cordingly decreed unanimously respecting the principal means expressed in the decree of the project; but we cannot flatter ourselves that its due execution will be effected without many difficulties, oppressive to land owners, and the middling classes. At the same time, however, we declare, with that frankness which distinguishes the Hollanders, that it is not in our power to think of any other expedient better adapted to meet the pressure of our present necessities.—The same concurrence of events, Sire, which have so often been the guide of our conduct; the same obligation to labour for the preservation of the state; the same desire of contending with multiplied disaster, and to restore prosperity to our dear country, have again induced us to determine upon the present sacrifice.—We have adopted this resolution with so much the more willingness, because the benevolent disposition of your Majesty was taken as a pledge for the utmost degree of justice and mildness in the execution of this measure, particularly with respect to those who are the least able to answer the demands made upon them; and lastly, we are fully determined to concur in every effort for the preservation of the country, and to promote with energy every measure that can or may be expected of our assembly.—Having thus completed the object of our being called together, we return to our homes: there also shall we do homage to your Majesty's zeal and good wishes for the public good; and shall communicate that confidence which we repose in your Majesty to our fellow citizens.——This people, less animated by the impulse of passion than the impressions of gratitude and affection, are accustomed to practise an inviolate fidelity and love to their benefactors. Sire! the impending dangers being overcome, and the welfare of your adopted country being once more secured by your exertions, may the consciousness of your having insured the happiness of a brave and noble nation be your dearest reward, when every other pleasure prized by mortals shall cease to exist.—— Sire, we pray the Almighty to take you into his holy keeping. (Signed) W. G. J. Vanrhemen. (Undersigned) J. Couperus.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Buenos Ayres.——*Order of Council for opening a Trade with Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 17th of September, 1806, Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas the capital city, town, and fortress, of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, have been conquered by his Majesty's forces and the territory and forts of the same are delivered up to his Majesty, and the same are now in his Majesty's possession; his Majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all his loving subjects may lawfully trade to and from the said capital, city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of the government of the same, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; and that such trade shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, conditions, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, to which the trade to and from his Majesty's colonies, plantations, and islands in the West Indies and South America is, or shall be subject by law, except as is hereinafter specified:—And his Majesty is further pleased to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all commodities, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the said capital, city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of, the government of the same, or which have been usually exported therefrom, shall be permitted to be imported into any of the ports of the United Kingdom, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; and that such commodities shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, restrictions, conditions, penalties, and forfeitures, as articles of the like sort are subject to, coming from his Majesty's colonies, plantations, or islands, in the West Indies or South America.

To be Continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 19.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"It is very curious, that the ministers and their dependents, in speaking of the crowds, assembled in the "streets, or elsewhere, sometimes call them *the people of England*, and sometimes *the rabble*, just as it "suits their purpose. When the crowds were assembled to rejoice at the peace of Amiens, and therein to "approve of a measure of the ministers, I was most severely reproved, because I refused to illuminate my "house in compliance with the wish of the people of England; but, *now* that the crowds are assembled to "applaud Sir Francis Burdett, though these crowds consist of the very same persons, they are, by the minis-"ters and their hirelings, contemptuously termed, *the rabble!*"——POLITICAL REGISTER, Sept. 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The communication having been cut off by the advance of the French towards Berlin, it is probable, that nothing very accurate, relative to events subsequent to the 14th ultimo, will be received previous to the printing of this sheet. It appears, however, that, after the overthrow of that day, the Prussians were flying in every direction, as if they had taken, for their signal of retreat, that vulgar exclamation, "the devil take the hindmost!" ——No one here can possibly tell what may be the intentions of Napoleon; but, it is to be feared, that, whatever those intentions may be, they will be carried into effect. I should imagine, that, pursuing his hitherto invariable policy, he will re-erect a throne in Poland; and, when he has so done, let Russia beware. She will, as the very least consequence flowing from that measure, be completely shut out from Europe, and be thrown back to where she was fifty years ago.——Yet, with such a prospect clearly visible in the eye of reason, do we still hear some of our writers expressing a hope, nay, an expectation, that the king of Prussia will retrieve his affairs! This infatuation, if it be infatuation and not a desire to deceive others, is not, however, very general. There are few persons, comparatively speaking, who *can* now deceive themselves, or be deceived by others, respecting the state of the continent of Europe. All rational men are now convinced, that there are not, in any of the old governments, the means of self-protection, and that all attemps, on our part, to stem the torrent which is overwhelming them, must be entirely useless as to its object, must be injurious, and may be fatal, to ourselves.—— Those governments have in them the cause of their own destruction, which cause begins to operate the moment an hostile army is known to be approaching. Those governments are like bodies, the existence of which depends upon the exclusion of the air, and which, the moment an aperture is made, crumble into dust.——When, at the outset of this third coalition, some of our political writers (I might say, all the writers in the daily prints) were holding forth great expectations from the loyalty, from the enthusiastic attachment, as they called it, of the army and the people of Prussia to their king, my readers will remember, that I expressed my fears, that, if there were any appearances of such attachment, they were deceitful, and were merely the effect of that influence and power, which, at the same time, stifled all appearances of a contrary description. And, has not the result proved my fears to be well-founded? Where have we seen, in the conduct of either the army or the other subjects of the king of Prussia, a single proof of that loyalty, on which we were bidden to place so firm a reliance? Where have we seen even the slightest mark of that devotion to the king and his family, of the general enthusiasm to rush forward to avenge the insults offered him, of which devotion and enthusiasm, we heard so much, previous to the commencement of the war? No: there are not, and there cannot be, any efficient feelings of this sort where the people have no political liberty. In every state, whatever be the conduct of its ruler or the nature of his authority, there will always be found some men attached to him from motives of gain, and others expressing attachment from motives of fear; but, in neither of those cases can the attachment be denominated *loyalty*, which, to use another term, is *fidelity* to a sovereign, implanted in the heart of the subject by a conviction that the interests and the honour of the sovereign and the honour of the people are inseparably united. Well, then, can this conviction exist, where the people have no will, no voice, in political matters? Where they have no freedom of either action or expression, and no security of enjoyment? In such a state of things, government may talk of the loyalty of the

people; and, in the sunshine of peace and prosperity, such loyalty may make a very pleasing object in a poetical description; but, in the hour of trial, and especially in the hour when an hostile army is approaching, it will always be found awfully deficient.——Yet, it may be asked, how can any people upon the earth expect, that their lot will be *bettered* by becoming the conquered subjects of the French? They, probably, have not, in any case, entertained any such expectation; and, it is also probable that they never have, in any case, reflected much upon the matter. To know that they must *venture their lives* in defending their country against the French, and to feel, at the same time, that they cannot be rendered *worse off* by the conquest of their country, are quite sufficient to prevent them from making any voluntary exertions or sacrifices in its defence. God send that such a feeling may never prevail in England! I hope, and I trust, it never will; for, whenever it does, this hitherto great and glorious kingdom will be but at a small distance from becoming an appendage of the empire of France.

Mr. Windham.——I have too long neglected a duty, which, on public grounds, I ought to have discharged towards this gentleman, but which, though I cannot now discharge it to my satisfaction, I think myself bound to discharge as well as time will permit, seeing that what I have to say may possibly be of some little weight at the present moment.——Before I come to the matter in view, it will not be improper for me to observe, that I have had no communication whatever, verbal or written, directly or indirectly, with Mr. Windham, since about ten days after the formation of the present ministry; and, lest it should be supposed, that this cessation of intercourse, which originated with me, arose from selfish considerations on my part, I beg leave further to add, that, the moment I heard that a new ministry was actually forming, I went to Mr. Windham, and, in the most distinct and decided manner, expressed to him my resolution, never to accept of any place of emolument under the government as long as I lived; a step which I thought necessary, in order to put him and Lord Grenville perfectly at their ease with regard to me.——But, though we have been thus without communication, and though I am not without some grounds of discontent at the cause thereof, I have never, for one moment, ceased to respect and admire him; and the more experience I acquire, the more I see and hear of other public men, the greater are that respect and admiration; and, therefore, I cannot refrain from feeling an uncommon degree of solicitude, that the calumnies which have been aimed at his character, should not, in the contest, in which he is now engaged, and in the result of which his happiness and his fame may possibly be involved, operate to his prejudice, especially when it may be in my power to contribute towards its prevention.——Of the calumnies, to which I allude, the public have seen some pretty ample specimens in certain publications, made by a person of the name of Poole, who was, during the last war, appointed and employed by Mr. Windham as a regimental *Inspector of Foreign Corps* upon the Continent, under Mr. Woodford, who was the General Inspector. To describe fully, and to analyse these publications, and, by that analysis, to demonstrate the falsehood of the charges insinuated in them, is a task that I have imposed on myself to perform, but for the performance of which there is not, at present, a sufficiency of time. I shall only state, therefore, that Mr. Poole came to me, at Parson's Green, last Spring, and that he there made so earnest, and so apparently sincere and honest a representation, that, though I was convinced that Mr. Windham was incapable of an act of peculation, or of conniving at such an act in others, I was led to fear, that some one might have succeeded in imposing upon him in a way and to a degree that might have exposed him, in the minds of persons not well acquainted with his character, to some suspicion of that sort. Some months afterwards Mr. Poole came to me at Botley, making a journey from London for the sole purpose of laying all his manuscript papers before me, and this he did in consequence of a solemn promise from me, that, though my respect for Mr. Windham was as great as it was possible for one man to entertain towards another, yet, if I found him justly accused, whatever might be my sorrow, I would rigorously perform my duty. With all the papers, written and printed, before me, I set myself to a verbal and close examination of this industrious accuser. I noted down his answers to my several questions; I dismissed him with a promise that I would patiently and minutely weigh the whole, and publish the result; and, within these few days, I have told him to his face, that the result of my inquiries is, that all his verbal accusations (for they were many and very unqualified), and all his printed insinuations, against Mr. Woodford as well as against Mr. Windham, were entirely false and groundless; and, that the only fact

clearly proved, was, that *he himself was a peculator*.——This I will, at some future time, prove from the papers in my possession; but, I thought it my duty to make the statement in substance, at this particular time, because Mr. Poole, when at Botley, informed me, amongst other things, that he had convinced several persons in *Norfolk*, of which he is a native, that his *charges*, as he always calls them, against Mr. Windham, were well-founded.——I shall now, for the present, take my leave of the subject, being anxious upon one point only, and that is, lest Mr. Windham should regard this interference of mine as tending to injure his character, by seeming to proceed upon the supposition, that there was, in the whole kingdom, any one who suspected its purity.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——This contest, whatever may be the issue of it; whether that issue may prove, that the free and unbiassed electors of this great and populous and enlightened city have yet the power to return *one* of its members; or whether the ministers and the great families have, in spite of all exertions against them, the power to return *both* of them; whatever may be the issue of the contest, the history of it must always be interesting to the whole kingdom, and it has become the more necessary to give a true history of it, as the whole of the diurnal press of the metropolis is employed in misrepresenting it, and in distorting the expressions and vilifying the characters of all and every person, who has taken a part on the side of Mr. PAULL.——The proceedings previous to the day of election were faithfully recorded in the preceding sheet, where the reader will find the principles and grounds upon which the friends of Mr. Paull have acted, clearly and candidly stated in the Resolutions passed by a meeting of his friends at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.——On these principles we stand, on them we make our appeal to the good sense and the judgment of the impartial amongst mankind; and, if we are overpowered, at this time, we confidently trust, that a time will come, when those principles will not only be universally acknowledged to be true and wise, but when they will be acted upon by all those who shall have a voice to give in the returning of members to parliament.——On Monday, the 3d instant, Mr. Paull proceeded from his house to the hustings, in his barouche and four, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, myself, and some other friends; Colonel Bosville in his coach and four following, accompanied by Mr. Burdett, the Rev. Mr. French, and another gentleman.—— What passed that morning at the hustings having been described, with tolerable impartiality, in a paper called the *British Press*, I shall insert the report from that paper, making such alterations as a close and attentive observation and hearing warrant me in making.

"Upon Mr. PAULL'S arrival, he was greeted with the loudest and warmest applause. About ten o'clock, an universal hissing, groaning, and clamorous disapprobation announced the arrival of one of the other candidates, Mr. Sheridan, who no sooner appeared on the hustings, than a cry of "off! "off!" issued from various quarters. A parcel of men, armed with bludgeons, entered at this time amongst the crowd, who did not fail to express great dissatisfaction at such an unseasonable encroachment. Mr. Sheridan attempted to speak, in order to apologise for his delay, but the noise and clamour was so very great, that not a word could be heard.

"SIR SAMUEL HOOD made his appearance, and it was with great difficulty that the hustings, which were by this time (11 o'clock) exceedingly crowded, could be cleared for the gallant Admiral to get forward. This last candidate was attended by Lord William Russell and several naval gentlemen. He was in his full dress naval uniform, and wore all the medals and honourable badges which his meritorious services so justly entitled him to. The want of his arm and his being in the naval dress, seemed instantaneously to recal to the recollection of all present, our much-lamented hero, Lord Nelson. Loud shouts of applause, and marks of esteem seemed to follow the gallant Admiral, till such time as he approached the hustings, when a contrary sentiment seemed to prevail, in the idea of his offering himself as a candidate for Westminster.

"LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL attempted to speak, but the cry of *"Paull! Paull!"* was so very great, that he was obliged to desist.

"Mr. PETER MOORE then came forward, and, after a short preamble, or eulogium upon Mr. Sheridan, concluded by proposing that gentleman as a candidate. This motion was seconded by Lord William Russell, who also was proceeding to descant upon the merits of Mr. Sheridan, but was soon completely overpowered by the clamour of the multitude.

"Mr. SHERIDAN next spoke, and had proceeded a considerable length, before one single sentence became audible. We understood him at length to be asking the populace, "Gentlemen, I wish to know whether you really want a riot or an election? If you have a good cause, you will conduct your-

selves peaceably; trust in the goodness of your cause, and not in noise and clamour; it is one, which, at least, will bear a fair and impartial discussion."

"Mr. Peter Moore again came forward, and attempted to supply what had been inaudible in the speech of his friend who had last spoken. "Gentlemen," said he, it is my wish to consult, to the utmost, your interest in proposing Mr. Sheridan to supply the place of that patriotic statesman who is now no more. I have endeavoured to remedy the loss you have experienced in the death of Mr. Fox as much as lies in my power; Mr. Sheridan has been all along his steady friend, and it might truly be said, that it was a struggle which of them should do most for the benefit and advantage of the people in general, as well as that of their constituents in particular. They had each of them studied to promote the general liberty and independence of the people. Mr. Sheridan has, indeed, accepted an office, and I am glad that he has done so.—*(Loud cries of No! No! and marks of disapprobation.)* Offices must be filled by somebody. Is it not better, therefore, that they be filled by such men as Mr. Sheridan, who has proved himself, on all occasions, to be your friend? I am convinced you will be of opinion, therefore, that Mr. Sheridan is the most proper person to represent you in Parliament."

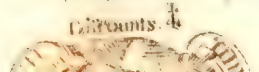
"Lord William Russell—I never, Gentlemen, had the honour of addressing you; but I am happy to meet you in support of those principles, which have ever been dearest to my heart. The principles of the gentleman who has been proposed to you, are such as can secure independence and happiness to this country.

Mr. Paull here called out to the High Bailiff, to order the *bludgeon-men* (who came up with *Mr. Sheridan's* colours) to be disarmed, as they were occasioning considerable tumult and confusion below. The noise which prevailed, prevented the Sheriff from hearing Mr. Paull's observations.—These bludgeon-men, however, becoming somewhat more riotous during the polling, they were completely disarmed by the activity of a Mr. Bird, one of the constables in attendance.

"Lord William Russell continued, after repeated interruptions;—"Gentlemen, I shall propose a candidate for your suffrages, whose conduct, I am convinced, will be consistent with those principles I have alluded to; I shall nominate Sir Samuel Hood; a gentleman who is entitled to your approbation and gratitude, as he has fought and bled in defence of our country, and therefore well adapted, in every point of view, to defend your liberties and laws."—This motion was seconded by a Mr. Dawes. While Sir Samuel Hood was attempting to speak, some altercation ensued betwixt the friends of Mr. Paull and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. P. Moore, addressing himself to Mr. Paull, said, with considerable warmth, "by God, Sir, if any thing happens, I shall look to you for the consequences;" or, "you shall be answerable for the consequences;" to which Mr. Paull answered, that any tumult that existed was by no means occasioned by him or his party. He wished above all things to promote quietness and regularity, but he thought the best way of doing so, would be to remove the men *who had come armed with bludgeons*. He could not approve of such a procedure. His cause stood in need of no such expedient.

"Sir Samuel Hood then said a few words, which could not be heard.

"Sir Francis Burdett rose, amidst the loudest plaudits that had as yet been testified by the surrounding multitude. The duration of that applause for some time interrupted the Hon. Baronet in the commencement of his speech. Soon afterwards, however, the utmost silence generally prevailed, and we heard him speak as follows:—"Gentlemen, I shall not detain you by animadverting much upon the very unhandsome manner in which the delay (of opening the poll) has been occasioned. It was, no doubt, perfectly unjustifiable and unprecedented; and you, yourselves, will judge of the motives from which it proceeded. As to the gallant Admiral who has been proposed to you this day for the purpose of representing you in Parliament, I shall only observe, that if he came forward to claim your applause and gratitude for his professional merits, if he put in his claim solely for professional honours, I can assure him and his friends that I should be the last man to raise my voice against such undoubted claims. Gentlemen, not to detain you from proceeding to the business of the day, I shall merely shortly state, that it is utterly impossible for the gallant Admiral to be your Representative, or to perform the duties of a Representative in Parliament. Having stated thus much, as to one candidate, I hope it will be deemed almost unnecessary to add, that the other stands also in a situation which renders him an unfit person to be entitled to your suffrages. I shall, however, state it broadly, that the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy ought not to be elected



your Representative. His acceptance of that office must, in your opinion, disqualify that gentleman. I state this broadly, and I leave it to your own good sense and consideration. This is not the time, however, for discussing questions of a constitutional nature. It is for you to act in these particulars as your own feelings must dictate. I shall not enter further into the merits, demerits, or disqualifications of the two persons who have already been proposed to your notice. The gentleman who, in my opinion, demands your suffrages and support upon strong constitutional grounds, is a gentleman who now stands near me, I mean Mr. Paull. [*Here the Hon. Baronet was interrupted by loud and reiterated bursts of applause.*] Gentlemen, Mr. Paull's merits are as well known to you as to me. It is therefore left to you to judge, whether inflexible integrity, a determined opposition to alledged public crimes, and an inveterate enmity to peculation and fraud, be qualifications which ought to entitle a person to be returned your Representative in Parliament, in the present situation of the country? I shall be as short as possible in stating my reasons for supporting that gentlemen, and my objections to the other candidates. It is my opinion, gentlemen, that the dangers of our country originated from the want of such men as Mr Paull to represent the people in the House of Commons. Yet, true it is, that Mr. Paull finds a difficulty thrown in his way, from causes which must be evident to you, to procure a seat in that House, unless he submits to a surrender of that integrity, which, in your eyes, ought undoubtedly to be his chief recommendation for your suffrages. In my estimation, one hundred mercenaries in the House of Commons are much more dangerous than five hundred thousand mercenaries in military array, headed by the Emperor of France. (*Loud applause.*) With these observations, gentlemen, I shall take my leave. I recommend Mr. Paull strongly to the Electors of Westminster, and I trust that they will, on this occasion, come forward and say—*Paull! Paull! and the City of Westminster!* I, therefore, take the liberty of nominating Mr. Paull, from a thorough conviction that he, of all others, is the best adapted for your representative; that, as a candidate, he stands alone, and unconnected with any party, and totally devoid of mercenary motives.—Sir Francis's speech was received throughout with the most marked attention.

Mr. Grant said, that after the detail which the electors had just now heard, of the qualifications of the gentleman whom the hon. baronet had proposed, it would be unnecessary for him, in rising to second the proposal, to say more, than that he most cordially agreed with every sentiment which the mover of it had uttered.

"Mr. Paull then presented himself, and addressed the electors as follows:—"Gentlemen electors of Westminster, I certainly, on the present occasion, shall not take up much of your time. We are now about to enter upon the most important of all contests. We are now standing up in defence of the rights of the people of England, against the proscription of an arrogant minister. I will not make any professions to you this day. They have already gone abroad, and, I trust, have been read by many of my friends. I love my King, I love the cause I have espoused, and I love the people of Great Britain. These are the principles upon which I shall act, and thence arises the course which I shall purpose to pursue, if you are pleased to return me your representative. I hope that this day it will be seen, that there is a spirit in the electors of Westminster—that they are not to be bought, sold, nor intimidated from doing their duty. My principles, gentlemen, are the principles of Sir Francis Burdett. He has been calumniated; but I should wish to know what man, who has dared to do his duty, who has not been calumniated. I know the purity of his heart, and his love of the King and the constitution. He is one who has all along wished to bring into practice, that system of representation which has recently existed only in theory. I shall refrain, after what has been already said, from entering into the merits of Sir Samuel Hood, or of the Treasurer of the Navy, and shall only conclude by soliciting your suffrages to return me as your representative.

"Mr. Sheridan again offered himself—"Gentlemen, Sir F. Burdett has told you that 100 mercenaries in the House of Commons, are more dangerous to you than 500,000 mercenaries under Buonaparté. Upon this I wish to observe, and to ask him whether, during any period of 25 years I have been in parliament, he ever knew me to be one of those mercenaries? I put this question to Sir F. Burdett. Does he agree to answer me—Does he mean to say, that for the sake of obtaining a place, I would be one of those mercenaries? Another question too—Will Sir Francis, as a man of honour and of truth, deny, that I was the single man that stood by him upon the question of the prisons? Did I not second him

in his motion for that inquiry? If you elect me, you will elect the man who is warmly attached to your interests, and who will never become the instrument of bartering away or destroying your rights.

"Sir F. BURDETT, in answer to Mr. Sheridan, asked him, whether, since he had been in power, he had ever *proposed to redress* those grievances of which he had complained when out of power?"

At the close of the poll, MR. SHERIDAN made another attempt to speak; but, such was the indignation expressed against him; so loud and so general was the outcry, that it was impossible to hear a word that he said. The incessant reproaches poured forth against him, upon the score of private as well as of public character, particularly by one man, who had placed himself opposite him, and as near to him as possible, did, at last, get the better of his temper; and, he retired from before the people, the first time, perhaps, in his life, in an agony of mortification, and in a rage too violent to admit of concealment. ——It is said, by his friends, that he received some personal injury in passing his carriage; and, it seems, that a person has been committed to prison on that account; but, as the public have been duly informed, that he dined and made a long speech, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, that same evening, we shall be inclined to conclude, notwithstanding the advertisement of MR. PETER MOORE, that it has been some other cause than that of *illness*, which has, from the first day to the present time, kept Mr. Sheridan from the hustings.——Not only has Mr. Paull sedulously discouraged every sort of violence in the people, but he has, agreeably to his first declared intention, set his face against all personal hostility in writing or speaking; nor has he deviated from this path, though he has, particularly by the Morning Chronicle, been attacked with virulence and falshood, unparralleled in all former writings even of political apostates. Previous to the day of election, and while, as yet, the place-hunting whigs had no idea of his popularity, and of the universal contempt into which they had fallen, the Morning Chronicle was very civil; but, the scene of Monday having opened the eyes of Mr. Perry as to these points, the poor man could no longer contain himself. Even the profits of the snug place he has obtained, as the price of his apostacy, were insufficient to console him under the remembrance of the hissings and groanings, with which, on that day, his brother placemen had been received.——After the poll was closed, MR. PAULL, amidst the shouts of the people, was conducted to his carriage; and, as all the daily prints have been *cautiously silent* upon the subject, historical truth requires that I should state, that *his horses were taken from his carriage*, and that he was thus conveyed away to his house amidst the exulting shouts of, perhaps, a hundred thousand of those same "*people of England*," as Mr. Perry called them when they rejoiced at the Peace of Amiens, but whom he *now* denominates a "*despicable rabble*."——The *unbiassed* voice of the people being decidedly in favour of Mr. Paull, *public breakfasts* have on the other side, been resorted to. What may be effected by such means, it is difficult to say; but, it is truly curious and diverting to see those of both INS and OUTS, who hate one another and who hate Mr. Sheridan too, all cordially uniting, and working as it were for the preservation of their lives, to save him upon this occasion, or rather to keep out MR. PAULL; and, in the common acceptation of the phrase, "who can "blame them?" for, the object is to them an object of tremendous importance!

MIDDLESEX ELECTION——Similar motives have produced a similar union against Sir Francis Burdett, who is, with respect to placemen and pensioners and peculators, exactly what a Terrier is with respect to Rats. Their hatred of him; their combining against him; their foul misrepresentations; their envenomed slanders; their ungovernable rage; form an incomparable compliment to his integrity as well as to his talents. They affect to be offended; they would fain make the world believe, that their loyal hearts are boiling at what they represent as *an attack* upon "*the best* "*of Kings*." They well know, the words convey no such meaning, and were intended to convey no such meaning as they have affixed to them; but, Sir Francis Burdett makes a solemn protest against *suffering members of parliament to pocket any part of the money that they vote to be raised upon the people*; he makes a solemn protest *against lavishing the public money upon court sycophants and the useless members of great families*; for this they hate him; for this it is that they endeavour to excite suspicions of his *loyalty*, and to make the nation believe, that he, who has such large possessions at stake, and the desire nearest to whose heart it must be that his children may inherit those possessions after him, has a premeditated design to annihilate that government and all the laws, by which those possessions are protected!——Their cry of *Jacobinism* is the most amusing part of their

conduct. They well know, that Mr. Huskisson, who was long a *rouf* Jacobin and a member of the Jacobin Club, was cordially hugged to the breast of the "Heaven-born minister." They have, in their mutual squabbles, lately stated, that, at the beginning of the French revolution, Mr. Windham was a member of the Jacobin Club. It is notorious that Redhead Yorke, one of the most vehement of the speakers against Sir Francis Burdett, at Mr Mellish's meeting, was one of the delegates from the Corresponding Society to the French National Convention. A hundred other instances might be cited; and, it might also be observed, that of *none* of these clubs or societies was Sir Francis Burdett ever a member, and that he never was connected with any of them in any way whatever. Aye, aye! but, all these quondam Jacobins have now proved, that they have *no objection to places and pensions*; no objection whatever *to members of parliament pocketing the public money*; and, provided they are clear of this abominable heresy, all the little sins, such as those which procured Mr. Yorke some years of confinement in jail, admit of absolution upon moderate terms; and, indeed, in some instances, they appear to have been regarded as good works.——Against a sinner like Sir Francis all the members of both parties unite. They curse each other with bell, book, and candle; but, to burn him alive they are ready to make a common pile of all their goods and their garments.—It is said, that Mr. Peter Moore who *proposed* Sir Francis Burdett at the last election, will now *vote* against him; a change which is at once accounted for, when it is known, that Mr. Peter Moore has, ever since the change in the ministry been *soliciting a place!*

——I have not time to say more upon the subject at present; but I shall just insert the two following advertisements as I find them in the newspapers, reserving myself until another opportunity to make a remark or two upon the conduct of the wise and steady Mr. Byng.——I have always hated the *Whigs*; and I should have been disappointed, if they had not turned out as they have.

"Sir,—I should have felt highly flattered by the vote of thanks from the Freeholders assembled at the Crown and Anchor on the 30th of October, for my parliamentary conduct, if it had not been accompanied with a proposal to join, what they are pleased to term, my interest with Sir Francis Burdett's. —From the commencement of my canvass (October 20), I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other candidate.—The address which afterwards appeared from Sir Francis Burdett, to the Freeholders of Middlesex, certainly gave me no reason to regret the line of conduct I had pursued—but the contrary.——Your obedient humble servant, G. Byng.

To Edward Langley, Esq. Chairman at a Meeting of Freeholders assembled at the Crown and Anchor, October 30."

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At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Freeholders of the Middlesex Club, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Thursday, the 6th November, 1806.

William Bosville, Esq. in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously, That the letter of Mr. Byng, addressed to Mr. Langley, in answer to the Resolutions of this Club, on Thursday last, is an insult to the Freeholders of this County, and a direct violation of his solemn pledge, made to a numerous meeting on the 29th July last, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the return of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Byng in 1802.

"Resolved unanimously, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to every member of the club who may be absent this evening, and that the same be published in all the newspapers. W. Bosville, Chairman."

——

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

Well Vale 29th October, 1806.

My dear Baronet!

Your address to a county, and Mr. Paull's to a city, having just reached me, I am desirous of introducing into their company one of my own, to a borough. Mine, you will see, is only provisional, and, in the borough alluded to, may never be circulated. It is in the hands of a friend, either to appear, or not, as the circumstances may require. Had I, on the first intelligence of a dissolution, known the mind of our friend—something of this kind would probably have appeared at the time. If there be any public virtue in Middlesex and Westminster, you and Mr. Paull may expect to succeed. But, should you both fail, I will not, even then, despair of the common wealth. I have a strong persuasion that the conquest of Prussia must precede the stablishment of German freedom. I have a like persuasion, that more calamity and oppression must yet be endured in our own country, ere our constitution will be recovered. But I believe that the liberties of both Germany and England will revive, and be placed on more secure foundations than heretofore. I persuade myself also that the period for either event

is now very distant. A moderate share of virtue in their statesmen might accelerate it in both.

In your address, I think there is a fault. It has a desponding tone; which in my opinion is unworthy of you. While many, by your penetration, your honesty, and indignant warmth, shall be enlightened, animated, and fired with enthusiasm, some, I fear, by this tone, will be chilled, and others shelter their own apathy and inaction under the sanction of your sentiments.

In times like the present, for a man to be qualified for the duties of patriotism, it is perhaps requisite that in the composition of his mind there should be a strong dash of the splenetic. Without this ingredient a parliamentary character may be deficient, and unfit for its task. 'Tis a quality that disposes to a rigorous scrutiny into misgovernment. It keeps awake and vigilant, attention to official vice. It stimulates to reprehension and satire. It displays, and it preserves, public integrity; it is a powerful supporter in the arduous labours of a reformer; and it is a far better security for the continuance of patriotism, than the professions of those who have not in the very constitution of their nature, that which renders them peculiarly hostile to the court sycophant, to the venal senator, and the corrupt placeman. It is, in short, in political character, what discord is in music. It is essential to harmonic energy. But neither in music nor in politics ought the discord to be discernible to the vulgar ear. Keep therefore these discordant tones in due subordination, that you may be the better able to do all the good you so ardently wish.

Your's, sincerely,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

Gentlemen,——Understanding it to be the point of honour in a Boston election, for every candidate who stands a poll, to give five guineas a man to all such of the electors who vote for him, and will accept of the money, but thinking such a custom would be more honoured in the breach, than in the observance, I venture, late as it is, to offer my services to represent you in parliament; as I have nothing to fear from losing an election.——My political sentiments being well known to you, I may on the present occasion be silent on that subject; but the supposed custom of your borough, sanctioned as I apprehend, and as I lament, by the practice of all the boroughs in England, demands a few words.—An elector, reasons thus: my vote is my own: what is my own I may sell: therefore I may sell my vote. That this reasoning, however, is not sound, every elector must know; because he who sells a vote is subject to a penalty of £500; and he who buys a vote, is rendered incapable of sitting in parliament. Nor are these all the ill consequences which may follow an observance of this point of honour.——But in this business there is something far worse than penalties and punishments. Custom and habit reconciles men to strange things. But view a case in which, thank God! custom and habit have not yet seared the consciences of Englishmen, and then judge.—Suppose any of you had a worthy neighbour in full and quiet possession of a competent estate, with a family of virtuous children to inherit it after him. Suppose again, that another person who had not the slightest pretensions in law or equity, should attempt by a forged will, to rob your honest neighbour of that estate. And suppose further, that when the cause came to be tried, you were upon the jury: would you, as a juryman, for a gift of five guineas, ruin your neighbour and beggar his children? You are shocked, I know, at such a question, and at the very thought of so detestable a crime shudder with horror.——But selling a verdict, and selling a vote, are actions precisely of the same nature. By selling a verdict you may ruin an individual; but by selling a vote, you may ruin your country. In the very last year, a single vote in the House of Commons decided the question, for censuring a minister of state, on a charge of misapplying public money. A single vote of the same House secured to England the Habeas Corpus Act, for our personal freedom against such arbitrary imprisonments, as are the practice under despotic governments. Hence you may judge of the responsibility that lies upon you to give your vote, as you certainly would give your verdict, to those who in your conscience you believe most likely to make, in the great council of the nation, upright guardians of the people's liberties, and firm protectors of their property, and judicious advisers in respect to the safety and the honour of your country in the present crisis; when, towards that safety, and in support of that honour, she is burthened with a taxation far beyond all former experience.—To say more, would be to undervalue your good sense, and to question your wish to act rightly: to say less, would be inconsistent with sincerity, as well as with the hope I trust ever to entertain, of being instrumental towards reforming our elections. By your attention being thus called to an error in reasoning, and a

consequent error in conduct,—an error which, as being common to all our boroughs, is likely to prove the ruin of our country, it is put in your power to set a bright example of public virtue, which might possibly lead to your country's salvation; as the example of an individual soldier is oft the cause of victory to an army; and consequently may be the saving of a nation.——Deputies sent to parliament by the suffrages of a borough acting on so grand a principle, would be most powerfully commissioned and armed and fortified towards repairing the ruins of the representative part of our constitution; a circumstance infinitely more wanting to us than new Colonies in America, or continental alliances, be they ever so wealthy, or ever so potent.——Although, gentlemen, you should approve of what I say, it is not necessary you should accept of my services. You may know persons more intitled to your confidence: or I can, if you wish it, mention to you men more able both in body and mind to do you and their country service; men who, although they may not exceed me in inclination, have more strength, more learning, more knowledge, and more talent, than myself. They are men, gentlemen, whose presence in our House of Commons is as much to be desired, as that of Nelsons in our navy, or Stuarts in our army; and yet against whom, by the unhappy evil on which I have touched, the doors of parliament are effectually barred; while they are thrown invitingly open to every son of rapine and violence, and to every unprincipled betrayer of his country, who, at a general election, drives into a borough town properly prepared for stabbing the constitution.——One word more on the subject of voting! A vote, as I have shewn, is not of the nature of a chattel, that we can legally or morally sell, or can give away, for any private gain or gratification whatever; but is a sacred right held in trust to be exercised only for the good of our country. Here again, I must remind ye, that a vote at an election, is what a verdict is on a jury. As we are bound to give this for the sole ends of private justice, so we are equally bound to give that, for the sole ends of public justice. In one case, we are sworn to give our verdict, without favour or affection, according to the evidence; and in the other case we are sworn that, for giving our vote we have neither directly nor indirectly received, nor have the promise or expectation of any reward. And is not this equivalent to swearing, that, in giving our vote we are solely guided by a sense of public justice, and without favour or affection, prefer the men most entitled to preference; or in other words, to our verdict, according to the evidence before us? Before we enter a jury box, we may have formed our opinion of the cause, and, if I may use the expression, we may have promised our verdict to him who in our judgment has justice on his side. But such a promise is of course conditional; for if it turn out that justice be clearly on the side of his adversary in the suit, we are then bound to give our verdict for that adversary. Our promise in fact was to do our duty and to administer justice, and, when given, we were under an error in respect to the party entitled to it. It is precisely the same in elections. We can only promise to perform our duty, and to do justice in disposing of our vote.—A person engaged in a law suit, or his counsel for him, publicly canvasses the jury, and solicits their verdict, but only on this condition, that it shall appear in evidence he is entitled to it. It is the same at an election. Whether expressed or not, the condition upon which a candidate solicits a vote, is that, on a comparison of the evidence for and against him, he shall be entitled to it; for he who says "promise me your vote, although on the "day of election you should be convinced "my competitor is more likely to make a "wise and upright member of parliament "than myself," proclaims himself both fool and knave; and insults the elector, by considering him in the same light.—It has been in order to guard you against imposition and error that I have reasoned upon what I conceive to be the nature of election promises. God forbid I should wish you to violate any engagement sanctioned by justice and by duty. If an elector can at the same time keep a hasty promise to an individual, and fulfil a sacred duty to his country, it must in such a dilemma, be left to his own feelings and conscience how to act.——I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant.—JOHN CARTWRIGHT.——*Boston, Oct.* 31, 1806.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

——Sic extorta vitiosa, et
Et demptis per vim mentis gratissimus error.
Hor. Epist. l. 2. Ep. II.

Sir;—I am led, to trouble you again on the subject of Mr. Sheridan, by two statements which were delivered on the first day of the election for Westminster; one by his friend Mr. Moore, and the other by himself.—Mr. Moore, adverting to the objection which had been taken against the Treasurer of the Navy, as an official dependent on the the crown, maintained, that to introduce Mr. Fox, and his party into that

situation, had been the object of the Electors of Westminster during twenty-six years. How far this is true, I leave to the electors of Westminter to determine: some of them perhaps may be gratified by the avowal, that they have been considered, during that long period, as the tools of a party in its pursuit of place. The nation has been willing to suppose, that their support of Mr. Fox, was an independent struggle to give effect to his declared principles; that their purpose was not narrowed to the mere question how the treasury bench should be occupied, but was directed generally to the practical adoption of his national sentiments, whoever might be in power. If his possession of office would accomplish this purpose, then this would certainly be included in their designs; but always, beyond doubt, as the means, not as the end: and if his possession of office should be found, after all his professions, to involve no approach to such accomplishment, then we cannot imagine that it will appear to them any triumph, if it do not even move their resentment. It will excite some surprise, I believe, generally, that Mr. Fox's appointment to the post of Secretary of State, is considered as the ultimate attainment of their object; and I know that the public disclosure of this opinion, has excited in Westminster no small degree of disgust. Merely to see Mr. Fox in office, and to remain unconcerned about the measures which his official appointment might produce, is a description of the views of Westminster, the least adapted, I should have conceived, to be accepted by that city as a compliment, and to recommend to its favour the candidate for whom the description is published.—But the statement of Mr. Sheridan himself will suffice to convince us, whatever may be the state of things with respect to Mr. Fox or his party in general, that as far as Mr. Sheridan personally is concerned, there is no real connection between his appointment to power and the practical adoption of the measures which he has demanded. It having been objected against this candidate, that since his establishment in office, he has effected none of those reforms in the Cold Bath Fields prison, for which he clamoured when in opposition, his reply is, that though he is Treasurer of the Navy he is not a minister, and consequently has not the power to effect them.—It will be observed that there is no question here, if there ever could have been any among reflecting men, concerning the propriety of the complaints which were raised with respect to this prison. Mr. Sheridan says, that he supported them, and makes it a part of his merit with the electors; and that he has not since effected any thing in the affair he *excuses* by the plea of wanting power: professing, at the same time, that, if he had possessed power, the reforms should have been accomplished. He thus declares publicly at least his own feelings of their justice, and acknowledges that in his own mind it is a part of his duty, if he can, to succeed in the purpose.—It appears then, upon the acknowledgement of Mr. Sheridan himself, that his introduction into office has given him no power of effecting those, in his own opinion just, objects to which he directed his efforts while in opposition. We have gained therefore nothing of efficacy by the change. But what have we not lost? While Mr. Sheridan was on the opposition bench, if we had not the reform, we had at least some tendency that way in his exertions in favour of it: he delivered speeches, he at least seconded motions, he was active in assisting enquiry. But since he has crossed the house, and sits on the same bench with ministers, their near associate if not a minister himself, no observation on the subject has passed his lips; no motion, no zeal, or the smallest manifestation of any regard to it in any degree, has marked his official career. Having accepted a place which, as he declares, gives us no addition to his power, he has taken care that it shall fully deprive us of all the advantage of his former efforts; his eloquence is silent and his activity exhausted.—Upon this subject this is the distinct declaration of Mr. Sheridan. Upon other subjects his conduct has been similar. His India enquiries, and all the affairs to which his speeches and motions while in opposition were directed with zeal, have now sunk into oblivion, and are buried beneath the weight of official occupations. What were formerly the objects of indignant reprobation, and were not to be endured for a single session, are now quietly tolerated with the meekness of devoted obedience. He has not power, it appears, to influence any thing from his ministerial associates, but they are all-powerful to influence every thing from him. Whatever the cause of this submission, whether the influence of place or the influence of Carleton house, it is clearly not the influence of the people, and can in no manner belong to their faithful representative. Even his old patron, Mr. Fox, was disgusted by his conduct. In the valuable letter of Mr. Paull, inserted in one of your late Registers, the secretary of state is represented to have declared, "It has been sug-

"gested to us" (the ministers) "to withdraw, or to keep away, when the discussions upon this subject are to come on; "and *some of us have been inclined to do so;* "but, for my part, I cannot and will not "do that." Who is referred to in this expression of disdain, the history of the last session of parliament informs us. Mr. Sheridan was almost a total absentee. The open opposition of Mr. Fox against the enquiry into the conduct of Marquis Wellesley excited vehement censure; but whatever the line of conduct pursued by that statesman, it was always bold and so far manly: he loathed the meanness of an abject dependent. —That Mr. Sheridan's declaration is a gross misstatement, I am not willing to suppose. The Treasurer of the Navy may have little power in directing the general measures of administration, but he retains at least the power of choosing his parliamentary conduct. If this be not the fact, I cannot admire the preference of Mr. Sheridan, who was represented, at the time of forming the present administration, to have had free liberty in selecting his place. But if Mr. Sheridan has not the power to say decisively "this shall be," he can at least declare that, if this be not, he is no longer the associate of ministry: if the discharge of what he confesses to be his duty, would thus involve the loss of his treasurership, he possesses surely the power of losing it. This is undoubtedly left him, to choose between his duty and his office. To descend to a post which conveys no power of effecting the measures in which he involved his honour, and, in order to preserve this useless post, to consent to renounce even the pursuit of those measures, is a degradation of conduct not common, I hope, in public men, and which I should little have expected any of them to publish with his own mouth.—I have no personal enmity against Mr. Sheridan; I have no desire to see him absent from the house of commons as an independent member: but if his presence there tend only to sanction what he has repeatedly censured, and by desertion to assist in preventing what he acknowledges to be a part of his duty, I cannot but consider him one of the men least proper to be elected. If the people of England do not now, in their electorial character, express their abhorrence of such conduct, they may be certain that the situation of a representative of the people will cease to have any connection with their interests. It will be sought merely for private convenience, and as an introduction to the ministry.—Mr. Sheridan has stated that "he "believes he shall not have a single vote that "can be influenced by the Duke of Northumberland." I rejoice to hear this. It is the just punishment of that unmanly conduct which was lately deaf to the general call of Westminster inviting him to relieve the city from a most unworthy successor to Mr. Fox. Mr. Sheridan denies all compromise with Lord Percy. What he considers to be a compromise he must himself explain; but we all know that when the seat was fully in his power, he voluntarily delivered over the electors, completely fettered, to the house of Northumberland. If that house itself now manifests its disdain of his unmanliness, no independent character can fail to be gratified. The punishment is appropriate: it is inflicted in the proper scene, and from one of the most proper quarters.—The rejection of Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, I cannot esteem less than a great national concern. It will deliver a warning to our representatives which they will feel beyond every other. It will prove to them that the renunciation of public duty for private purposes will not be secured from indignation and punishment by even conspicuous talents; and that the only certain advantage acquirable in parliament is derived from independence and the faithful discharge of the representative trust. Nothing can be better adapted to conform their conduct to the line of their duty. If, on the other hand, the clear and even avowed dereliction of parliamentary objects be not publicly punished by the constituents of parliament, the period cannot be distant when the parliament in general shall have descended to the level of the ancient Paris register of ministerial edicts. The consequences that must ensue, France herself has abundantly informed us, in ages of misery and a deluge of blood.——BRUTUS, *5th November*, 1806.

TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF HAMESHIRE, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE DIVISION AND HUNDRED OF PORTSEA AND PORTSDOWN.

GENTLEMEN,——Upon no other pretension than merely that of a fellow-countryman, indignant at the attempt that has been made to deprive you of the real use of your franchise as individual freeholders, and of your respectability as the inhabitants of a county, do I presume to address you.——It is well known to you, gentlemen, it is, indeed, the doctrine, to maintain which the best blood of our fathers has been shed, that, to be represented in Parliament, by men sent thither by our own free choice, is our birthright as Englishmen; and I beg leave to remind you, that, at the opening of every ses-

sion of parliament, the House of Commons declare, by solemn resolution, "That it is "highly criminal in any minister, or mi-"nisters, or other servants under the Crown "of Great Britain, directly or indirectly, to "use the powers of office in the election of "Representatives to serve in Parliament, "and an attempt at such influence will at "all times be resented by this House, as "aimed as its own honour, dignity, and in-"dependency, as an infringement of the "dearest rights of every subject throughout "the empire, and as tending to sap the ba-"sis of this free and happy constitution."—Yet, Gentlemen, in the face of this solemn declaration, in defiance of the letter as well as the spirit of this constitution, Lord Temple, a servant of the Crown, receiving four thousand pounds a year, and his family receiving not less than fifty-four thousand pounds a year out of the public money, has dared to make an attempt, in the manner described even in his own letter, to exercise his power and influence in the election of representatives for your county. How far the persons holding offices under government, in and near the dock-yards; how far, in the same vicinage, some clergymen and magistrates, dependent upon the ministers; how far those persons have, in a manner the most unwarrantable, used their influence and power for the purpose of inducing the freeholders, by threats as well as promises, to vote for the ministerial candidates, contrary to their wishes as well as to their consciences; how far this has been the case, you need not be told; but the freeholders, against whose independence attempts of this sort have been made, must be destitute of foresight as well as of honour, were they to suffer themselves to be influenced by any such threats or promises, seeing that the power of the present ministers, and that of all officers appointed by them, can scarcely be of a twelvemonth's duration, and seeing that, deservedly unpopular as the far greater part of them already are, they would not venture to punish any man for having followed the dictates of his own conscience, and thereby render themselves so odious and detestable in the eyes of all honest men, and rouse such a spirit of resentment against them, as would, in spite of all their means of protection, drive them in disgrace from their power and their emoluments. Nothing, then, have the freeholders in the vicinity of the dock-yards to hope or to fear from the persons in place under this divided, this short-lived, this already-expiring ministry; and, as to the magistrates, those publicans and others who are weak enough to fear their menacing hints, have only to consider, that any man who shall dare to use his magisterial authority for the purpose of depriving a voter of the free use of his franchise, is liable to the severest animadversion of that law, which it is his duty to see righteously enforced, and of which he has himself been the scandalous violator.—Thus, gentlemen, with the path of independence and of honour straight before you, and with no temptation to deviate therefrom, it surely is not to be feared, that you will prefer the path of dependance and disgrace. The attack made upon your rights is as unparalleled as it is daring. True and notorious it is, that undue influence; not to say direct ministerial controul, has long unhappily been exercised in but too many of the boroughs of the kingdom; but, to make a direct and open attempt to force members upon a county, and thereby in reality to deprive the freeholders of their franchises, was reserved for the present day and for a ministry composed, in a great part, of men, who, when out of place, most solemnly pledged themselves never to cease their exertions to procure us a Parliamentary Reform. Similar to the motives, by which, upon the present occasion, you, gentlemen, ought to be, and I trust, will be, actuated, are the motives which now actuate the free and independent Electors of Westminster, who, seeing Mr. Paull, like Mr. Chute, proscribed as the price of his integrity, have taken him under their protection, have generously and wisely resolved to defeat the machinations of his enemies, and thereby to establish the valuable truth, that those members of parliament who dare to discharge their duty, will, in spite of all combinations against them, receive the approbation and support of this, the most populous, the most industrious, and the most enlightened city in the kingdom.—With such motives of action, and with so noble an example before you, it would be grossly to calumniate your characters to suppose, that you will send, as your representatives persons *forced upon you*, and thereby proclaiming to the world with your own voice, calling God to witness the act, that you are destitute of all public spirit, that you have nothing of freedom but the name, that you have sentiments of neither loyalty nor liberty remaining in your breasts, that you have effaced from your memory all the glorious maxims and deeds of your fathers, and are sunk into the voluntary slaves of an arrogant faction, not less hostile to the real interests of the king than they are to the rights and privileges of his loyal and faithful people.——Anticipating, then, that our county, distinguished as it is by the favours of na-

ture; famed as it always has been for good sense, for manhood, for public spirit, and for loyalty; and being, as it now is, regarded as one of the bulwarks against the menacing foe, will still be found worthy of its ancient character, will, by your conduct, be rendered an object of universal admiration, the humble individual, who has now taken the liberty to address you, confidently trusts, that it will be his pride and not his shame, to be a Freeholder of Hampshire.——With these sentiments, and with an anxious hope, that every single man of you sacrificing all trifling differences and selfish feelings to great principles and to the general good, will regard the cause of Mr. Chute and Sir Harry Mildmay as his own cause, and will devote his hand and heart to it accordingly,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

W. COBBETT.

Westminster, Nov. 4, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia to the Army. Dated Head Quarters at Erfurt, October* 9, 1806.

All the efforts of his Majesty and of his allies for the maintenance of peace have been unavailing; and unless the whole northern part of Germany, nay, even perhaps all Europe, be abandoned to the will of an ever-restless enemy and his devastating armies, war is inevitable.——His Majesty has resolved upon war, as the honour and security of his states are in danger. He should have considered himself fortunate, had he been able to maintain these in a peaceable way; this is known to the army, to the nation, nay, even to the world; but, with the greatest confidence, will he now lead his army to the combat for his country and the national honour; for justice is on our side.——It has not escaped the observation of his Majesty, that the army long wished for war, and though he was prevented by circumstances, of which he alone could be a proper judge, from acquiescing before in this desire, he, nevertheless, respected it, convinced that it could have arisen from nothing but the genuine love of honour and of the country, which the army has so eminently displayed. The whole nation has already proved what a lively interest it takes in this war; and it affords great satisfaction to his Majesty, that the measures he has adopted are not only unavoidable, but are the unanimous wish of all his subjects.——His Majesty is convinced that the preservation of the national honour and glory, which the genius of Frederick diffused among all the Prussians, would be sufficient to inspire the army with its natural bravery, and with the willing endurance of all the hardships inseparable from war; but this war has other and more important objects.——We have to cope with an enemy who has defeated, around us, the most numerous armies; who has humbled the most powerful states; who has destroyed the most venerable constitutions; who has deprived more than one nation of its independence and of its name.—A similar fate was intended for the Prussian monarchy. Numerous armies collected around its frontiers, and were daily augmenting. That monarchy too was doomed soon to disappear, to be subjected to a foreign master, and arrogance and rapacity already anticipated the partition of the North of Germany.—We fight then for independence, for our altars, for our homes, nay, for every thing that is dear to us; and if the Almighty grants victory to our just cause, to our arms, and to the courage that animates the bosom of every Prussian, we may become the saviours of thousands of oppressed creatures. There is certainly no man in the army, from the highest officer to the private soldier, whose heart can remain cold under such circumstances. Every warrior who falls in this conflict, will die for the sacred cause of humanity. Every warrior who survives it, besides obtaining immortal glory, will share the gratitude, the triumph, and the tears of joy of his rescued country.——Who among us could endure the idea of being subjected to the arbitrary will of a foreigner? But, at the same time that we are fighting in our own behalf, that we are averting from ourselves the most abject degradation that can menace a nation; we are also the saviours and deliverers of our German brethren. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us, as the last support of all liberty, of all independence, and of all order in Europe. The victory to which we aspire, is no common victory. Important are its objects, and mighty are the means of the enemy, intoxicated with conquest; great, energetic, and decisive, must also be our exertions.——His Majesty will with pleasure share these exertions, dangers, and fatigues, with his troops. He knows what he has to expect from his fellow soldiers. He knows that unwearied promptitude, that indefatigable vigilance, and undaunted perseverance, can never for a moment forsake his brave army, and that, under every circumstance, they will bear in mind their important destination.——The fate of nations and of armies is in the hands of God, but he scarcely ever grants constant victory and per-

manent prosperity but to the cause of justice. This is with us; confidence in a good cause is with us; and the voice of our contemporaries is on our side. The happiest success will crown our enterprizes ——*Head-quarters at Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.*

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*From the French Official Paper the Moniteur. Dated Paris, Oct. 16, 1806.*

On the 14th, at noon, in execution of the orders of his Majesty the Emperor, the Prince Arch Chancellor repaired to the Senate, where, being received with the usual ceremonies, and having taken his seat, his highness addressed the senate as follows:—"By the letter which his Majesty the Emperor and King has written to the senate, and the communications which I am about to make from him, it is meant that you should be made acquainted with a resolution that became necessary, in consequence of the conduct of the Prussian government.——It may be asked, what are the causes of a rupture so unexpected, after the good understanding which, for several years, prevailed between France and Prussia? This question is explained in the reports made to his Majesty, by his Minister for Foreign Relations, and in several notes exchanged between the ministers of both powers."

After a few introductory observations of a general nature, his highness then laid before the senate, 1. A Letter from the Emperor to the president and members of the senate.—2. Two Reports addressed to the Emperor and King, by the Prince de Benevento, Minister of Foreign Relations.—3. Six Diplomatic Notes.

Letter from his Majesty the Emperor.

Senators,——We quitted our capital for the purpose of repairing to our army in Germany the moment we learned with certainty that its flanks were threatened by unexpected movements. Scarcely had we arrived at the frontiers of our states, when we had reason to perceive how necessary our presence was there, and to applaud ourselves for the defensive measures we had taken, previously to our departure from the centre of our empire. Already the Prussian armies in an attitude of war, were every where in motion. They had passed their frontiers, Saxony was taken possession of; and the wise Prince who ruled that country was forced to act, against his will, against the interests of his people. The Prussians had come up before the cantonments of our troops. Provocations of every kind, and even acts of violence had marked the spirit of hatred by which our enemies were actuated, and the moderation of our soldiers—who, tranquil while they beheld all these movements, only astonished at receiving no order—rested on that double confidence which inspires courage and a sense of justice. Our first duty was to cross the Rhine ourselves, to form our camps, and to send forth the shout of war. It resounded in the hearts of all our warriors. Marches, combined and rapid, carried them in an instant to the place we had pointed out to them. All our camps are formed: we are about to march against the Prussian armies, and repel force by force. We must at all times declare, that our heart is sensibly affected by that continued preponderance which the genius of evil upholds in Europe, which is incessantly employed in counteracting the designs we are forming for the tranquillity of Europe, for the repose and happiness of the present generation; which attacks all cabinets, by all kinds of seduction, and misleads those it cannot corrupt, making them blind to their own interests; and throwing them into the midst of parties, without any other guide than the passions with which it inspired them. The cabinet of Berlin itself has not chosen with deliberation the side it takes. It has been induced to do so by artifice and malicious contrivance. The king finds himself suddenly an hundred leagues from his capital, on the frontiers of the confederation of the Rhine, in the midst of his army, and in front of the French troops, who were dispersed through their cantonments, and who thought they had a right to depend on the ties which united the two states, and on the protestations made on all occasions by the Court of Berlin. In a war so just, in which we only call forth the armies in our own defence, which we have not provoked by any act, by any pretension, and of which it would be impossible for us to assign the true cause, we reckon entirely on the support of the laws, and on that of our people, who are called on by the present circumstances to give new proof of their love, their devotion, and their courage. On our part, no personal sacrifice will be painful to us, no danger will stop us, whenever it will be necessary to maintain the rights, the honour, and the prosperity of our people.—Given at our Imperial Head-quarters, at Bamberg, the 7th of October, 1806. (Signed) NAPOLEON. By the Emperor. The Minister and Secretary of State, (Signed) H. B. MARET.

Note of M. De Knoblesdorff, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sept. 12, 1806.

The undersigned, feeling how much it

is of the first importance to answer immediately the note which his Excellency the Prince of Benevento, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has done him the honour of addressing to him this evening, feels himself compelled to limit himself to the representation of the following observations. The motives which have engaged the king, my master, to make armaments, have been the effect of a scheme of the enemies of France and Prussia, who, jealous of the intimacy which exists between these two powers, have done every thing in their power to alarm, by false reports, coming at once from every quarter. But, above all, what proves the spirit of this measure is, that his Majesty has concerted it with no person whatsoever, and that the intelligence respecting it arrived sooner at Paris, than at Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and London. But the king, my master, has ordered to be made to the Envoy of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, an amicable communication on the subject of these measures. That minister had not yet returned an answer upon this communication. The relation of the interesting conversations that his Imperial Majesty has deigned to entertain with the undersigned, and the Marquis de Lucchesini, could not yet have arrived at Berlin. After this explanation, the undersigned can only testify to his excellency his most ardent wish, that public acts may yet rest suspended, till the return of the courier dispatched to Berlin.

Second Report, addressed to his Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Minister of Foreign Relations, Oct. 6, 1806.

Sire,——When in the report that a few days back I had the honour to address to your Majesty, I established, that if Prussia had any personal reasons which led her to make war, it could only be from a desire to enslave Saxony, and the Hanseatic Towns, I was far from perceiving, that she would ever dare avow such a motive. It is, nevertheless, an avowal which she has not feared to make, and to express in a note that M. De Knoblesdorf has sent me from Metz, and which I have the honour to address to your Majesty. Of the three demands which that note contains, the first and the third are only made to disguise, if it be possible, that no real importance may be attached to the second.—Prussia, after having seen with a tranquil eye the French armies in Germany during a year, could not be alarmed at their presence when their numbers were diminished—when they were dispersed in small bodies in distant cantonments—when, above all, your Majesty had solemnly announced, that they should return to France as soon as the affair of Cattaro, the cause of the prolongation of their stay in Germany, should be settled by an agreement with Austria, and that already the order for their return was given.—Prussia, who speaks of a negociation to fix all the interests in question, knows well that there is no point of interest whatever in question between the two states; the amicable discussion which should definitively fix the fate of the Abbeys of Essen and Werden, has not been deferred by any delay of the French cabinet. The French troops have evacuated those territories, which the Grand Duke of Berg had caused to be occupied, in the perfect persuasion that numerous documents had given him, that they made part of the Duchy of Cleves, and that they were comprehended in the cession of that Duchy.—Thus the demands of Prussia, on these different points, and others of the same nature, and the pretended grievances which she seems to indicate, do not offer the real mind of the Cabinet of Berlin. It does not reveal it. It lets its secrets escape only, when it demands that no farther obstacles whatever shall be made, on the part of France, to the formation of the Northern league, which shall embrace, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.——Thus, to satisfy the most unjust ambition, Prussia consents to break the bonds that united her to France, to call down new calamities upon the Continent, of which your Majesty would wish to cicatrize the wounds, and to assure the tranquility, to provoke a faithful ally, to put him under the cruel necessity of repelling force by force, and once more to snatch his army from the repose which he aspires to make it enjoy, after so many fatigues and triumphs.—I say it with grief, I lose the hope of the ability to preserve peace, from the moment it is made to depend upon conditions that equity and honour equally oppose; proposed as they are, in a tone, and in forms that the French people endured in no time, and from no power, and which it can less than ever endure under your Majesty's reign. (Signed) C. M. Talleyrand, &c. *Mayence, Oct. 6, 1806.*

First Bulletin of the Grand Army. Bamberg Oct. 8, 1806.

The peace with Russia, concluded and signed on the 20th of July, and the negociations with England, which were drawing towards a conclusion, caused a sensible alarm at Berlin. The vague reports which were daily multiplying, and the conciousness of

the injurious conduct of that cabinet towards those powers, induced it the more readily to believe what had been insinuated, that by a secret article in the treaty with Russia, Poland was to be restored as a kingdom, and conferred upon the Grand Duke Constantine; that Silesia was to be given to Austria in exchange for her part of Poland; and that Hanover was to be restored to England. Thus it appeared to believe that these three powers were leagued with France, and that such a union would be highly injurious to Prussia.——The injurious conduct of Prussia towards France commenced at a very distant period. First, she took up arms with a view of profitting by the internal disorders of France. She was seen ready to come forward at the moment of the invasion of Holland by the Duke of York; and notwithstanding the events of the last war, although she had no cause of complaint against France she took up arms again, and signed, the 1st of October, 1805, the famous treaty of Potsdam, which was, in less than a month, superseded by the treaty of Vienna.—Towards Russia she acted injuriously. Who can forget the non-execution of the treaty of Potsdam, or the subsequent conclusion of that of Vienna?——Her injurious conduct towards the Emperor of Germany, and the whole Germanic Body, is more aggravated, and of longer date, as is generally known. She always acted in opposition to the diet. When the empire was at war, she took care to be at peace with its enemies. Her treaties with Austria were never faithfully executed: she uniformly studied to embroil other powers, in the view of gaining some advantage, at the expense of either or of both the contending parties.——Those who suppose, that such an interested versatility of conduct was solely to be attributed to the reigning sovereign, are greatly mistaken. During an interval of fifteen years, the Court of Berlin has been a kind of stage, upon which different parties tried their strength, and in their turns obtained the ascendancy. On one day the decision was for war: on another for peace. The last important political circumstance—the slightest incident—often gave the advantage to one of the parties; and the king in the midst of these opposing councils, in a very labyrinth of intrigue, was fickle and undecided, with the greatest intentional rectitude.—On the 11th of August, a messenger of the Marquis Lucchesini arrived at Berlin, and delivered, in the most positive terms, an assurance of those supposed armaments which France and Russia had agreed upon by the treaty of the 20th July.—To restore the kingdom of Poland, and to wrest Silesia from the Prussian Monarch. The partizans of war were enraged, the king was overawed by them, his personal sentiments were unattended to; forty couriers were dispatched from Berlin in one night, and an appeal to arms was instantly decided.——The intelligence of this sudden explosion was received at Paris on the 20th of the same month. It was lamentable to perceive an ally so grossly deceived. Full explanations, and precise assurances of the real case, were immediately communicated; and as manifest error was the sole motive for these armaments, the hope was expressed, that mature consideration would obviate such an unexpected result.—However, the treaty signed at Paris was not ratified at St. Petersburg; and communications and intelligence of various kinds were speedily forwarded to Prussia. The Marquis de Lucchesini was not slow in forwarding his observations; these were collected from among persons of the most suspicious character in the capital, and suggested by men of intrigue, with whom he habitually associated. In consequence, he was recalled, and the Baron De Knobelsdorff, a man of frank and open character, and of unimpeached integrity, was appointed to succeed him.——This envoy extraordinary arrived shortly at Paris. He was the bearer of a letter from the King of Prussia, dated 23d August.—This letter, couched in the most friendly terms, and fraught with pacific professions, was answered by the Emperor in an unreserved and appropriate manner.—The day following that of the departure of the courier with this answer, accounts were received, that airs and songs, of the most hostile and inflammatory nature, against France, were sung in the Theatre at Berlin; that immediately after the departure of M. de Knobelsdorff, the armaments proceeded on a more extensive scale—that men hitherto cool and dispassionate, were heated in consequence of false reports—and that the war faction had prevailed to such a degree, that the King himself could not resist the torrent.——It was afterwards known at Paris, that the advocates for peace in Prussia had really been alarmed in consequence of the most audacious falsehoods and deceitful appearances, and that they had totally lost their influence; while the war faction, taking advantage of their errors and despondency, redoubled their exertions, alleged provocation on provocation, and accumulated insults; so that things were brought to such a point that war became inevitable.—The Emperor was then convinced, that circumstances would oblige him to take up arms against an ally. He therefore ordered preparation.

To be Continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

"Gentlemen, Mr. WHITBREAD tells us, in his Manifesto, that the Administration, of which he is so conspicuous a supporter, have not yet formed their *projected schemes of reform*, internal and external. Thus, it appears, that they have their schemes in agitation. Now, what is the absurd outcry raised against me? That I am a schemer. That I have dangerous schemes, which I wish to execute. Believe me, Gentlemen, and it is the sacred assurance of an honest, independent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have no schemes; I meditate no innovations; I want nothing but the constitution of England, my beloved country; I want the whole of that constitution, and nothing but that constitution."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S Speech at Brentford, 10th November, 1806.

ELECTIONS.

For the reasons stated, in my last, as a preface to the account of the proceedings in the Westminster Election, I shall, in the present Number, put upon record, with as much accuracy as the case will admit of, what has since taken place with respect to several elections, particularly those of Westminster and Middlesex, beginning with the latter.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

The first step, taken, on any side, with respect to this election, was, the publication of the following Address to the Freeholders by Sir Francis Burdett:

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

"Whenever the leaders of contending parties and factions in a state unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it never is in favour, but always at the expense, of the people; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation.——Under these circumstances you are called, prematurely and suddenly, to a fresh election of your representatives, if they can be called such. And a double imposture is attempted to be passed upon you. The watch-word of one party is, The best of Kings. The watch-word of the other is,—the best of Patriots. But neither of these parties will choose to descend to particulars, and inform you what the best of Kings and the best of Patriots have already done, or will hereafter do for you. What they have done for themselves we all know and feel; what farther they can do for us we can only conjecture. They who have desired a new parliament thus suddenly, in our present situation, undoubtedly have their own strong reasons for it, which they are not likely to disclose. But I am thoroughly persuaded, that all our present burdens and restraints, vexatious and galling as they are, will appear but as trifles when compared with what they will be at the close of this now-coming parliament.—I would willingly be instrumental in the rescue of my country at the certain expense of life and fortune. But it cannot be rescued, and would not deserve to be rescued, unless the majority of the country be uncorrupt. It is fit that the experiment should be tried; and that at least the proportion of remaining integrity should be known. And I pledge my honour to you, gentlemen, that, upon the present occasion, I do not desire the aid or countenance of any of the parties, in or out of power; that I will not distribute, nor consent to the distribution even of a single cockade: nor will I furnish nor consent to the furnishing of a single carriage. If the Freeholders of Middlesex feel the situation of their country, and desire to redress its grievances, they will do their easy parts towards such redress, by an uncorrupt vote. And if this spirit is not to be found in this county at this time, it is not likely to be found any where else at any time.—Let the Freeholders of Middlesex do their easy duty, I will do mine which will not be easy; and, if it shall be their unbiassed choice, I will prove myself their uncorrupt, disinterested, and zealous representative.——I am, gentlemen, with full assurance of your integrity and spirit, your most faithful humble servant, FRANCIS BURDETT."

Of the mean and shameful misrepresentations, which this address has given rise to, notice has been taken in the two preceding sheets of the Register; and, not to interrupt the narrative, the further remarks intended to be made upon these misrepresentations, will be reserved until we come to a more appropriate place for their insertion. ——The Middlesex Freeholder's Club having met, on the 30th ultimo, and passed a resolution expressive of their wish, that Mr. Byng would unite with Sir Francis Burdett, in the approaching contest, Mr. Byng published a letter, which he wrote upon the

subject, to the chairman of the club, which letter, together with the consequent resolutions of the club, will be found in the preceding sheet, pages 717 and 718.——The letter of Mr. Byng brought forth another letter from Sir Francis Burdett, addressed to the Chairman of the Freeholder's Club, in the following words:

Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Freeholders Club of Middlesex.

"Gentlemen,—At length Mr. Byng, who never was really with us, has ceased to temporize; and, taking advantage of your undeserved compliment to him, has declared openly against us. It was always to be expected, that such would be his conduct, whenever it should suit the views of his party.——This, gentlemen, is the short statement of our situation: the politics of George Grenville, the father, lost us America; the politics of George Grenville, the son, have lost us all Europe. To these politics, and to assist in carrying them on, the professing Whigs have lately joined themselves, to their own great emolument, and to the just dismay of the public.—In this conjecture, it is not surprising that Mr. Byng, who belongs to those Whigs, should play into the hands of Mr. Mellish, who belongs to that Grenville whom they have joined.——I am perfectly aware, that if I had been silent, I might have been returned for Middlesex without a contest; but I will have no compromise, nor suspected compromise, with such shabby politics. I will not by silence be guilty of the ruin which appears to be fast approaching.—Gentlemen, I will never consent to be returned by the connivance of any ministers: for I will never connive at their plunder. I desire no seat but by the unbiassed votes of intelligent and uncorrupt freeholders. If my principles differ from theirs, I am not fit to be their representative, and shall not desire it; but I shall wait for their decision, regardless of the intrigues, misrepresentation and influence, of the coalesced factions. I shall ever remain, gentlemen, faithful to the principles I avow, and to your honest service. Francis Burdett."

In the meanwhile, Mr. William Mellish had, by a meeting held in London, and called together for the purpose, been fixed upon as the successor of Mr. Mainwaring. At this meeting, which was composed, with very few exceptions, of Contractors, Jobbers, Paper-Money Makers, Place-Men, Pensioners, and Hired Writers; at this meeting, two of the leading speakers of which, were Mr. John Bowles, who, by fair deduction at least, has most falsely represented the heir apparent as unfit to be trusted with the crown, and Mr. Redhead Yorke, who, during the last war, was a delegate from the Corresponding Society to the French National Convention, for which, and for acts therewith corresponding, he was, for a long time, confined in gaol, but who, like Mr. Bowles, now lives upon the taxes raised from the labour and care of the people; at this *loyal* and *disinterested* meeting, the misinterpretation of the Address of Sir Francis Burdett, the base perversion of his meaning, which had before been circulated by the voluntary individual efforts of the slaves of power, was regularly, systematically, and officially inculcated, through all the numerous channels devoted to the agents of corruption.—— To these efforts Mr. Samuel Whitbread voluntarily added his, in a letter, sent by him to Sir Francis Burdett privately, and without any intimation of an intention to publish it, but which he published in the newspapers, and that, too, so short a time before the day of election as to deprive Sir Francis Burdett of an opportunity of answering it, until the time should be passed for counteracting its intented effect! This letter, which will be found in a subsequent page of this Number, was evidently written, notwithstanding the mean trick played off in the postscript; notwithstanding this most wretched Whig device, this letter was evidently penned under a week's consideration, and was kept ready to fire off at a moment when Mr. Whitbread knew, that the man, against whom it was levelled, and towards whom he still was mean enough to profess personal respect and kindness, would have no timely means of defence. ——Under the effect of these most scandalous tricks; these most vile, and, in a great degree, successful attempts to persuade the public that Sir Francis Burdett stood in open hostility to "*the best of Kings*," the candidates met the Freeholders at Brentford, on the 10th instant, that being the day of nomination.——Mr. Byng was proposed by Mr. Tufnell, who was seconded by Mr. Bacon. Sir Francis Burdett was proposed by Mr. Timothy Brown (Mr. Whitbread's partner), seconded by Mr. Holden. Mr. Mellish was proposed by Sir William Gibbon, who, with his usual sagacity, and novelty of idea, remarked, that "an honest "man was the noblest work of God," and who was seconded by Colonel Clifford.——Mr. Byng was the first to come forward. In his looks you saw a consciousness of success, and the supercilious sneer, which he cast towards Sir Francis Burdett, plainly

told the spectators, that he anticipated the triumph, which had been prepared for him by that misrepresentation and calumny, in which he had taken as large a share as his political cowardice would permit him to take.——The speeches have been reported, with uncommon accuracy, in the Morning Herald newspaper, whence, with such little alterations as a distinct and attentive hearing authorizes me to make, I shall copy them, observing, however, that I have made no alteration in the passage taken for my motto.

"MR. BYNG.—Gentlemen, Freeholders of the County of Middlesex. Having had the honour of serving you in the three last Parliaments, [*a great deal too long, was called out from all parts*], I come forward with the confidence of an honest servant to *demand* your support, [*Oh oh!* DEMAND, *indeed! he feels that he is backed by the ministry*]. I mean, Gentlemen, I come forward to *request* your support to replace me in the same honourable and distinguished situation. I have served you with zeal and fidelity. I feel conscious that I have not in one single instance deviated from those principles [*what principles? when did you ever give proof of any principles?*] which first recommended me to your favour. Those principles have always taught me that I was sent to Parliament to serve you, the people of England, and not myself. [*No, nor your party neither.*] Those principles have taught me to be an uniform opposer of corruption. Those principles will ever teach me to oppose every abuse, and to support the best of Kings. [*Cant, cant! base misrepresentation!*] Gentlemen, during the whole of my canvass, I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I have had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other candidate, because I felt that I could be responsible only to you for every part of my conduct, and for my own language, but not for the conduct or language of any other candidate. [*Cant! cant! misrepresentation.*] Gentlemen, it has been said that I have played the game of Mr. Mellish. I beg leave explicitly to declare, that I have rendered Mr. Mellish no service. [*Nor any body else, I dare say, exclaimed a Freeholder.*] Gentlemen, if I am to point out the man who has rendered Mr. Mellish the greatest service, it is the Hon. Bart. Sir Francis Burdett. It has been the avowal of his principles, from which I dissent, that has brought forward a decided and marked opposition to his election. Gentlemen, having said thus much, I beg leave again to repeat to you that I stand alone, unconnected with any other candidate. I will either stand or fall by my own principles. [*You'll fall then!*] I wish, Gentlemen, in the present arduous crisis to lend my aid and assistance to the present Government; but I beg leave to state, that I shall not be guided in my parliamentary conduct by any private affection for their persons. Their public conduct alone will determine me, and I shall not be guided by any motive of interest or ambition, but by a motive as powerful, I mean an extreme share of vanity to—[*No professing Whig! No peerage hunting Whig! Where is the parliamentary reform you promised us? Where are all the pledges of the Whig-Club? Off! off! No Byng! No Byng!*] Gentlemen, I beg leave to state, that whenever the question of a Parliamentary Reform is brought forward, consistently with the principles of our Constitution—[*Another burst of indignation drowned the sound of his over strained voice, and he retired under a loud and general cry of, no Byng! no professing Whig! no Turn-coat! His reception, was full as mortifying as Mr. Sheridan's had been at Covent Garden.*]

"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.——Gentlemen, Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, I shall state to you, as shortly as I can upon this occasion, and with the same plainness and sincerity upon every occasion, as I think myself bound to do when called upon by the public, my sentiments with regard to the state of politics and party in this country. Mr Byng has told you that he offers himself to your notice on those principles which first recommended him to it. It would have been well if Mr. Byng had stated to you what those principles were. [*Great applause.*] Where are we to look for them? Who knows what are the principles of Mr. Byng? Do any of you? [*No, no, no.*] Gentlemen, I am neither surprised or displeased at the conduct of Mr. Byng on this day, but quite the contrary. It is not inconsistent with the conduct he has all along professed. You know that Mr. Byng is a SUMMER INSECT, and loves THE SUN.——[*A general burst of applause.*] But I must allow that, if Mr. Byng has not stated his principles on this, any more than on any former occasion, he has stated his pretensions to your support with a degree of modesty which I suppose you will hardly think entitles

" him to it. For he calls for your support " —on what grounds? That you have re- " turned him three times to Parliament, " and that he never voted against you. " What! are members ever returned to " Parliament to vote against their constitu- " ents? Have we arrived at such a pitch " of debasement that for a man not to have " betrayed his constituents, is to be put " forth as a claim to the approbation of the " Freeholders of the County of Middlesex? " It would be easy to shew, that, if Mr. " Byng has not incurred the sin of *commis-* " *sion*, he has at least incurred the sin of " *omission*, which is perhaps not less preju- " dicial to the public than the other. Where " was Mr. Byng when the question was " brought forward relative to the abuses in " the Cold-bath-fields prison? Does that or " not interest the Electors of the County of " Middlesex? Are they not at the expense " of maintaining it? Have not they suffer- " ed, and do they not still suffer, for the in- " famous practices which, to the eternal " disgrace of the county, were and are " permitted to take place within its dreary " walls? (*It was never proved—its a sta'e* " *story.*) Freeholders, a Gentleman among " the crowd says that the old stale story " of the Bastille is going forward; I am " sorry it is; I have endeavoured to pre- " vent it, but Mr. Byng has not. (*Plaudits.*) " Now, Gentlemen, permit me to ask you " whether this great and principal claim " to the confidence of the County of Mid- " dlesex has not been recently put forward " by one of the courtly band to which Mr. " Byng belongs? I ask you whether it has " not been stated by Mr. Sheridan, as the " ground of that support he expects from " the Electors of Westminster, *that he alone* " *stood forward and supported me upon the* " *question of the Cold-bath-fields prison?* " Can these Gentlemen, who attempt to " interrupt me, think to bear me down by " saying that no abuses existed, that they " do not now exist, and that I have " merely sought, by raising a clamour " and exciting the popular feeling, to bring " myself in for the County of Middlesex? " It is, Gentlemen, now plain and appa- " rent, and happy I am to have this oppor- " tunity of proving what I at first asserted. " (*It is untrue, exclaimed a person upon the* " *Hustings.*) The Gentleman behind me de- " nies the truth, even before he has heard it. " I was going to state, that you have had in " my present conduct a convincing proof, " that if my object had been personal—if " I had merely been ambitious of the honour " of becoming the Representative of the " County of Middlesex, I might easily have " been so— nay, that I might have been " brought in without any opposition. (*No,* " *no! you could not, said several!*) It has " been stated as the opinion of Mr. Byng, " that I have performed the greatest possi- " ble service for Mr. Mellish. If I have, I " declare solemnly I have no objection to " it. Gentlemen, let the consequence be " what it may, neither a seat in Parliament " for the County of Middlesex, nor any " thing else in the power of Government " to bestow, shall ever make me desert " those principles which I am thoroughly " convinced must ultimately prove the sole " means of the salvation of the coun- " try. (*Loud plaudits were re-echoed on* " *all sides.*)——Freeholders of the Coun- " ty, I have besides another confirma- " tion of what some of the Gentlemen " around me think proper to deny, I have " the official declaration, for so I must call " the letter of Mr. Whitbread, the brother- " in-law of Lord Howick, one of his Ma- " jesty's principal secretaries of state, a man " whom I think I may now venture to de- " nominate the head of that band of patriots " to which Mr. Byng belongs, I have it " from him, that he had no doubt I should " be brought in for the county. But, Gen- " tlemen, I thought it my duty to disdain " ministerial support; I still think it so, and " I do not repent my determination, for I " look to no other object but to speak the " truth, whenever the public interest calls " upon me, (*incessant plaudits*). Gentle- " men, the letter of Mr. Whitbread, I con- " fess I at first thought a handsome mode of " proceeding towards me, and I wrote to " him to thank him for justifying his con- " duct in declining to support my cause. I " was obliged to him, because I felt that, " if he did not approve of my principles, I " did not want his support, nor would I " have accepted it.—(*Bravo! bravo!*)— " Now, Gentlemen, since I have seen that " letter, which I considered a personal jus- " tification to me, published to the world, " I must look at it in a very different point " of view; I consider it as the official de- " claration of the late patriot, but present " minister, against me, and I regret to say, " I think it altogether unworthy of the " quarter from whence it came. But I trust " I shall, when I have somewhat more " leisure, state at large my opinion of that " extraordinary publication, and of all the " matters it contains. I flatter myself I " shall expose its sophistry, and prove, even " to demonstration, that it is as utterly des- " titute of historical truth as it is of consti-

"tutional principles. *(Loud and unanimous applause.)* Gentlemen, Mr. Whitbread tells us that the administration, of which he is so conspicuous a supporter, have not yet formed their projected schemes of reform, internal and external. Thus it appears they have schemes in agitation. Now, what is the absurd outcry raised against me? That I am a schemer. That I have schemes which I wish to execute. Believe me, Gentlemen, and it is the sacred assurance of an honest, independent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have no schemes; I meditate no innovation; I want nothing but the constitution of England, my beloved country; I want the whole of that constitution, and nothing but that constitution. *(Universal plaudits.)* We have the good fortune to live in a country, which is pre-eminent over the rest of the world. That we have so invaluable an inheritance is to be attributed to our having a constitution traced out originally for ourselves. To preserve it inviolable, we have only to take care not to abandon it on the principles which form its basis. But I maintain, that our boasted constitution is an incongruity if the people have not their fair representation in Parliament. *(Acclamations and shouts of approbation.)* It is asked, what do I complain of in the conduct of the coalesced parties? Would I have no minister? Is the office of a minister a disqualification which precludes his representing an uncorrupt people? Gentlemen, I have said no such thing; but I do object to a minister representing a free and independent city or county. The question is not whether ministers should be in Parliament, but whether the Parliament should be composed entirely of court pensioners and placemen? If these men will accept of places and offices under the crown, let them not shew themselves upon those hustings, from whence the people look to be represented by men as independent as themselves. *(Bursts of applause.)* Let them go to court boroughs; let them not throw every other man out of some share of that representation which still remains uncorrupt. Gentlemen, there is another objection to this coalition administration. They say, they have not yet matured their schemes.—True; but though they have done nothing for the public, they have done something for themselves. They have matured their own pensions, ministerial offices, and sinecure places.—*(Excessive plaudits.)* They have matured all their objects of party; but they say they have not matured any thing for the public. I will tell you one thing they have done—they have assigned a magnificent palace at the end of Catherine-street to the Manager of Drury-lane Theatre; they have given him no small share of the public money, and for what *services* the Devil only knows! *(A mixture of excessive laughter and applause.)* Gentlemen, in the short period of time since this band of patriots have coalesced, they have reduced the country, internally and externally to a more perilous situation even than they found it. Yet they have the barefaced impudence to tell you that they have not matured their schemes.—What do I complain of?—They allow they have performed no services; but they have taken the reward of services *(Hear! Hear! Hear! General acclamations)*—I say that they should not take the reward, unless the service goes hand in hand with it.—*(True, exclaimed many voices.)* These, gentlemen, are my principles. They are applicable to all governments, for the same abuses must be inimical to every government, let their forms be what they may. These, of whom I have been speaking, are the best friends any of our enemies can have; for if they wantonly dissipate the resources of the country, how are those resources to be found when they are wanted for its defence? *(Incessant applause.)* Gentlemen, I observe, that Mr. Whitbread, in his manifesto, has not followed the same principles and motives in his public capacity which actuate his private conduct. I find nothing of the kind in his letter to me. What does he do in his private concerns? He never pays his men till they have performed their labour. He sees the beer they brew before he gives them the reward for brewing it. I believe he rewards them liberally, but never till they have done their duty.—With respect to Mr. Byng and his principles I can say nothing, because it is a secret to me what they are. If I could find them out, and they appeared to me to be likely to be of the least benefit to the public, I should be the first man to withdraw and give Mr. Byng my vote. *(You have not got a vote exclaimed Mr. Byng.)* Mr. Byng does not believe I have got a vote—he is mistaken—he would find I have one. Now, gentlemen, what is it that has called down on my head the coalesced powers of the coalescing parties? What is it but my doing my duty

"to you, and not conniving at what I consider their mal-practices. (*Loud plaudits.*) Gentlemen, I never will connive at them. I care not for a seat in parliament if it is so to be obtained. Gentlemen, when I am before the public I will do my duty, but I will have no connivance with ministers. I will never consent to share in their guilt, or their plunder. [*Long and repeated applause followed this speech, in which applause no small part of Mr. Mellish's friends joined; and they clearly appeared to prefer Sir Francis Burdett to Mr. Byng.*]

"Mr. Mellish.—Gentlemen, freeholders of this county, I crave your silence for a few moments. I shall not make near as long a speech as the hon. baronet. I am convinced you will hear what I have to say, because the hon. baronet's speech is rather a personal attack on my conduct, which I am sure you will think I ought to clear up. In my address to you, I have told you the manner in which I came forward to offer myself as one of your representatives. My opinion remains the same as it was, in direct opposition to the hon. baronet. I have been accused of joining Mr. Byng. Now I assure you I have not joined any body. I have neither joined Sir F. Burdett or Mr. Byng. I have been told by Mr. Byng, that Sir F. Burdett has done me all the good he could. This the hon. baronet does not deny; but I am not to be so lulled as to conceive that the honourable baronet can have that affection for me and my cause as is pretended. I have been, I do not mean personally, but with regard to his political principles, one of the greatest enemies he ever had. [*No, no, no! You are unable to be his enemy! He never heard of you in his life, till within this week!*] I am proud to think differently from him. It is impossible I can conceal that some of Sir Francis Burdett's friends have promised to vote for me. Now, gentlemen, Mr. Byng having told you that I have not joined him, there can be no doubt as to the fact. I declare I have not joined him; I have not joined the honourable baronet. If I am not stating what is true, he is here to contradict me. I make no professions; I do not say that I will support this or that government. [*What! are there* MANY *governments, then? Who did you learn that of?*] I will support the measures, but not the men. I come forward, I hope, as an honest and independent man. If you catch me tripping, should I be the successful candidate, you will have the means of punishment in your power. To be sure, it will be a few years hence. Was I not confident I should do my duty, I would not think of coming forward to disgrace myself and you. I come forward to preserve the best of kings; [*No cant! no shameful cant! no hypocrite! you preserve the king indeed! a bank director preserve the king!*] We all know what he has done —we know his amiable qualities, and it would be unbecoming to attempt to describe them. I come forward to preserve the constitution, in the words of the honourable baronet, the whole constitution—I come forward to preserve the country, because I love it. [*Well you may! you fatten upon it! But why don't you pay your Bank of England notes in cash?*] There is one thing more I wish to mention—I think it was wrong to bring forward the Bastile. It was infamous and disgraceful to bring it forward during the two last elections. Gentlemen, to assume the ability to find words to express my feelings for having been nominated, would be an insult to your understandings. I have lived all my life in the county: [*and what good have you done in it?*] I have lived on my own estate. —I hope the freeholders of the county know my character, and are convinced that I am both honest and independent."

The three candidates were then separately put in nomination by the sheriff. *The shew of hands was decidedly in favour of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. and Mr. Mellish,* and the sheriff accordingly declared the same. A poll was immediately demanded on behalf of Mr. Byng.

Thus was this Whig, like the fallen Whig at Covent Garden, obliged to have recourse to a poll; obliged to appeal from the unbiased voice of the people to the voice of private interest and of the influence of the ministry of the day! Of the effect of Sir Francis Burdett's speech, of the feelings which it inspired, of the admiration with which it was received, it would be impossible to convey an adequate idea, especially to those who have not had an opportunity of hearing him speak. I remember hearing him, from the same hustings, in 1802, and the opinion I then formed, and expressed (to a member of the present ministry), was, "*that man is able to do more harm, or more good, than any other man in this kingdom.*" This opinion further observation has fully confirmed, and has, at the same time, removed from my mind all doubt as to the

views of Sir Francis Burdett, as well as to the tendency of his endeavours, which, I am certain, as far as the nature of the case will admit of certainty, are decidedly favourable to the maintenance of the constitution of England, as by law established. ——I have been charged with *tergiversation* as to this point; but, in order to make this charge good, it must be shewn, that I have *abandoned some principle*, and that, too, not from conviction of its erroneousness, but from some improper motive; and, to shew this, is, I am persuaded, impossible. ——A passage has been quoted, from the Register of 1802, wherein I severely reproached Sir Francis Burdett for having in one of his addresses to the freeholders, made use of the phrase, "*hired Magistrates, Parliaments, and Kings;*" a phrase highly improper, in my opinion, both *then* and *now*; though I shall not maintain, that, in my comments upon it, I was entirely uninfluenced by that strong prejudice, which had been created in my mind, with regard to his motives; to which must be added, that the situation of England and of Europe, with respect to political doctrines, was, at that time, very different from what it is now, when all the terros of democracy are turned into errors of universal despotism.——But, it should not be forgotten, that, in 1802, I had been but about eighteen months in England, after a long war, carried on with great zeal, against republicans in a foreign country, where, let it be observed, every republican was a sworn enemy, not only of the king of England, but of England itself. Upon my return to England, I naturally fell into a literary acquaintance, consisting entirely of men who were the political enemies of Sir Francis Burdett. Several of these had corresponded with me while I was in America; and, it was not until long after my return to England, that I found, to my utter astonishment, that *every one of them*, received, and had long been receiving, in one shape or another, considerable sums of money annually from the government; that is to say, out of the taxes raised upon the people. Amidst such a circle of acquaintance it was not likely, that, with all my independence of mind, and with as strong an inclination, as falls to the lot of any writer, to speak the truth upon every subject; amidst such a circle it was not likely that I should very soon arrive at the truth; and, from the acquaintances alluded to, I imbibed what was, I dare say, their sincere opinion, that Sir Francis Burdett, in his representations with respect to the solitary prison in Cold Bath Fields, was actuated by no other motive than that of regard for the *Mutineers*, who were, or had been, confined there, and that that regard was founded an an approbation of their treasonable designs.——Thus thinking, it is not at all surprizing, that, as far as I was able, I opposed him in his *first* contest for Middlesex. During the *second* contest I made no observations, on one side or the other; and, the reasons were these: FIRST, in no part of his parliamentary conduct had I seen any thing to censure, but in many parts of it much to commend; SECOND, that a most foul misrepresentation of his speech upon the county address, relative to the present war, had excited in my mind a great degree of indignation against his enemies; THIRD, that I had had time to perceive, that the most bitter of his enemies, not excepting my own acquaintances above alluded to, were, to a man, placemen or pensioners, or both at once, and that the far better half of their *loyalty*, was, in fact, a love of the public money; but, a FOURTH reason, and a reason more powerful than all the rest put together, was, that I had, by this time, learnt from the lips of MR. REEVES, that shocking abuses had really existed in the Solitary Prison, and that he himself had, as was stated in the Register of September 1803, been the first to complain thereof, in his capacity of magistrate. The subject of Mr. Reeves's complaint was the treatment of Despard, who was then confined in the prison; and, the description which he gave me of that treatment, though he seemed to think that Sir Francis Burdett's complaints were not founded, convinced me that those complaints were not, without further inquiry, to be treated as groundless.——With these impressions upon my mind it was, that I made, with regard to the second Middlesex election, and after the contest was over, those remarks which will be found in Volume IV. of the Register: and which remarks, had Sir Francis Burdett been a hunter after popularity, would very soon have produced a personal acquaintance between us. But, the fact is, that no communication of any kind, either direct or indirect, ever took place between him and me, until some time, I believe, in the month of March last, when we first met from causes purely accidental; though I must confess, that an unsolicited meeting had long been wished for on my part.——I have before expressed, in general terms, my opinion, and, indeed, my thorough conviction, that, in the whole kingdom, there is not a man more attached to the kingly government and the whole of the constitution of England,

than Sir Francis Burdett. But, I must now beg leave to state, somewhat in detail, the information which, upon the subject of the Solitary Prison, the honorable baronet has had the condescension to furnish me with, and which, had I been furnished with it previous to 1802, would have made me his eulogist at that time.——The English news-papers which reached me in America, and the representations made to me upon my return to England, exhibited Sir Francis Burdett as a person, who, from mere love of the conduct of the *Mutineers*, officiously visited them in their cells. But the fact, though so studiously concealed by *all* the news-papers, was, that Sir Francis Burdett was led to that prison by a letter, received from some of the prisoners. This letter, from the circumstance of the prisoners being deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, was written upon the leaf of a book, if I recollect right, with a splinter of wood, and in the blood of the miserable captives, who, in terms indicative of despair, supplicated him to save them from the pangs of death produced by hunger and thirst; and, need I ask the reader, whether it was the bounden duty of an Englishman, particularly of a member of parliament, to lend his ear to the supplication, and to endeavour to procure redress? No matter *who* or *what* the suffering prisoners were. They were in an English prison, and they were there *without a trial*, too. Not to have attended to their call would have argued a heart destitute of justice as well as of mercy.——Sir Francis Burdett, upon visiting the unhappy creatures, found them, he says, mere frames of men, their minds, apparently, as much impaired as their bodies. This led him on to a general inquiry and examination; and, though, in the heat of description, he may, probably, in some few instances, have surpassed the bounds of the fact, I am sincerely persuaded, that, in every case, the representations made by him were substantially true; and this persuasion must, in the mind of every candid man, be greatly strengthened by the well-known fact, that, upon the subject of these his representations, he never could obtain an open discussion in the House of Commons; all his endeavours in that way being defeated by a motion for the *previous question*, or by some such device. One occurrence of this sort is worthy of particular notice. Sir Francis Burdett, upon making a speech relative to the abuses in the prison, was answered by SIR WILLIAM ELFORD, that he himself had been, that day, to visit the prison, and that, with some little excusable exceptions, the conduct of the jailor had been highly commendable; upon which ground he concluded with making a motion, that the jailor should be called to the bar, to defend his character against the charges of the Honourable Baronet. "I second that "motion," said Sir Francis Burdett; "for, though it is quite a novel proceeding "to call in a man, under similar circumstances, to deny the statements of a member of this house, yet, so long have I "endeavoured in vain to bring this matter "under discussion, in some shape or other; "so clear am I as to the truth of all my "statements, and so confident do I feel, "that this truth will be made manifest to "the House by any mode of examination, "whatever it may be, that I cheerfully "concur in the proposition now made." Some member, from the Treasury Bench, having, by this time, received his cue from the minister, recommended to Sir William Elford to *withdraw* his motion; whereupon he begged leave to withdraw it. But, as this could not be done without the *consent of a seconder*, and as Sir Francis Burdett would not give this consent, the House divided; the NOES went out, leaving Sir Francis alone, Sir William Elford *voting against his own motion!*——No comment is necessary; and I shall only add, upon this part of my subject, that, if the doors of the House had not been closed at the time here referred to, and if the daily news-papers had not then been, as they now are, in possession of the most uncandid and venal of men, neither I, nor any other well-meaning man, would ever have been found amongst the political enemies of Sir Francis Burdett. ——Such, reader, are the causes of my change of opinion with regard to the motives of this gentleman, calumniated more than any other man that ever lived, but yet enjoying popularity unparalleled; the mention of which latter circumstance brings me back to the scene now before us, and reminds me of the necessity of observing, that the daily news-papers, the whole of which have so carefully concealed the fact of Mr. Paull's being, at the close of every day's poll, *drawn home to his house, in triumph by the people*, have, with equal care, concealed the fact, that Sir Francis Burdett was *the only guest that was so conducted to the Lord Mayor's feast, on the 9th instant*. This popularity, which is by no means confined to the rabble, but which extends itself amongst all those who compose that mass which is denominated *the people*; this popularity, which will be increased, rather than diminished, by the effects of ministerial fear

and rancour; this popularity I am anxious to see employed in *preserving*, and not in *destroying*; and, for this reason, amongst many others, it is that I have deprecated, and do still deprecate, all attempts to inculcate the notion, that Sir Francis Burdett is an enemy to the King and the Constitution; a notion, which, to whatever extent it may reach, cannot fail to give a mischievous direction to the minds of the people. Union; the cordial union of all men in defence of their country against the obviously meditated attacks of a most formidable enemy; this union is constantly represented as the only means of preserving our independence as a nation. "Let us be but *united*, "hand and heart, and we may still set "the threatening conqueror at defiance." But, is it likely that this union will be secured by setting up the false and calumnious accusation of disloyalty against a gentleman, who, amongst the really efficient part of the people, possesses more influence, and will, in spite of all that can be said or done, possess more influence, than all the other public men in the kingdom put together? No matter what name place-men and pensioners and peculators may give him; for, that name, be it what it may, the independent part of the people will take to themselves: and, if his calumniators were to succeed in producing a general persuasion, that his views are really hostile to the kingly government, they would, thereby, gradually prepare the minds of the people for revolutionary measures. I may be deceived in my views of this matter; but, such is my sincere opinion, and such are the reasons which have, from the beginning of the present war, induced me to inculcate, to the utmost of my power, the necessity of obtaining from all those accusations, the tendency of which evidently was, not only to cause the enemy to believe that we were a *divided people*, but, in reality, to make us a divided people.——The phrase, in Sir Francis Burdett's first Address, "*the best of kings*," together with the context, conveys no meaning hostile to the present king, or to the kingly government of England. There is nothing in that Address, which any candid and sensible man can, in his heart, disapprove of; and, though we may excuse such men as Mr. Bowles and Mr. Redhead Yorke, and such a man as Mr. Mellish, for setting up an out-cry against it; though these persons may be excused, what excuse can be found for the Sheridans and the Whitbreads and the Peter Moores, who, for the last seventeen years, have been maintaining the right of "*cashiering kings*" at pleasure, and who have, in their orgies, toasted "*their Sovereign*, the *Majesty of the People*;" what excuse can be found for such men as these joining in the criticising calumny, and endeavouring to excite a hatred against a gentleman, whom they well knew to be more, aye much more, loyal than themselves, but whom they mortally hate, only because he will not connive at their selfish conduct, which he, and in my opinion justly, regards as the most fertile source of public danger? They must be sensible that their calumnies will tend to divide the people; to excite, in the breasts of a great portion of those men, who may be termed the nerves of the state, feelings of disgust, of hatred towards the calumniators, and of indifference, at least, with respect to the fate of a government, from the officers of which they may imagine that they have nothing but accusation and calumny to expect; they must be sensible of all this, and they must see, that, in the same degree that they succeed in over-ruling, by their mis-representation and their influence, the unbiassed voice of the people, the hearts of that people will be alienated from the order of things whence that influence flows; but, alas! they seem, in pursuit of present private advantage, to disregard all future public consequences.——Am I told, that the fault "is Sir Francis "Burdett's? That *he* has *made the first* "*attack?*" I answer, that every man has a right to criticise the conduct of every officer receiving the public money. This right, in the moral as well as in the legal sense of the word, has always been admitted, even by the most arbitrary of ministers, allowing, at the same time, that the right of all such officers (and have they not *means enough!*) to defend themselves is equally undoubted. But, they have no right, by way of defence, to reproach their assailants with *disloyalty*. This mode of proceeding was pursued by the Addingtons. All those who disapproved of their measures; all those who expressed disgust at their insatiable love of place and emolument; all those who exposed their grasping, were, for want of arguments wherewith to furnish a defence, accused of *disaffection to the government*, and were, more than once, denominated *Jacobins!* But, this is a fraud, which, though it may succeed for a time with a certain portion of the people, must, in the end, prove, as it did in the case just referred to, ruinous to those who resort to it.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The account of the first day's proceedings

was given, with great fidelity, in the preceding sheet.——The 11th day has now closed, and has exhibited to the city proofs of as hard a contest as ever it witnessed since it has had the privilege of choosing members of parliament.——A detailed account of each day's proceedings will be inserted hereafter. At present we must be content with noticing some of those, which characterize the principles and motives of the parties most deeply concerned.——After the dreadful hissings, groanings, and reproaches of Monday, previous to the opening of the poll; and especially after the shew of hands *within the hustings* had appeared so decidenly against MR. SHERIDAN, there appears to have been much difficulty, amongst his friends, in bringing him to rally. During the whole of last week, and for several days at the beginning of this week, he did not appear on the hustings. Mr. Peter Moore, who was his champion on the first day, and who has long been *soliciting a place*, also kept away. A MR. BRITTON, who, it is said, wants to be a *baronet*, and MR. WHITBREAD, came, for several days, to speak in Mr. Sheridan's behalf, at the close of the poll; but, though their speeches are reported in the news-papers, and though no notice is there taken of the feelings expressed by the people, the fact is, that these auxiliaries have, like their principal, been received with every mark of disapprobation, not to say contempt. Mr. Britton is a person little known to the public; but, against Mr. Whitbread, there has uniformly been a loud and general cry of "*no Turncoat Whig*," with other exclamations expressive of the sentiments, which, amongst a decided majority of the people, that gentleman's recent conduct has excited, and particularly that part of his conduct which relates to Sir Francis Burdett. Upon one occasion, Mr. Whitbread, unable to soften the reproaches poured forth against him, descended so low as to put forth *his merits as exhibited in the prosecution of Lord Melville*; but this completely failed, the people crying out, "*party pique! party pique! no public motive, as your conduct since has clearly proved!*"——After the fourth day's poll, it became clear, that Mr. Sheridan, if left to himself, would be compelled, in a short time to give up the contest, and therefore a *Coalition* was formed between Sir Samuel Hood and him; a joint committee was appointed; and all the wheels of influence, of every description, were instantly set to work. The voters, who had been engaged for Sir Samuel Hood alone, were now ordered to split their votes. Yet, for several days, the existence of the coalition *was denied*, in hand-bills under the name of Sir Samuel Hood, the object of which evidently was, to prevent the independent votes promised to him, from going over to Mr. Paull; and, it is certain, that, if Sir Samuel Hood had declared the coalition in the first day of the poll, three-fourths of his first 2,000 votes would have been given exclusively for Mr. Paull. There now appears, to me at least, to have been an understanding between Sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan from the beginning; but that, the former finding so large a portion of the virtuous and independent part of the people decidedly hostile to Mr. Sheridan, did not think it safe to risk the effect of a coalition, until that honourable source had been exhausted, and until the time came when a reliance was to be placed solely upon influence. Some persons were of opinion, that Sir Samuel Hood was extremely averse from the coalition, and was finally compelled to give into it upon pain of having the whole weight of influence thrown exclusively into the scale of Mr. Sheridan. Which of these opinions is correct will, probably, appear hereafter. But, whatever might be the cause of the coalition, the effect became instantly manifest; for, from the moment it took place, Mr. Sheridan's minority began to rise rapidly towards that majority, which it has now arrived at.——Still doubtful, however, as to the result of the contest, Mr. Sheridan's adherents neglected *no means of any sort*, in order to insure his success; and of some of these means a particular account will hereafter be given.——There has been, every other day, a *public dinner*, at which the adherents of Mr. Sheridan have assembled to concert means and to make speeches. At an early stage of the coalition, Sir Samuel Hood was represented at these dinners by some one or two of his naval friends; but grown hardy by degrees, the knight himself has, at last, not been ashamed to attend in person, and to interchange compliments with his worthy coadjutor, whom, as the sole topic of eulogium, he has, upon every occasion, extolled to the skies for his conduct *during the mutiny in the fleet*; and this eulogium Mr. Sheridan has thankfully received, without appearing to reflect upon the cruel satire which it conveys on the conduct of Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, who, it is thought, never cordially liked Mr. Sheridan after that time.——At one of these dinners Mr. Sheridan made, *if it was truly stated in the Morning Chronicle*, an assertion respecting an offer made by me, in Mr. Paull's

name, to give Mr. Sheridan Mr. Paull's second votes, provided he, Mr. Sheridan, would remain neutral with respect to Mr. Paull; than which an assertion more completely destitute of truth never was made. The speech, as reported in the Morning Chronicle of the 13th instant, was as follows: "Mr. Sheridan informed the meeting that he should to-morrow or Thursday, *publish* an offer by Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett to him, *if he would stand neuter, that he should have all Mr. Paull's second votes.* This he had *rejected with scorn*; but the object evidently was to give them an opportunity of blackening both candidates, and of taking his run against that one which might latterly be farthest behind."——I never was more surprized in my life than when I first saw this paragraph; no such offer having ever been made, or thought of, by me. There was a letter, indeed, from me to Mr. Sheridan, written the moment I came to town, on Sunday the 20th ultimo, and which was the only letter I had ever written to him; but, in this letter, no such proposition was made, nor any thing of the kind implied. The case was this: a common friend of Mr. Sheridan and myself, had, about ten days before, written to me at Botley, telling me, that the parliament was just about to be dissolved; informing me that Mr. Sheridan was to stand for Westminster; and, expressing a hope, that no animadversions of mine would tend to prevent his success. The answer which I instantly gave to this letter was, that I was afraid that he far over-rated the force of my animadversions, but that, if it was in my power to prevent Mr. Sheridan's success, I certainly would prevent it. Nevertheless, when I came to town, not being sure that this answer had been communicated to Mr. Sheridan, and supposing it possible that he might have been informed of the application made to me by our friend, and might, in consequence expect not to see me amongst his opponents, I thought it right to lose not a moment in apprizing him of my intentions; and, with the knowledge of Mr. Paull, I wrote him a letter, of which I kept no copy, but which was to the following effect——"Sir, as it is a rule with me always to be fair and direct, I lose no time in informing you, that I am this moment come to town for the express purpose of rendering Mr. Paull, as a candidate for Westminster, all the aid which it is in my feeble power to render him. But, at the same time, I can take upon me to assure you, that I *know*, that if there shou l be during the contest, any *hostility* between *you* and Mr. Paull, the fault will be that of you, or your friends." This last sentence was written at the suggestion of a third gentleman present, who had expressed a wish, that no foul *personalities* should take place.——With this statement before him, the reader will, I am sure, participate with me in the feelings excited by the speech ascribed to Mr. Sheridan. But, this is not all. Mr. Sheridan is represented as having said, that "he REJECTED *the offer with* SCORN." Luckily, I have a copy of his answer to my letter, which answer was in the following words:—"Monday Evening, 8 o'clock.—— Sir,—On my return to town this evening, I received your Note, which gave me the first intimation of Mr. Paull's intention to stand for Westminster. I admit your motives in making the communication to be *as frank and direct* as you profess them to be, and *I thank you* for your attention in having made it."——Now, if this was what he looked upon as a "*rejection*" of our "*offer*," as he is said to have called it, the reader will, I think, agree, that it was not a very "*scornful*" rejection. But, the truth is, that he looked upon it as no *offer* at all. I was satisfied, that he could not; and, therefore, the moment I saw the report of his speech in the Morning Chronicle before-mentioned, I wrote him the following letter:——"SIR,—Having seen, in the Morning Chronicle of this day, a paragraph, purporting to be the report of a speech made by you at Willis's Rooms, last night, in which paragraph it is stated, that an offer was made by me to you, "*to give you Mr. Paull's second votes, if you would stand neutral*;" and, knowing, as I do, that this statement is grossly and scandalously false, I cannot, of course, believe that you made it, but must regard it as a trick of the candid and independent Mr. Perry. As this statement may, however, be believed by the few readers which the Morning Chronicle has left, I request you to deny the statement through the channel of that print; or, which will have the same effect, to publish my letter, upon which the statement is said to have been founded. I can have no doubt of your complying with this request: but, should you not do it, justice to Mr. Paull and to the cause of the free and independent electors of Westminster, striving against the oppressive influence of coalesced factions, will compel me to treat you as the author of the falsehood.—With a very sincere wish that

"I may not be thus compelled, I remain, sir, "your most humble and obedient servant."——To this letter, I received, at midnight, the following answer from Mr. Sheridan:——"Sir,—The bustle of an election-day, "and occupations fitter for me to attend to, "than to any communication from you "have prevented my noticing the letter you "have favoured me with, till this moment. "I am very much amused by the folly of "it, and very little provoked by its inso-"lence. I shall not, however, be deficient "in gentlemanly respect to the call of any "man, and *you will receive from me* TO-"MORROW, such an answer as I shall "judge proper to give to such a letter."—— "I have the honour to be, Sir, your obe-"dient servant."——The "*morrow*" came; but, it brought no answer from Mr. Sheridan, either written or in print, though it was now *Thursday*, the latest day fixed on, in his speech, for publishing the letter on which the reported statement was said to be founded. When, therefore, he ventured to shew himself upon the Hustings in the evening of that day, and as soon as the hisses and groans, which his presence had drawn forth from the people, were a little subsided, I went up to him, and in the presence of Mr. Berkeley Craven and others, narrated in substance what I have here submitted to the reader, concluding with these words, "Now, "Sir, let me beg of you to give me a direct "answer, whether you did, or did not, "make the assertion which the Morning "Chronicle has ascribed to you."—His answer was, I am really sorry to say it, a miserable subterfuge; procrastinating evasion; nay, a downright shuffle. "I will not," said he, "have an answer *extorted* from me. "I will not be *catechised*. I will not *make "myself responsible* for any thing published "in a news-paper as a speech of mine." In short, all I could get from him was, that "an answer should appear in print *to-morrow*;" that is *to-day*. But the "*morrow*" is again come; and now it is Friday night; and no answer has appeared, though in all the daily prints, a paragraph has been published, intimating, that the answer will appear "to-morrow!" That is, when he knows, that the Register is gone to the press, and when I shall, for another week, be deprived of the means of contradicting any statement that he may think proper to make; because he well knows, that, while the daily prints are all open to him cost free, they are all shut against me, except at an enormous expense; Mr. Perry, of the Morning Chronicle, having charged Mr. Paull no less than *eight guineas* for his last *advertisement!*——Does there, then, require any thing further as an exposure of Mr. Sheridan? Yes: one fact more; and that is this; that he made, on the day of his coalition with Sir Samuel Hood; on that very day he made, through Mr. Rodwell, one of the *principal persons of his Committee*, a proposal to Mr. Paull to give him, Mr. Sheridan, his second votes, as *the certain means of throwing out Sir Samuel Hood!* This fact I, at the time before-mentioned, reminded Mr. Sheridan of, to his face, upon the Hustings; and, the only answer he could give was; "I am not *responsible* for any "thing that Mr. Rodwell has done."—— Much, however, as I dislike Mr. Sheridan as a member for Westminster, my dislike to the Commodore has always been, and still is greater. This latter I regard as a mere ministerial creature. I disliked him on that account from the first; and the seeing of his wounded arm projected out to the people, while his great coat is studiously turned back to expose his star and tawdry ribbons, has by no means tended to lessen that dislike. Constantly, therefore, have I said, and I still say, that of the two, give me the man of talents, who is able, and may, *possibly*, become willing, to render the country some service in parliament. Besides, ill as Mr. Sheridan has behaved of late, and now towards myself, I have seen him receive, in the loud and unanimous reproaches of the people, a punishment far beyond the measure of any revenge that my heart is capable of entertaining.——Here I must stop. The account shall be continued in my next.

MR. WHITBREAD'S LETTER TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

Dear Sir,——I have received a circular letter bearing your signature, and accompanied by an address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, upon the grounds contained in which alone, you ask my support at the present election for that county.—I am sorry to tell you, that, upon those grounds, I feel it impossible to comply with your request.—Having twice had the honour to poll for you at Brentford; having anticipated the pleasure of seeing you re-elected without opposition, or of using my utmost exertions in your favour, and having a great personal respect for you, I cannot conceal the mortification I feel in being compelled to adopt this line of conduct; nor can I refrain from pointing out to you some of those passages of the address, which make it incumbent on me to withhold the support I have hitherto been happy to afford you.——You assume, that two parties in the state have joined, not for the pur-

pose of bettering the condition of the people, but with a base and scandalous intention of pillaging those whom they are called to rule, and are bound to protect. It would have been well if you, who have called for details, had pointed out the particular instances which justify such an assertion to your mind; in order that persons, as independent of the present, and every other administration, as yourself, might have had an opportunity of more correctly judging how far they had been deceived as to the past, and what precautions they ought to take for the future. I have supported the present administration, from a conviction that they were united upon principles of real public utility, and for the purpose of carrying into execution plans of great national improvement, both in our foreign and domestic circumstances; and I cannot abandon them, because, in a situation more difficult than that in which any of their predecessors have ever stood, they have not been able to effect, what, I believe to have been nearest the hearts of them all; I mean a peace with France; seeing such a peace could not have been obtained upon terms consistent with national honour, and because time has not sufficed to mature and execute the schemes of internal improvemen, which they have manifested their determinatio to pursue.—You assume, that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, that it never is in favour of the people; and that the history of the world bears evidence of the truth of your assertion. It appears to me that the doctrine you maintain; that the political animosities of honest men must be irreconcileable; is most fatal to the existence of a popular government; and if carried to the extreme, must tend to the subjugation of the country, or to the abandonment of liberty, in order to obtain security from foreign conquest; and to history I refer you for the fact, that if the heads of discordant parties could not be united in the cause of the people, the revolution of 1688, in which we glory, could not have been brought about.——You assert, that a double imposture is now attempted upon the people; and you ascribe to each of two parties a watch-word, neither of which I have found to be in use. I have no hesitation, however, in saying, that attached as I am by preference to the more popular parts of our constitution, I consider the throne as indispensibly necessary to the perpetuity of our liberties, by preventing any usurpation upon them by individuals, either of the aristocratical or democratical estate: but, however a sovereign ruling these kingdoms may be personally beloved, his name cannot be brought in question, nor his virtues, however eminent, stated, in order to give strength to the minister he may have appointed, without a violation of the dignity of all the constitutional powers, and I am not aware that such has been the practice now. Neither do I know that the other watch-word, as you term it, has been used, for any sinister purpose. If the friends and admirers of the late Mr. Fox have, upon every occasion, both public and private, spoke of his transcendant merits in the most forcible language their imaginations could supply, I will venture to say, they have in no one instance been able adequately to express their sense of his worth, or the poignancy of their grief, for the irretrievable loss which has been sustained. The term, "the best of patriots," is, in my estimation, of right pre-eminently his; and if you would condescend to refer to the particulars of his glorious and active life, you will find that, for near forty years, he was the most assiduous and disinterested servant any country ever possessed; that he withstood every encroachment attempted upon public liberty; that he proposed innumerable measures for the relief and prosperity of the people; that he obtained some, and endeavoured to obtain many more, diminutions of restraint upon civil and religious freedom; that he did his utmost, and was capable of doing far more than any other individual, by his own personal exertions, could ever do, to prevent wars, which he thought neither just nor necessary, and to obtain or preserve peace, when he thought it could be either achieved or continued with security and honour; that, in the pursuit of the great objects he had in view, he was insensible to all that could intimidate, all that could tempt, all that could persuade minds of an ordinary stamp; and that, in the cause of the people, which he had espoused, he was proof against the allurements of ambition, wealth, power, popularity, and friendship itself.——In the paths of his political wisdom and integrity I desire to walk; and if you are not only not alive to his merits as the best of patriots, but propose to yourself means of rescuing your country from the difficulties of its present situation, totally different from those which Mr. Fox would have pursued, had he lived to counsel us in this hour of trial, you must pardon me for saying, that such an avowal decides me against giving you my vote.——I do not perceive, in your present address, any allusion to an opinion promulgated by you on the late election for Westminster, which is, "that a person holding an office under the crown, however otherwise estima-

ble, cannot at any time become the fit representative of a free, uncorrupt, and independent people," if such opinion be founded in truth, which I utterly deny, a law ought to be passed to exclude all the executive servants of government from seats in either House of Parliament. I have not heard that it was in the contemplation of any one to propose such a measure, and if proposed I am sure it would meet with resistance from all descriptions of persons, who have the power or the will to reason upon its consequences. The people, by the acceptance of your doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the worst of mankind; for if they absurdly brand every man with disgrace the moment he becomes the official servant of his Majesty, they will render that service disreputable, and of course disgusting to every honest and independent mind.—Then, only, can a public man be said to have forfeited his honour or independence, when he shall have accepted or retained a place at the expense of public principle, or for a dereliction of public duty.—These radical differences render it impossible for me to assist you in becoming a member of parliament. Respective opinions may be maintained consistently with mutual and intire personal respect; such I unfeignedly profess towards you.—The determination you have taken to avoid the expense of conveyance and decorations, so conspicuous at your former elections, does you honour, and I wish such an example could be followed by all other candidates.—The freedom of your letter and address, precludes the necessity of any apology for the openness and detail of my observations; I have therefore only to add, that

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Southill, Nov. 5, 1806.

Your printed letter and address reached me only to-day.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

SIR,——In considering the capacity of ministers to influence voters at elections, which I did in a letter that I some time since addressed to you on the subject of the Westminster Election, I took occasion to observe that money and interest were of less effect than was generally imagined, though it was certainly the interest of the ministry to inculcate the belief that they were irresistible; but, that in truth, the great and powerful instrument used for the corruption of the elective franchise, was the misleading the minds of the electors, either by misrepresenting the characters of the anti-ministerial candidates, or their professed principles; and, I perceive that this very artifice has been attempted to be practised on the minds of the Middlesex Electors, in order to prevent the return of Sir Francis Burdett; for which purpose Mr. Whitbread has given to the public a letter through the medium of the Morning Chronicle, the merits of which I shall presently investigate, as I think it essential to the independence of the county, that they should be freely discussed. Ministers have evidently found that notwithstanding all the interest they can exert, however fluently they may circulate the Treasury purse; they in vain oppose Sir Francis Burdett, if the freeholders themselves consider him as intitled to their support: the manœuvre, therefore, that I have already noticed, and the only one of probable success has been exerted in this instance, under the management of the skilful and virtuous hand of that unremitting opponent of Melville delinquency, Mr. Whitbread: and from general rumour it should seem, that this dose of political empyricism has already operated, and would probably produce its desired effect, unless corrected in its progress by some timely-administered antidote. It appears that Sir Francis Burdett has in his address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, started some sentiments that the ravening jaws of greedy place-hunters have eagerly seized, and which having been sufficiently mangled, are given back to the public, carefully and kindly accompanied, with those remarks which Mr. Whitbread, beyond doubt, in an agony of mind, was conscientiously though reluctantly compelled to make, as a justification for his desertion from that support, which he afforded his once admired friend Sir Francis, when unbiassed by any ministerial considerations. I cannot here avoid remarking as important, to shew beyond all doubt the object with which Mr. Whitbread wrote this letter, that if it had been merely intended to state the grounds of Mr. Whitbread's receding from the support of Sir Francis, why publish it at this moment in a public newspaper? *It would surely have been time enough to have made his defence, when he had been attacked in the newspapers for apostacy*; but this satisfactorily shews that the letter was not published as a vindication of the intended conduct of Mr. Whitbread, but for the *sole purpose of infusing into the minds of the electors a rooted prejudice against the Baronet, which the small space of time that would elapse between the publication of the letter and the election, must render it almost impossible ef-*

fectually to remove. But this is a specimen of Whig candour, exerted against a man from no other cause, than that he has too much principle to surrender up his independence, for any emolument or favour that ministers can bestow upon him. But, let us see how correct Mr. Whitbread has been in his animadversions upon the sentiments avowed by Sir Francis. Mr. Whitbread says, Sir Francis has assumed, that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, it is never in favour of the people, and that the history of the world bears evidence of the truth of the assertion. Now, Mr. Whitbread attempts, what it is natural to suppose he would, to shew the fallacy of this position; and, after alluding to the revolution in 1688, observes; that if opposite parties had not united, the revolution would never have been effected; but is that particular incident, let me ask, an answer to the general proposition of Sir Francis? Certainly not! And Mr. Whitbread must have known, and if his candour had been co-extensive with his prejudice, would have admitted, that the particular exception, which he was obliged *to travel through the historic page for* 200 *years to discover*, so far from militating against, served to strengthen the maxim as laid down by Sir Francis.—— No one can suppose that Sir Francis meant to say, that an honest man and a rogue may not unite in the laudable endeavour to extinguish the flames that were consuming a neighbour's house; but when that was effected, it would be rather singular, and raise shrewd suspicions in men's minds, if they were seen afterwards walking arm-in-arm together, and embracing one another whenever they met as cordial friends; and upon reference to the period of the revolution, Mr. Whitbread will find, that that great object being effected, men shortly after relapsed again into their former habits of thinking, and that Whigs and Tories became as formidable opponents as ever. Mr. Whitbread might in his researches, have found some notable instances in the Roman History, particularly at the death of Cæsar, very much in favour of Sir Francis's idea; and, but that it would be extremely painful to the lively sensibility of Mr. Whitbread, I would ask, what he truly thought of that memorable coalition between the "best of patriots" and Lord North; but the tears of friendship may prevent his utterance; and, I shall therefore wave that question, and beg leave to put another. Suppose any right hon. gent. being one of the ministry, should think that with respect to one of our public persons, there had been much mismanagement used, and some wanton cruelty, which called for redress, and a suitable punishment to be inflicted on the offenders; and that another great man at the head of the ministry thought quite the contrary; now, unless the redress of abuses, and the punishment of crimes are admitted to be exiled from the consideration of ministers, would not any plain honest thinking man believe, that it could not in the nature of things be possible for two such men to become the cordial co-operators in the same government; and yet I would ask Mr. Whitbread, whether this seeming paradox does not really exist; and if it does, then Freeholders of Middlesex, what think you of such a coalition? It seems that even in the most virtuous of states, there is such a thing as surrendering up character, honour, and even feelings indignant at past injuries; in truth, the whole man, internal and external, for a certain equivalent; and as we seem in modern times to be more acquainted with this state secret than our ancestors were, a few years hence some ingenious man will be enabled to publish a calculation for the benefit of the nation, in which every man's honour and conscience will be reduced to an exact standard, and where by knowing the height, complexion, and age, ministers will be able to calculate the equivalent to the greatest nicety; and which, as it will produce a considerable saving to the country, I trust the author will receive an adequate reward for so useful a calculation. But there is another tenet promulgated by Sir Francis, that has quite astounded the virtuous disinterested Whigs, and appears to them such an anomaly in the mind of any thinking being, that they read it with all the astonishment and disgust, that a pope in the early days of Harry the 8th, would have read a heresy. Sir Francis has said that a person holding an office under the crown, is unfit to be the representative of a free, uncorrupt, and independent people. Was there ever any doctrine so shockingly heterodox, and so alarming to the delicate nerves of the Whigs in place; irritability has been in some measure peculiar to the Whigs. Honest men are frequently warm, and such doctrine as this must have produced something like a fever in their constitution; that is, *had it been true*; but hear how Mr. Whitbread in the exuberance of his wit and judgment shows it must be false. Mr. Whitbread most sagaciously observes, that the public by the acceptance of this doctrine would reduce them at once to the *hard necessity of being governed by the*

worst of mankind. But what argument does the gentleman bring to prove this profound conclusion?

Quibus, indiciis, quo te-te, probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

Not one! and strange would it have been if he had attempted it. What, has the world so squeamishly grown, or is there such a paucity of men of talents, that not one skilful man could be found, not one splendid genius who would lend his kind assistance in greasing the wheels of government, though he should be offered a snug seven thousand per annum from the public purse? but, why do I say £7000; that is given as a tribute for passive obedience; for the purchase of the observance of an old worn-out Tory principle. But what if such a genius were told that himself and his relations should enjoy an additional thirty to the seven; would not £37,000 per annum think you, ye independent Whigs, be an *irresistible lure*? Does the Right Honourable the Treasurer of the Navy apprehend there would be any murmurings? But I will not trouble that Right Honourable Gentleman upon the subject: as he, "the flaming patriot (to use the "words of Junius) who so lately scorched "us in the Meridian, sinks temperately to "the West, and is hardly felt as he de-"scends." I will not disturb him in his slumbers. But is it possible that the able, the enlightened Mr. Whitbread, can have drawn such an absurd conclusion, in order to shew the fallacy of Sir Francis's assertion. If this be state logic, Mr. Cobbett, it should seem that what an experienced author has observed is certainly true, "*that a small in-*"*fusion of the alderman is necessary to*"*those who are employed in public affairs.*" —I am afraid, Sir, I have already occupied too much of your valuable paper in exploding the insidious attempt made to defeat the return of a man whose only crime is integrity and manly independence, and who is disliked for having an insuperable objection to smooth-tongued, April-faced, placemen and pensioners. I have, however, here noticed the only grounds upon which Mr. Whitbread relies, and by which he undertakes so decidedly to shew, that he himself, *(though entertaining the greatest personal respect for Sir Francis)* and consequently, that all other freeholders as prudent, but equally as disinterested ought not to support the worthy Baronet at the ensuing election; for, with respect to the "watch-word of parties," Mr. Whitbread does not lay any stress upon it, well knowing that the interpretation so anxiously circulated to the prejudice of the Baronet, is as untrue as illiberal, and quite impossible to be supported upon any thing like an argument.——It should seem, however, that Providence in mercy to us sublunary beings, has decreed that malice shall defeat itself, and that the mind shall be enfeebled on the instant it becomes unjust; for how otherwise can it be accounted for, that there should be such a failure of any thing like argumentative talent in Mr. Whitbread's letters; a composition in that respect so flimsy, that no political piece of workmanship probably ever came manufactured from the ministerial anvil, with such palpable defects. I however feel, Mr. Cobbett, that any further comment on it must be unnecessary, that it will be found to be a bane that carries with it its own antidote, and that the freeholders whom it was intended to infect, with a just contempt for such a shabby political artifice, will become more strenuous in the support of the most avowedly, and I dare say, most truly independant man in the county of Middlesex.—W. F. S. *Lincoln's Inn, Nov.* 10, 1806.

ROCHESTER ELECTION.

This election, at which SIR SIDNEY SMITH was one of the candidates, has terminated in his exclusion from parliament; a thing proper enough upon the grounds of reason, but not very easily reconciled with the exertions that the ministry have made to bring in SIR SAMUEL HOOD for the city of Westminster.——Mr. O'Bryen, who, in the most disinterested and sprited manner, has stood by SIR SIDNEY upon this occasion, has published the following remarks, which I insert as well worthy of public attention, and as the best account that will, in all probability, be obtained of the matter.—— The conduct of the proprietor of the Morning Chronicle is well calculated to excite general indignation; but, it is such as might naturally have been expected from a patriotic printer turned place-hunter.—— "One of the proprietors of the Morning "Chronicle, to prevent the possibility of a "man of genius and virtue (Mr. S.) from "being confounded with one who has "scarcely a sprig of the former, and never "had a spark of the latter, it is deemed "right to state, that the person here alluded "to is Mr. James Perry; this gentleman "has in his paper of yesterday, denominated "Mr. Denis O'Bryen as Sir Sidney Smith's "'Agent.' It is not with a view to dis-"parage in the slightest degree, the office "of an election 'Agent,' (a function quite "honourable, when honourably executed)

" but for the sake of truth, that it is stated, " that Mr. Denis O'Bryen was not the " Agent of Sir Sidney Smith, nor of any " mortal, at any period of his life. Elec- " tions have impaired the health, and will, " possibly, have the effect of shortening the " days of Mr. Denis O'Bryen; but he never " stood, in any election, in any other " capacity than that of friend; and no " encomium can gratify him more than the " full persuation of Mr. James Perry, that " same Mr. James Perry, speaking to the " very best of his honest judgment, that it " is totally impossible, a sentiment of mere " friendship should, and should alone, in- " spire Mr. Denis O'Bryen to his exertions " during the last three weeks for Sir Sidney " Smith. Such a feeling is utterly incom- " prehensible to the generous mind of Mr. " James Perry; who is unable to separate " friendly exertion from notions of barter. " To him, political co-operation, quite " naturally, suggests nothing so much as " ideas of lucre. He, who has been clear- " ing thousands yearly by political co-opera- " tion, whilst most of his compatriots (who " were not born to great possessions) were " steeped in poverty to the very lips, knows " so little of moderation under his fortune, " that, like a pad, up to his belly in grass, " he must prance about, and perfume the " atmosphere with the result of his fodder. " For many years past, Mr. Denis O'Bryen " has deemed it necessary to abstain from " all contact and conversation with Mr. " Perry. It is the fixed belief of Mr. Denis " O'Bryen, that the policy is false which " would temporize with such a man as Mr. " Perry; a man, upon whom kindness, good " will, and good-nature, are absolutely " thrown away. Distance from him, and " defiance of him, are the only course to " safety; yet even this course, for Mr. " O'Bryen at least, fails of its proper effect; " for his danger, from the constant con- " suming jealousy and envy of Mr. Perry, " is nearly alike, with or without his inter- " course.—The malignity of Mr. Perry to " Mr. Denis O'Bryen, is absolutely im- " placable. The latter has traced it in " many different shapes since the beginning " of the Rochester election, that it appears " Mr. Perry's appetite only grows by what " it feeds on, and that he glows blush " with rancour and malice against Mr. O'B., " as if the taste had been new to him. Mr. " Perry's paper had priority of the account " of the Rochester election tendered to it on " Sunday last. Though printed at his office, " and every line of that account avowed by " Mr. O'B. as is every word of this article, " Mr. Perry could insert it only as an ad- " vertisement, because Mr. Calcraft and " his party were his friends! They are " indeed his friends—friends worthy of such " a friendship. Such friends are formed " for each other: and be it a part of Sir S. " Smith's glories, to stand for ever in the " disfavour of such men.——To have done " with Mr. Perry, a word shall now be said " of his friend Mr. Calcraft.——What Mr. " Denis O'Bryen stated, over and over, " and over, on the hustings at Rochester, " he here reiterates, namely, and in the " most direct sense of every word in which he " endeavours to convey his meaning, that " Mr. Calcraft has been the early, the late, " the systematic laborious, unceasing enemy, " and ouster of Sir Sidney Smith, at " Rochester.—What England will think of " Mr. Calcraft for so being, is not doubt- " ful What the government, whose in- " terest he has so carefully cultivated, in " his manœuvres at Rochester, may think " of him, Mr. O'Bryen pretends not to " judge; but the judgment which all other " men of honour must form of Mr. Cal- " craft, is as certain as the connection of " effect to cause. What Mr. O'Bryen has " said of Mr. Calcraft, on Saturday last, at " the Town-hall of Rochester, refers to " not the one-twentieth part of Mr. Cal- " craft's palpable hostilities to Sir Sidney " Smith; and the document which con- " cludes this article is only an *index ad* " *volus*, as manifested at Rochester, of that " hon. gentleman's good faith towards the " government, that has invested him with " a post of trust and profit; as well as his " sympathy to the general, nay, (with the " exception of a faction at Rochester, in- " stigated by the meanest of motives) to " the universal feeling of the British nation " towards Sir Sidney Smith. Mr. Calcraft " has a place in the Ordnance Office. The " reader is left to judge for himself, whe- " ther any magnifier could reflect that hon. " gentleman's disposition towards Sir Sid- " ney Smith more plainly than the list of " votes which follows. In this list the " public will perceive, that not even a sin- " gle person votes for Sir Sidney Smith!"

D. O'B."

" Nov. 11, 1806.

Ordnance Department.

FIRST DAY'S POLL

	Smith	Calcraft	Barnett
Samuel Baker, contractor for buildings	0	1	1
Thomas Whitfin, the elder, overseer	0	1	0
F. Patten, contractor for mason's work	0	1	1
J. Atwood, wheelright royal Arsenal, Woolwich	0	1	0
Henry Webb, wheelwright, Chatham	0	1	1
J. Batten, contractor for furniture	0	1	1
George Roots, carpenter	0	1	1
Jesse Nower, the elder, Deputy Barrack-Master	0	1	1
James Burgis, extra clerk	0	1	0
Andrew Robbins, carpenter	0	1	1
Henry Chas. Webb, wheelwright	0	1	1
Samuel Nicholson, clerk of survey	0	1	1
W. Nicholson, contractor for buildings	0	1	1

SECOND DAY'S POLL.

T. Brisley, contractor for masons' work	0	1	1
William Lamb, carpenter	0	0	1
E. Stone, contractor for plumbers' work	0	1	1

MR. HUNT'S ADDRESS TO THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

Gentlemen;—I flatter myself that a few lines, addressed to you by a brother freeholder, (one who has ever lived among you, and has ever been most sincerely devoted to the liberty and the independence of the county) will not, at this critical period, be deemed obtrusive, nor wholly unworthy your serious consideration.—Considering, with many of the best-disposed characters in the kingdom, that the fate of this country, will be in a great measure, decided by the approaching election, I think it highly important, that every freeholder should be exhorted to think and act for himself on this occasion. Let every man remember, that by bartering his liberty at this awful period, he may speedily endanger the very existence of his country.—If you duly reflect on the present situation of the Prussians, and every other power on the continent that are opposed to our powerful enemy, I think you will agree with me, that this moment is the most awful in the history of Europe.—Old England, our country, is not yet subdued—let us hope that it never will; but it is by every thinking man confessed to be in a very perilous situation—in such a situation that it cannot possibly much longer support its independence, without the extraordinary sacrifices and exertions of the people. Therefore it behoves you, my brother freeholders of this county, at this moment, in particular, and let me conjure you, as the greatest boon you can bestow on your country at this time, "diligently and impartially to inquire whether all the evils we endure, and all the "dangers that threaten us, are not to be "ascribed to the folly and the baseness of "those who have so shamefully abused "their privilege of choosing members of "parliament."—The dangers I allude to will (I fear) be increased by every post we receive from the continent; the evils are, a system of taxation; which must be felt by us all (to say the least of it) to have trebled the paupers of this county within the last twenty years.—No country is willing to attribute its ruin to its own baseness; but if you tamely submit to have a man thrust down your throats to be your representative for this county, by the Beckhampton or the Deptford Club, or any other party of men whatever, without your considering whether he be a proper independent character, and capable of executing such an important trust, at this eventful period; if you basely and tamely submit to this worst of degradation—whether it be from indolence, or whether it be from the worst of all human dependence, the fear of offending Mr. Long or Mr. Short—you will be a disgrace to your country, and be curst by your posterity for your pusillanimous surrender of those liberties and just rights, that were so gloriously secured to you by your forefathers.—I beseech you, let no man deceive himself; if he act in this manner, I am persuaded that he may live to be convinced that he has, by losing this opportunity, been in a great degree instrumental to his country's ruin.—Is there a man amongst you so insensible as not to feel the weight of the present taxes, and yet so hardened as to go to the hustings and give his vote to a mere cypher: to a man from whom he has not the least reason to expect any thing but a tame acquiescence in the measures of any one who happens to be the minister of the day?—The man who is now looked out to be our new representative, his very best friends do not speak of any qualification that he possesses, to make him worthy of that honourable situation: they only tell us of his uncle's long purse! Therefore, in good truth, we may as well be represented

by his uncle's old three-corner'd hat. And as for the other member, even in his youthful days, he was no better in the House of Commons than an old woman.—Is there no honourable and independent man to be found in the county of Wilts, capable of sustaining such a charge? I myself have no doubt but there are many; but it is that cursed long purse, and an idea that the freeholders of this county will never exert themselves for their independence, that deters many from stepping forward, that would do honour to the trust reposed in them. There are a number of freeholders in this county, that are independent, if they would for one moment think themselves so. Then let us say we will have a man of our own choosing, as free of expense to himself, as we would wish him to be honest and true to the confidence reposed in him. But if you let this present opportunity slip, I for one will never despair: I shall look on with feelings of contempt and indignation; I shall wait patiently for the day when we shall be enabled to exert ourselves effectually for the preservation of those just rights and liberties that are the bulwarks of our glorious and blessed constitution.—I am, Gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient humble servant, HENRY HUNT.

Chisenbury House, Oct. 30, 1806.—

P. S. My motive for addressing you by the means of a handbill is, that the printer of the Salisbury Journal is too intimately connected with the gagging party, and too inflexible in suppressing every idea of independence, to admit of its reaching you through the medium of that paper.

MR. CARTWRIGHT'S SECOND ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

[For the First Address see p. 718.]

Monday, 10*th Nov.* 1806.

Gentlemen,——Before my departure from the town I beg leave to assure you, that the final event of the Poll on Monday last was very far from exciting in me any regret for having appeared among you as a candidate for the office of one of your representatives. On the contrary, it confirmed, and in a way extremely gratifying to me, the persuasion which I had on the preceding evening expressed,—that "if as much pains were taken to inculcate *public principle* as *town party*, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston."—Considering that, prior to the election, the intended dissolution of parliament had been to all the *town parties* 10 days known; that the borough had, by all the power and influence it contains, been for 11 days canvassed; that the tender of my services had been only a few hours announced; and that, at the close of the election, the *public principle* on which I stood had obtained me 59 unsolicited votes, besides tenders from 26 free men who had neglected some forms of qualification. Considering, I say, all these circumstances, there has been nothing in the event to give me a moment's personal disquiet; for there was nothing I sought but an office perhaps above my strength, and that could not fail, had it been obtained, to have laid on me a heavy burthen of laborious duties.—The 59 and 26, in voting for me without any hope of reward, have done equal credit to themselves and to me. For the honour of their confidence they have my thanks; and to all parties I am grateful for the civility I received.—It is in real sincerity I particularly thank a gentleman who told me, that "the electors of Boston "*love their king and country.*" Of this information I was heartily glad. I only wish there had been added to the assertion, evidence of the fact. It may be true; and I trust it is. But the assertion was needless, unless it bore reference to some conduct that was to be its demonstration.—On my part, Gentlemen, with a frankness not very usual with candidates, I had mentioned to you in my first printed Address, a *fact* which is not in harmony with my informant's assertion. Ere such an unqualified assertion had been made, that *fact* ought surely to have been first disproved; but no one has either ventured to deny, or affected to doubt it. Now, according to the political code from which I have been accustomed to derive my instruction, I learn, that he who sells his vote, *sells his king and country.*—Of the intention, and the desire of the Electors of Boston to *love their king and country*, I certainly have no distrust; but what we intend and desire, we do not always accomplish; and I trust they will take in good part a little reasoning, to shew how they may infallibly succeed. Political *love* is like religious *faith*. This must be evidenced by *works*, or it is NOT faith; that must be evidenced by a performance of *duty* or it is NOT love.—Our individual VOTES as *electors*, are the stuff of which our collective LIBERTY as *a nation* is made. National liberty is the direct object, and the true support of the constitution. To barter away our votes without any regard to duty, is to despise and to betray the constitution. If we despise and betray the constitution, how can we *love our king and country?* Our elections once taken away by the strong hand of power, or defeated by the dirty hand of corruption, we shall have exchanged honour

for infamy, freedom for arbitrary government. Is there a man among you, Electors of Boston! who consents to this change? Is there a man among you so poor and so abject, as to barter away an Englishman's birthright for a mess of pottage, and in the same act to *sell his king and country?*—In the irresistible eloquence of scripture, we are taught, that he who even looks upon a woman to lust after her, commits adultery. The moral is equally applicable in politics. The trafficking in votes for gain, or private interest, or to oblige a friend, or in any other way that is inconsistent with *public duty*, must not even be contemplated. It is political adultery.—In an adjoining parish to this there is a sea bank, or rampart for *common defence and preservation.* Each separate portion of this rampart is upheld by the individual upon whose estate it abuts, who therefore calls that proportion *his.* Does any such person reason thus—"My bank being my own, I may let it fall to decay; or I may cut a breach and sell the soil I take out, leaving a passage for the sea?"—The constitutional rampart for the *common defence and preservation* of our national liberties is composed but of two principal materials, the SWORDS and the VOTES of FREE MEN. Which of you would sell his sword to the Emperor of France, for subjecting England to a foreign despotism? If, at the thought of such treason, your minds revolt, let them equally revolt at treason in another shape, for enslaving your country to a domestic despotism. If electors sell themselves to men who, for what they can spunge out of the public taxes for themselves and relations, are equally subservient to every minister, those electors do all in their power to enslave the whole nation.—Whether, according to the accurate distinction of the great and excellent Sir William Jones, a man be an elective, or a representative legislator; that is, whether, in the business of making laws, on which depends the security of the throne, and the salvation of the state, he be one of the electors, or one of the elected; or, in other words, one of the *principals* or one of the *deputies*, to give his vote freely, independently, and according to his conscience, for the good of the *state*, and that only, is so evident a duty, so clear a moral obligation, it cannot stand in need of more argument than is contained in a mere statement of the case.—Most happy for us, my friends and countrymen, would it be, did all those who talk of *loving their king and country* know what the law of England means by the word king! Or did they understand what the constitution intends by the kingly office! Still more happy would it be, could they comprehend, or did they feel, what, in the language of enlightened patriotism, is designated by the sacred word COUNTRY!—It is high time the good People of England cease to be duped by the cant of misapplied words. Too long has this sort of cant aided state factions in plunging us into wars, the dreadful consequences of which, although foretold, were disregarded. Too long has this sort of jargon (for the best of words, when misapplied, are jargon) put by artful managers into the mouths of their puppets, and echoed by well-meaning but mistaken men, been one of the instruments of our oppression.—A full tenth part of our population we see pauperized. The number of productive hands is diminished, but tax-gatherers swarm; and while the industrious labourers and artizans in extreme poverty are struggling for bread. Acts of parliament are passed for adding, out of the public taxes, to the wealth of the wealthy; as well as, for a second time over, paying above one hundred thousand pounds for an estate, for which the nobleman who sold it was paid the purchase money, according to bargain, forty years ago. While war devours our substance in a degree almost beyond all example, we see its agents blazing in the ostentation of riches, and all the departments for its management engaged in a general conspiracy of plunder, till commissioners upon commissioners are added to the authorized expense, to stem, if possible, this tide of pillage. But it never can be stemmed without an independent House of Commons; and the sight most alarming, and what concerned electors most to notice was this, when the whole House of Commons (as proved by their successive proceedings) *believed* a cabinet statesman deserving of impeachment, an entire half of them voted to protect him from even a censure. As the cant and jargon of which I complain enabled former ministers, aided by *parliaments that did not represent the people*, to with-hold from us the essentials of our freedom, may the present ministers and the new parliament follow a different course!—If the SELLERS of VOTES are seriously to blame, the BUYERS must be much more criminal; especially as they have better means of knowing their duty. Is it that good may come, they do this great evil? Do they intend us the incalculable good of restoring to purity the corrupted, and repairing the decayed branches, civil and military, of the constitution; so that, in the day of trial, England may stand that shock which no other European nation, *for want of that freedom which alone makes a nation worth defending*, has yet stood? Should such, indeed, be their motive, they

need not despair of their country's forgiveness. Merit such as this ought to obliterate from her records at least all the original characters of this corruption! It is to her general supineness we owe our present unhappy situation. But if BUYERS of another stamp, if all their schemes centre in self and sordid lucre, neither their country's forgiveness, nor their own approbation shall await them. The same traffic that raises a venal VOTE-BUYER on a poll, sinks him in moral estimation. The turpitude that purchases the outward shew of prosperity, punishes by the inward torments of shame and remorse. —In becoming a candidate on the late occasion, the writer knew that, like Lord Castlereagh, he had two strings to his bow. Had you entered into his feelings on those political objects for which alone he would enter the House of Commons, you might perhaps have thought, that a man who had been 30 years contending for the one, and 24 years labouring for the other, might not have been altogether an unqualified deputy or attorney—*I like the good old words of the law and the constitution*—for representatively exercising on your behalf, your portion of the legislation of your country, principally with a view of obtaining those objects. But should this string fail, he was sure of his other. He must, at all events, have a good opportunity of making a few political observations. In this respect at least he has succeeded; and believing he is doing political good in present, and laying foundations for greater good in future, he is well content. The effects which his efforts have already produced, he accounts no small gain. At an election in another place, it has lately been well observed, that there is more danger to our liberties, from *one hundred mercenaries* in the House of Commons, than from *five hundred thousand* led by Buonaparté. But, in this observation, the extent of the danger is not adequately expressed. It is imputed to Buonaparté, that, in subjugating nations, he does as much by policy and *corruption* as by the sword. He was thought to have corrupted the Austrian general Mack, and it is now said, he has in regular pay a Prussian statesman. Is England then the only country that is secure from such machinations? —England where no man can tell you of a Borough that is not venal and where you must have uncommon knowledge indeed, in the Red Book, if you can put your finger on the names of fifty members of parliament who are not dependent!—It being a melancholy fact, that the votes in those which are called our open boroughs, are merchantable commodities at the service of any BUYER—even though a stranger whose face was never before seen—it follows as a necessary consequence, that seats in the legislature of our country are obtainable in great numbers, by traitors who may be in the pay of the enemy; while to men of rigid morality, or of small estates, be their knowledge ever so extensive, or their virtue ever so exalted, these boroughs are forbidden fruit.—Above 20 years ago, and in my hearing, it was proclaimed in parliament by Mr. Pitt, that the Nabob of Arcot, had his 7 or 8 members in the House of Commons of England. At a subsequent period the same minister might have known, that as great a number of mercenaries were placed in that House, to be guardians of the infernal slave trade, by the gold of Jamaica. If such things could be done by the gold of Jamaica, and by the gold of Arcot, why not by the gold of France? If two distant nations could thus introduce their factions into the very bowels of our national great council, what is to hinder its being done by one within sight of our shores? Here, then, to our shame, are two facts to prove our danger from this source. Twice warned, and remembering who sits on the French throne, let us beware of the third attempt! But you, who boast of loving your King and Country, what say you to all this? Is parliamentary reform quite so wicked a device, or quite so foolish a project, as the dealers in cant phrases and profligate jargon have been used to report and to gabble for your edification? Speak out! Dont generalize; but come to particulars; that we may know your meaning.—Now, seriously taking a correct view of our subject, must not reason necessarily conclude, that, any man who could be so mentally blind, as not to see the strong necessity of reformation in our elective and representative system, for preserving us from either a domestic or a foreign despotism, must be utterly unfit for a legislator of the land. And witnessing the rest of Europe's fate, and seeing England's present danger, will not reason equally pronounce, that he who should be so hostile to our liberties, as to resist such a reformation for preserving the Constitution, must be in the highest degree criminal, and *the worst of enemies to his King and Country?*—One of the Representatives whom you have now chosen I believe, Gentlemen, to be a parliamentary reformer. Experience may possibly have converted the other.—Should curiosity not be yet satisfied, as to the writer's motives for becoming a Candidate at the time he did, let him add, that shocked at the conduct of those who strive to aggravate the ignorance of the ignorant, it was

ever been his desire and his effort to add to their knowledge;—that with the deepest contempt for the selfish and base, who strive to render the Electors as bad as themselves, it has ever been his wish they should hold fast their integrity, and each like a good soldier who fights as if victory depended on his single arm, behave in the political battle, as if his country's fate depended on his individual vote;—and that, disgusted with the factious arts, the fawnings, the cringings, the low intrigue, and groveling meanness, by which the unprincipled seek to delude, to debauch, and to degrade Free Men into venal slaves; it has ever been his ambition to counteract the mischief; to shew that it is not birth or apprenticeship, paper or parchment, but free minds, that make free men; to excite a disdain of servitude, and an abhorrence of every attempt to convert electors into beasts of burthen; and to guard them against being cajoled into instruments of the ambition or the avarice of candidates; whether they would use them as a ladder, for climbing the lofty tree of nobility, or as a picklock, for robbing the treasury.—I was the more induced on the present occasion practically, as a contending party, to resist, and to expostulate upon, the custom I condemn, because from the present aspect of things, my mind entertains a powerful persuasion that the time is not distant—perhaps not so distant as your next election, when it will be finally decided whether England shall irrecoverably sink in domestic slavery, or shall be revolutionized in consequence of invasion, or shall be renovated by reform, and shall then place on a basis, more firm than any former foundation, her liberty and her happiness. This, in my judgement, will without difficulty be done whenever the people awed into reflection, shall properly renew their Petitions, and the King shall have the good fortune to meet with honest advice: of which we ought not to despair, because some of his present ministers, and his law officers, have long since put upon record their sentiments in favour of such a reformation. To my country, as well as myself, time is precious. Little perhaps remains to me; and, although so long as a spark of life shall animate my heart I trust it will be devoted to my country's liberty, I can hope to do but little more in its cause than I have already done.—I bid you farewell! and remain, Gentlemen, Your obedient servant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Sir,—It is with no small degree of surprise, that I find myself charged by your correspondent W. F. S. (see p. 696) with a want of forbearance from angry expressions towards him, in my reply to his former letter. I think, however, that I sufficiently repel the accusation by a mere reference to the paper of which he complains; at least, I sincerely declare that I do not discover, on perusing it, any thing which seems to indicate the temper he condemns. Indeed it appears to me scarcely possible that such a sentiment as personal animosity can be felt by a writer, who conceals, under alphabetical symbols, his refutation of arguments, announced under similar forms, and enveloped in the same mystery. The natural influence of civilized society would prevent any intemperance of language in a verbal dispute between gentlemen, and would impose at least equal restrictions in the course of a discussion submitted by both parties to the decision of the public. If the contrary be discoverable in my writings, it would be more reasonable in my opponent to impute it to the habits of vulgar life, than to an imperfect assimilation to instruction from the precept he quotes, which is common to every sect of Christians, and which, since it has humanized him, should have taught him more respect for it, than to couple it with a ludicrous and inappropriate extract from a burlesque poem. I consider the Political Register as a work sacred to the public instruction, and by no means should it be profaned by personal abuse, or by personal flattery. It is not, like Addison's Spectator, a theatre for the exhibition of skill and address in eloquence and literature: it is not Ulysse's bow, which every inexperienced writer may handle in order to make trial of his strength. It is rather the supreme tribunal of the Areopagus, where all the deceptions of eloquence were carefully banished, and where truth, unadulterated truth, was alone admitted to plead the cause of virtue. The conductor of so important an engine should exercise the right, or more properly, the duty of censorship, and should expunge, even from the best-written essays, whatever cannot be considered as immediately subservient to the great object, the public benefit. With this opinion of the Political Register, I must confess I beheld with as much concern for the reputation of your paper, as interest for the cause which W. F. S. had chosen to attack, the insertion of his first essay against the Catholic claims. W. F. S. appears to me a flippant young man, in the very noviciate of authorship, without a competent knowledge of the English language, without classical or foreign literature, and without

experience of men and manners. To compensate such great and essential defects, the man who presumes to instruct the public, should at least possess a clear understanding, an acute perception, an accurate judgment, and a methodical spirit. I observe none of these great requisites in the two essays which W. F. S. has obtruded upon the public: every thing is feeble, confused, dogmatical, and impertinent. Allow me, Sir, to turn from so unworthy an antagonist, and to discuss *with you* the arguments which you have honoured by introducing them to public notice.—I ventured to contradict the assertion, that every state has a right to point out of what persuasion the national religion shall be composed. (the faulty and imperfect expressioon of the idea is not attributable to me, but to W. F. S, from whose essay I extracted the passage.) I supported my opinion by arguments, drawn from reason and history, and from the example of that great master whom all Christians profess to follow; but I am told that the whole of my answer is founded on misapprehension. It is again asserted, in contradiction to my opinion, that government *does* possess the right which I denied to it, and to illustrate the position, the idea of govrenment is placed in a new point of view, and simplified into that of a private compact. "Suppose" says W. F. S., "that a number of persons should "form a society, with the liberty of admitting other members on certain conditions; "surely these persons could make a resolution that Catholics should be ineligible; "and no Catholic, as far as I can see, could "fairly complain of such a resolution: "most clearly he could have no right to "prevent its being carried into effect." I allow to W. F. S. the whole force of this argument. But of all the modes of reasoning, reasoning from analogy is the most fallacious. The case he states does not apply to the present condition of the British Catholics. In this country, a number of persons, probably a majority of the total population of the kingdom, separated themselves from the general society, possessed themselves of all the power, all the honours, and all the advantages of the commonwealth, and declared ineligible to the enjoyment or inheritance of any particle of them, all those who, though equally contributing to the burthens of the state, should refuse to sacrifice the right of private judgment *on metaphysical questions, unconnected with the temporal welfare of the nation.* If we choose to simplify the idea of government into that of a private compact, we must *imagine* a private society, formed with the liberty of admitting or rejecting other members on certain conditions, sufficiently powerful to support and enforce its authority, binding its members, together with their families and their posterity, to adhere to its maxims, condemning those whose judgment should prove unsteady to civil and political incapacity, and even, aggravating to them the common burthens of the state. Yet even this society, which has already swelled into an idea too vast to be denominated private, does not exactly represent the relative situation of British Catholics, to their more favoured countrymen of the privileged sect: for the former have not only been declared *ineligible*, but are *punished because they disdain to offer themselves as candidates for admission.* I do think, on this view of the subject, that *paramount natural law* does most clearly authorise the dissident, not only *to complain* of the institutions of such a society, *but does invest him with a right to prevent their being carried into effect, if it can be done without injury to the public tranquillity.* "The state," it is said, "does not interfere with the conscience of "others; on the contrary, the state protects "individuals in the exercise of their religious "tenets whatever they may be; and "claims no right of control over private "conscience." It does indeed protect its dissentient members from individual oppression, and it secures to them their domestic enjoyments; but is it no temptation to apostacy to hold out to them, *as a recompence for abjuring their religion and on no other conditions,* all that dignifies life, and makes patriotism virtue? It is asked, what power I leave to the state, if I refuse them the right in question? I answer all power which the safety or prosperity of the state requires: power to incite every energy, to controul every action, or every tendency to action, which endangers its welfare; and to repress all attempts to new-model it, contrarily to the general will. Your correspondent produces an extract from Dr. Paley, which he thinks must prove conclusive against the right of the Catholics. I respect the authority of Dr. Paley, equally at least with W. F. S, for I certainly understand him better, *and I conform to his political doctrine as laid down in the very passage which W. F. S. has quoted.* For, while the law stands as it is, "I cannot allege that the "magistrate," even in enforcing that law to my disadvantage, "has transgressed the "boundaries of his jurisdiction;" but "I "complain of the injustice of the sentence "by which I am condemned," and I expect and claim, from the wisdom of the legislature, that redress, which I am confident

will not be much longer withheld. A quotation from Hudibras may perhaps be successfully introduced to silence an opponent in familiar conversation; but sober reasoning disclaims such meritorious assistance. Unless Butler had treated on the professed subject of our discussion, I do not see what support the arguments of W. F. S. can derive from the doggrel rhymes which he has injudiciously quoted; they however, introduce his remarks on the great impolicy of emancipating the Catholics, and he calls upon me to refute the opinion "that discord would be the inevitable consequence "of a cabinet formed of Protestants and "Catholics." He denies the possibility of such an unnatural combination acting in union, and he throws back upon me the labour of proving from example the converse of his proposition. I highly venerate the memory of those illustrious patriots, BURKE and FOX, and I believe that both were animated with the purest love for their country. They acted in concert during a considerable period of their political lives; they discussed with temper, though with difference of opinion, the very subject of the present essay: and when they finally broke their political connection, it was from disagreement on a political question. The profession of religious faith from a statesman, who is obliged to conform to the national rites and ceremonies of his national church, is not expected to be produced in an unquestionable shape; but as far as we can judge from the lives, the speeches, and the writings of these two great men, though we cannot positively state what was their religious faith, yet I believe it will be admitted by all who knew them, that the difference of their religious opinions was scarcely less than that of a Protestant and a Catholic. The genius of Burke's religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish. He felt the same profound respect to the sacerdotal character, the same submission to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; he considered pomp and ceremony as essential to public worship, and paid no less regard than the Catholic to days, postures, and vestments. I will not attempt to describe the religion of Mr. Fox, but I appeal to those who knew him, (for opinions was his great characteristic,) and I apprehend no contradiction when I assert, *that Mr. Fox's religious persuasion differed from that of his colleague, more than Mr. Burke's did from the Catholic religion.* Your correspondent distorts my arguments, when he asserts that I have advanced as a truism, that minorities can be united. I am, however, decidedly of opinion, that on many, and perhaps on all points of public utility, my judgment would coincide with that of the sincerest well-wisher to our common country, which the Church of England can boast of. Though he might consider as errors what I hold as the most sacred truths, yet I cannot doubt but that both of us would equally rejoice in, and equally contribute to the prosperity of our country, the success of its arms, or the amelioration of its internal economy: and, indeed, on all questions of this nature, I scarcely can conceive that our religious opinions could legitimately obtrude themselves, any more than our taste in poetry or in painting. My devotion is more incited by one form of public worship, and his by another, but both of us rise from our knees, convinced that we cannot better shew the sincerity of our faith, than by the practice of public and private morality, and both of us acknowledge, that our highest moral duty is that which we owe to our country. I had instanced as a practical argument of the utility of admitting the Catholic claims, the system of liberty of conscience adopted in Prussia, Saxony, and Russia. I am reproached with having produced such *feeble examples*, and am called upon to furnish some more appropriate from the Italian States: "Can no examples be supplied, exclaims "triumphantly Mr. W. F. S., from the erudite and illumined descendants of St. Pe"ter, for granting to others, what they mo"destly ask of us?' I trust they can: but before producing them, I must premise, for W. F. S.'s instruction, *that all Catholics are not Popes.* It is not the successor of St. Peter who asks emancipation from the British parliament, but the Catholic subjects of his Britannic Majesty. They cannot recollect, that history records any claim for toleration being made by any considerable body of Protestants in Italy; but they know that Jews were tolerated in Rome, in Leghorn, and in Venice; and that, in the last mentioned city, the Greek religion, which is more repugnant to the Catholic doctrines than Protestantism, was publicly professed. They presume from these examples, that if error had successfully invaded the Italian church, it would not have been treated with greater severity. But foreign example in the present case should influence our opinions but in a slight degree: we cannot; nor do we wish to produce from foreign countries a case exactly in point. *We appeal to the reasons of the British legislature, and to that only.* When government is convinced, that the blessings of equal law can be extended to us without a possibility of the state's being endangered, we know that our claims will

be admitted. While there exists a doubt of the policy of the measure, our duty is to remove the doubt, by exhibiting in our conduct the purity of our principles, and by every fair appeal which our situation admits of. But while we practise the duties of Christians we feel that we are men, we feel that it is time to silence the clamours, the reproaches, and the insults of weak, bigoted, and interested fanatics.——A. B.——*Hampstead, Nov.* 4, 1806.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*First Bulletin of the Grand Army. Bamberg, Oct.* 8, 1806. *Continued.*

Troops marched with the greatest rapidity from Berlin. Prussian army entered Saxony. They advanced to the frontiers of the confederation, and insulted their out posts.—On the 24th of September, the imperial guard quitted Paris for Bamberg, where it arrived on the 6th of October. Orders were issued for the army to march, and it immediately began to advance.——The Emperor set out from Paris the 25th of September; the 28th he arrived at Mentz; the 2d of October, at Wurzburg; and the 6th, at Bamberg.—— The same day two shots were fired by the Prussian hussars at a French field-officer, in view of the armies.——On the 7th, his Majesty the Emperor received a courier from Mintz, sent by the Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand) with two important dispatches. One was a letter from the King of Prussia, containing twenty pages; which, in fact, was nothing but a paltry pamphlet against France, such as those produced by the writers of the English Cabinet, at five hundred pounds per annum! The Emperor, before he finished the reading, turned to those about him and said, 'I pity my Brother the King of Prussia?—he understands not French.—Surely, he cannot have read this rhapsody?' This letter was accompanied by the celebrated note of M. de Knobelsdorff.—'Marshal?' said the Emperor to Berthier,' they give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th. A Frenchman never failed; but, as they say a handsome Queen is there, who desires to see battle, let us be polite, and march to Saxony before we go to bed?' The Emperor was correctly informed: for the Queen of Prussia is with the army, equipped like an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, and writing twenty letters a day to all parts of the kingdom, to excite the inhabitants against the French. It appears like the conduct of the frenzied *Armida*, setting fire to her own palace. Next to her Majesty, Prince Louis of Prussia, a brave young man, incited by the war faction, vainly hopes to gain honour and renown in the vicissitudes of war. Following the example of those two great personages, all the adherents of the court seem eager for war. But when war shall present itself in all its horrors, the feelings and the language of all these will be widely different; they will each then be desirous of vindicating themselves from the charge of having drawn down the thunders of war upon the peaceable provinces of the North; then, by a natural consequence, will be seen those very persons, now so clamourous for war, not only eager to exculpate themselves, but incensed at the results of their own conduct; and even attempting to throw the odium on the king, who was merely the dupe of their own intrigues and artifices!—The French army was disposed in the following order:—The troops were to march, or to advance, in three grand divisions.—The right—consisting of the corps of Marshalls Soult and Ney, and a division of Bavarian troops. They advanced by the route of Allberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, and thence to advance upon Hoff; where they arrived on the 9th.—The centre was composed of the reserve of the Grand Duke of Berg, the corps of the Prince De Ponte-Corvo and Marshal Davoust, and the Imperial guard—advanced by Bamberg towards Cronach; it arrived the 8th at Saalbourg, and advanced by that post and Schleitz, towards Gera.—The left, consisting of the corps of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinfurth towards Coburgh, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld."

Second Bulletin of the Grand Army. Auma, Oct. 12, 1806.

The Emperor set out from Bamberg the 8th, at three o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Cronach at nine. His Majesty traversed the Forest of Franconia at day-break; on the 9th, proceeded to Ebersdorff, and thence to Schleitz, where he was present at the first action of the campaign. He returned to lie at Ebersdorff; he proceeded on the 10th to Schleitz, and arrived the 11th at Auma, where he lay, after passing the day at Gera. Head-quarters have just been transferred to Gera. All the orders of the Emperor have been most successfully executed.—On the 7th Marshal Soult advanced to Bayreuth. The 9th he pushed on to Hoff, where he took possession of the enemy's magazines, and made several prisoners. He advanced to Plauen on the 10th. Marshal Ney followed in his rear, at the distance

of half a day's march. On the 8th the Grand Duke of Berg (Murat), advanced with the light cavalry from Cronach towards Saalbourg; he was attended by the 25th regiment of light infantry. One Prussian regiment appeared inclined to defend the passage of the Saale; but, after a cannonade of half an hour, apprehensive of being turned, it abandoned its position.——The 9th, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced upon Schleitz where a Prussian general with 10,000 men was posted. The Emperor arrived at noon, and ordered the Prince De Ponte-Corvo to attack and take possession of the village, which he deemed of importance. The prince disposed his columns in order, and advanced at their head. He carried the village, and pursued the flying enemy. In the course of the night a great number of prisoners were taken. General Watier, with the 4th regiment of hussars, and the 5th of chasseurs, made a fine and spirited charge against three Prussian regiments. Four companies of the 27th light infantry, which were posted in a plain, were charged by the Prussian hussars; but they were received in such a stile as became French infantry, coping with Prussian cavalry! Two hundred horsemen lay on the field of battle: the French infantry were commanded by General Maisons. A colonel of the enemy was among the dead, two pieces of cannon taken, 300 were made prisoners, and in the whole 400 men were killed; our loss was trifling. The Prussian infantry threw down their arms, and fled trembling from the French bayonets! The Grand Duke led several of the charges, sword in hand.—On the 10th, the Prince De Ponte-Corvo removed his head-quarters to Auma. The 11th, the Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Gera. Lasalle, General of Brigade of the cavalry of reserve, cut off an escort of the enemy's baggage; 500 covered waggons and open carriages were captured; they contained several articles highly important to the operations of a campaign.——The left wing has been equally successful. Marshal Lannes entered Cobourg on the 8th, and advanced against Graffenthal on the 9th. He attacked on the 10th, the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe, which was commanded by Prince Louis of Prussia, one of the leaders of the war faction. The cannonade did not last above two hours; it proceeded only from a half of the division of General Suchet. The Prussian cavalry was cut off by the 9th and 10th regiment of hussars. The Prussian infantry were unable to make an orderly retreat; part were cut off in a marsh, the remainder found shelter in the woods. We made 1000 prisoners, 600 were left dead on the field, and took 30 pieces of cannon.——Prince Louis of Prussia, a brave and loyal soldier, seeing the rout of his corps, opposed himself singly to a Marshal Des Logis, of the 10th regiment of Hussars. 'Surrender, Colonel,' said the Hussar, 'or you are a dead man!' The Prince answered by a blow of his sabre—his antagonist ran him through the body, on which the Prince instantly fell dead. If the last days of his life were those of a bad citizen, his death was glorious, though to be regretted. His end was such as he desired, that of a good soldier! Two of his hid-du-camps were killed near him. On his person were found some letters from Berlin, from which it appeared the project of the enemy had been to commence operations immediately, and that the War Faction, at the head of which were the Queen and the young Prince, had always feared the pacific intentions of the King, whose love for his subjects they thought would induce him to temporise. It may now be said, the very outset of war has destroyed one of its authors!—Neither Dresden or Berlin are covered by an army. Turned on its left, taken in the fact, at the moment when it committed itself to the most hazardous operations, the Prussian Army, at the very outset, is placed in the most critical situation. On the 12th, it occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, Weimar. The French Army occupied Saalfeld and Gera, and was about to advance to Nambourg and Tena. Parties of Light Cavalry sweep the Plains of Leipsic.—All the intercepted letters describe the Councils of the King as distracted by conflicting opinions—always deliberating, never unanimous in decision. Incertitude, alarm, and terror, appear to have succeeded to arrogance, folly, and precipitation!—Yesterday, the 11th, in passing through Gera, where the 27th regiment of light infantry then lay, the Emperor charged the Colonel to testify his satisfaction at its admirable conduct.—In these various conflicts, we have not to regret the loss of any officer of rank. The highest was Captain Camporasso, of the 27th light infantry, a brave and loyal officer. We have had 40 killed and about 60 wounded.

Third Bulletin. Gerau, October 13, 1806.

The battle of Schleitz, with which the campaign opened, and which has been very fatal to the Prussians, and that of Saalfeld, which followed on the next day, have spread consternation among the enemy. All the intercepted letters say, there was much alarm at Erfurt, where the King, the Queen, the Duke of Brunswick, &c. were

consulting upon the measures that should be taken, without being able to agree.——But while they are deliberating, the French army continues its march. To this spirit of effervescent and excessive boasting, critical observations begin to succeed upon the inutility of the war; the injustice of breaking with France; the impossibility of being assisted; the disaffection of the soldiery, upon what they have not done; together with a thousand other observations which are always in the mouths of the multitude, when princes are weak enough to consult them upon matters of great political interest, which are above their reach.—However, on the evening of the 12th, the scouts of the French army were at Leipsic; the head-quarters of the Grand Duke of Berg are between Zeist and Leipsic; those of the Prince of Ponte Corvo at Zeist; the imperial head-quarters, with the imperial guards and the corps of the army under Marshal Soult, are at Gerau; Marshal Ney's corps is at Neustadt. In the first line is the corps of the army under Marshal Davoust at Naumburg; that of Marshal Lannes is at Jena.—Marshal Augereau at Kala. Prince Jerome, to whom the Emperor had confided the command of the allies, and of a corps of Bavarians, has arrived at Schleitz, after having blockaded the fort of Culenbach with one of his regiments.—The enemy, cut off from Dresden, was still at Erfurt on the 11th, and endeavouring to collect his columns that he had sent towards Cassel and Wurtzburg, to act upon the offensive, wishing to open the campaign by an invasion of Germany. The Weser, upon which the enemy had raised batteries, the Saal, which he also made a shew of defending, and the other rivers, are all turned much in the same manner as was practised upon the Iler last year; so that the French army line the Banks of the Saal, with their rear towards the Elbe, at the same time they are marching against the Prussian army, which has its rear towards the Rhine; a position so whimsical, cannot fail in producing events of great importance.—The weather, since we commenced the present campaign, has been excellent, the country plentiful, and the soldiers full of vigour and health. We make marches of ten leagues without having a single straggler; and never was the army in a finer condition. However, the King of Prussia's intentions have been carried into effect: he wished that the French army should evacuate the territory of the confederation on the 8th of October, and they have evacuated it, but instead of repassing the Rhine, they have passed the Saal.

Fourth Bulletin. Gerau, Oct. 13, ten in the Morning.

Events succeed each other with rapidity. The Prussian army is taken by surprise, its magazines carried off, and it is turned. Marshal Davoust arrived at Naumburg on the 12th, at nine in the evening, where he seized the magazines of the enemy, made some prisoners, and got possession of a superb train of 18 copper pontoons with their appendages.——It appears that the Prussian army is marching to gain Magdebourg; but the French army has gained three marches upon them. The anniversary of the affair at Ulm, will be celebrated in the history of France.——The letter annexed, which has been intercepted, will inform you of the real state of the public mind: but the battle of which the Prussian officer speaks, will take place in the course of a few days, and the result of it will determine the fate of the war. The French should have no uneasiness respecting the result.

Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to his Army.

Soldiers,——The arrangements for your return to France were made; already were you drawn nearer to your frontiers; triumphal festivals awaited you, and every preparation was made in the capital for your reception; but while you were retiring with so much confidence, new plots were in contrivance under the mask of friendship and union. The cry of war was resounded in Berlin; for two months have we every day received more provocation. The same faction, the same spirit of destruction, which fourteen years ago brought the Prussians into the Plains of Champaign, in the opportunity afforded by our divisions, animates and guides their councils. If it be no longer Paris that they want to burn and destroy from roof to foundation, it is the capital of our allies in the midst of which they intend to plant their standards; it is Saxony, whom they have forced, by a disgraceful treaty to renounce her independence, and of which they purpose to make one of their provinces; it is in short your laurels that they wish to tear away from your brows. Shall we draw away our troops from Germany? The senseless beings! Let them know, that it is easier to ravage the capital than to tarnish the honour of the children of the great nation and of her allies. Their plans were then circumvented: they found in the plains of Champaign their defeat, death and shame; but the lesson of experience is useless, and there are men in whom the sense of hatred and envy never is extinguished.—Soldiers!

There is not one of you that would return into France by any other road but the road of honour? It is only under an arch of triumph that you should return. What! have we braved the seasons, the seas, and the deserts; have we triumphed over Europe leagued against us; have we borne our glory, from Orient to the Setting Sun, only to abandon our vallies, to return to France like runaways, and to hear it said that the Eagle of France was seized with dread at the sight of the Eagle of Prussia? But they are already in presence of our advanced guards. We will march, because moderation cannot calm such inconceivable pride. Let the Prussian army have again the fate it met with fourteen years back. Let it know, that it is easy to increase territory and power by the friendship of the great nation; but that her enmity, which, without renouncing every degree of wisdom and reason, cannot be provoked, is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean.—*Done at our head-quarters, in Bamberg, 6th Oct.* 1806. (Signed) NAPOLEON. The Major-General PRINCE OF NEUFCHATEL and VALENGIN. (Signed) MARSHAL BERTHIER.

The Emperor Napoleon's Appeal to the Saxons.

Saxons! The Prussians have overrun your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connections which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to shed your blood for an interest to which you are not only strangers, but which is even in opposition to your interests.—My army was upon the point of evacuating Germany, when your territory was violated: it shall return to France as soon as Prussia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which she had formed against you.—Saxons, your prince had, till that moment, refused to enter into an alliance so opposite to his duties; if he has since consented to the conditions imposed upon him, it has only been in consequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Prussians.—I was deaf to the idle provocation which the Prussians offered against my people. I was deaf to them so long as their armaments were confined to the Prussian States, and my minister did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.—Saxons, your destiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between those who would bring you under the yoke, and those who would defend you? My victories shall secure the existence and the independence of your prince, and your nation. The conquests of the Prussians will only rivet your chains. But what do I say? Have they not already tried every experiment? Have they not, for a long time past, used every effort to compel your prince to acknowledge a sovereignty, which, once directly imposed upon you, would erase you from the list of nations?——Your independence, your constitution, your liberty, would then only exist in the pages of memory; and the shades of your forefathers, those valiant Saxons, would disdain you for suffering yourselves to be reduced to slavery without resistance; a slavery prepared for you so long beforehand; and thus becoming witnesses of the degradation of your country into a Prussian province.——*Given at our head-quarters at Ebersdorff, Oct.* 11, 1806. NAPOLEON.

Sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 15, 1806, evening.——Six thousand Saxons and above three hundred officers are taken. The Emperor assembled the officers, and told them, that it was with reluctance he had made war with them; that he had only taken up arms in the design of preserving the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy; that his intention was to send them all home, if they would give him their parole never to serve against France; that their sovereign, whose good qualities he was well acquainted with, had been too weak to retire before the Prussians, and leave his country at their mercy, that all these doings must come to an end; that the Prussians must confine themselves to Prussia, and in no respect meddle with the affairs of Germany; that it behoved the Saxons to unite themselves with the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France, a protection that it was not the first time they had enjoyed, seeing, that for the space of two centuries they were ever in danger, and must have been overpowered by Austria or Prussia, had it not been, that they were prevented by France; that the Emperor did not seize his arms before the Prussians had made themselves masters of Saxony; that these acts of violence were to be followed up; that the Continent had need of rest; and that, in spite of low passions and stratagems, set in motion by different courts, tranquillity must be secured, although the fall of some thrones should pave the way.—The Saxon prisoners have been all sent home, with a proclamation from the Emperor to the people of Saxony, and with assurances, that they were not considered as enemies.

Declaration of the Saxon Officers.

We, the undersigned generals, colonels, lieut.-colonels, majors, captains, and other officers of the Saxon army, swear by our word of honour not to bear arms against his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his allies, and we make the same oath, and give the same pledge, in the name of all the prisoners of war, taken with ourselves, and mentioned in the list of non-commissioned officers and soldiers underneath; and that we will not break the said obligation, unless in the event of receiving to that effect positive orders from our Sovereign the Elector of Saxony. *Jena, Oct. 15, 1806.*

Seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 16, 1806.—On the 15th in the morning the Grand Duke of Berg invested Erfurth. On the 16th the place surrendered by capitulation. In it were found 14,000 men, among them are 3000 wounded, and 6000 able to bear arms. They are prisoners of war, together with the Prince of Orange, Field-Marshal Mollendorff, Lieutenant-General Larisch, Lieutenant-General Graver, Major-Generals Lessare and Zweissel. A park of 120 pieces of cannon, with all the requisite implements and ammunition, is fallen into our hands. Prisoners are daily brought in.—The King of Prussia has sent an aide-du-camp to the Emperor, with an answer to the letter which his Imperial Majesty wrote to him before the battle: however, it is only now that the answer has been received. The reply of the Emperor Napoleon is the same as that which he returned to the Emperor of Russia before the battle of Austerlitz. He says to the King of Prussia—"The success of my arms is not doubtful. Your troops shall be beaten; but it will cost me the blood of my children. If that can be spared by any arrangement consistent with the dignity of my crown, I will do all that may depend upon me to spare blood so precious. Nothing is so dear in my eyes as the blood of my soldiers, except honour."—It appears that the remains of the Prussian army are falling back upon Magdeburgh. Of this fine and numerous army, there are now no more to be seen but such parties as have been cut off from the rest.

Capitulation of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, concluded between Colonel Prevál, one of the Commandants of the Legion of Honour, fully empowered by his Serene Highness Prince Joachim, Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, Lieutenant of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, on the one side; and Major Prusschineck, Commandant of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, and Fort Cyriaxburg, for his Prussian Majesty, on the other.

Art. I. The garrison shall march out on the 17th with the honours of war, arms, effects, and baggage, battalion-field pieces, field batteries, field baking apparatus, and camp train. They shall proceed with drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, to Halle, the nearest city of his Majesty the King of Prussia.—Answer. The gates shall be this moment taken possession of by the troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King. Tomorrow, the 16th of October, at noon, the garrison, with arms, baggage, flying colours, and field pieces, shall march out. They shall lay down their arms upon the Glacis of the Fortress, and be considered prisoners of war. The officers shall keep their swords and equipage. They shall return to Prussia, upon their word of honour, not to serve until exchanged. The means of conveying their persons and effects shall be furnished them, to the effect that they may there arrive without disappointment, obstacle, or delay.—Art. II. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who are wounded, and in the place, shall be included in the foregoing article. Those who are in a state to be removed shall follow the garrison immediately; and those who are not in a state to undertake the journey, shall remain, at the charge of his Prussian Majesty, and shall be taken care of by persons employed in his service; and as soon as they are cured, or in a state of convalescence, they shall be forwarded to their respective corps; and to this effect the necessary passports shall be given.—Answer. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who are wounded, shall be included in the above-mentioned article; and they may be left to the French spirit of honour, which is sufficiently known.—Art. III. To-morrow, at twelve o'clock, the gate of St. John shall be delivered up, to be taken possession of from the outside. The Prussian guard shall keep their posts within, so long as the Prussian garrison shall remain in the place; and it shall be permitted to no one to come in, except the commissioners named for the surrender of the place.—Answer. Included in the first article.—Art. IV. Should, contrary to the tenor of the above article, any non-commissioned officers or soldiers come into the city, they shall be immediately seized, and delivered over to the guard on the outer post. In like manner, no military person belonging to the garrison shall go out of the

place, so long as the garrison remains, excepting only the officers who may be dispatched to the French head-quarters.—Answer. Included in the first article.—Art. V. On both sides commissioners shall be appointed. They shall concert measures, from this moment, that the French guard shall take possession of St. John's gate, and they shall follow up their duty until the departure of the garrison. At the appointed time, the necessary passports shall be given to the Prussian commissaries, for the return of the states of his Prussian Majesty.—Answer. The commissaries shall hold themselves in readiness by to-morrow morning, the 16th October, to attend to the surrender of the artillery and magazines; the passports for the return shall be delivered to the commissaries of his Majesty the King of Prussia — Art. VI. Private property shall be respected, and taken under the protection of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.—Answer. Property shall be respected.—Art. VII. The property belonging to individuals of this garrison, which cannot be immediately removed, shall be preserved during the space of three months, reckoning from the date of the capitulation, so that the aforesaid persons may cause their property to be recovered, without any obstruction or difficulty.—Answer. To be interpreted according to the first article; the soldiers alone shall be obliged to take their baggage with them.—Art. VII. From the moment this capitulation comes into effect, a Prussian officer shall be sent to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to lay the same before him.—Granted.—Art. VIII. The field-equipage belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which may be yet in Erfurth, shall be sent under escort of the Prussian troops to some of his Majesty's cities.—Answer. This article shall be laid before his Royal Highness the Grand Duke Prince Joachim of Cleves and Berg.—In this capitulation shall be included the superior officers, who are, or of whom there is intelligence in the garrison—(Signed) CHARLES VON PRUCSCHENCK, HYPPOLITE PREVAL.—Erfurth, 15th October, 1806. Eleven o'clock in the evening.

Eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 16, evening.—The different corps of the army that follow the enemy, send every moment accounts of the capture of prisoners, baggage, artillery, magazines, and military appurtenances of every description. Marshal Davoust has made himself master of 30 pieces of cannon; Marshal Soult of a convoy of 3000 measures of flour; Marshal Bernadotte of 1500 prisoners. The enemy's army is so scattered in the direction of ours, that a battalion of theirs entered one of our night camps, having mistaken it for one of their own.——The King of Prussia strives to reach Magdeburg. Marshal Mollendorff lies dangerously ill of his wounds at Erfurth. The Grand Duke of Berg has sent him his physician.—Brigadier-General Durosnel has had an obstinate affair with the 7th and 20th regiments of chasseurs, which terminated much to their honour.——The Major of the 20th has particularly distinguished himself. —— Brigadier-General Colbert, at the head of the 30th hussars, and 12th chasseurs, made several successful charges upon the enemy's infantry.

Ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 17.——The garrison of Erfurth has marched out, and is more numerous than was at first thought. There is a number of magazines in the place. The Emperor has named General Clarke Governor of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, and the neighbouring country.——The citadel of Erfurth is a fine one, with bulwarks and casements, and provided with every means and provision for a defence. This is an important acquisition, and may serve as a centre point for furthering our operations. In the 5th bulletin, it is said, that we had taken from 25 to 30 stands of colours. There are already 45 at head-quarters, and probably there are more than 60 taken. They are the colours which Frederic the Great presented to his soldiers. The colours of the Queen, ornamented with her own hands, are among the number. It appears that the enemy (Prussians) wishes to collect his force at Magdeburgh, whither we are, however, marching from all points. The several corps of the army are in pursuit of him by different ways. Every moment arrive couriers with tidings of the surrender of whole battalions, with their arms, artillery, baggage, &c.

Tenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Naumburg, Oct. 18.—Among the sixty stand of colours that were taken at the battle of Jena, are found several belonging to the King of Prussia's guards, and one belonging to the body guards, upon which the inscription is written in French.—The King of Prussia has demanded an armistice for six weeks. The Emperor answered, that it was impossible after a victory to give the enemy time to rally. The Prussians, however, have so industriously spread the report, that a great many of our Generals having met them, were made to believe that this armis-

tice was actually concluded. Marshal Soult, on the 10th, arrived at Greussen, in pursuit of the column where the King was, which is estimated at ten or twelve thousand men. General Kalkreuth, who commanded it, caused it to be notified to Marshal Soult, that an armistice had been concluded. The Marshal replied, that it was impossible that the Emperor should have committed that error; and that he would give credit to the armistice when it should be announced to him officially. General Kalkreuth testified a desire to see Marshal Soult, who went to the advanced post:—"What would you have of us (said the Prussian General to him); the Duke of Brunswick is dead; all our Generals are killed, wounded, or taken; the greatest part of our army is put to flight; your success has been sufficiently great; the King has demanded a suspension of arms; it is impossible that your Emperor should not grant it." "General (answered Marshal Soult), we have for a long time been thus dealt with. People appeal to our generosity when they are vanquished, and forget, the moment after, the magnanimity which we have been accustomed to shew. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor granted an armistice to the Russian army: this armistice saved the army. Observe the unworthy manner in which the Russians have now acted. It is said that they wish to return: we burn with impatience to meet them again. If there had been as much generosity among them as among us, they would have left us to remain in peace at last, after the moderation which we have shewn in the midst of victory. We have in no way provoked the unjust war which you wage against us. You have declared it wantonly. The battle of Jena has decided the fortune of the campaign. Our business is to do you all the injury we can. Lay down your arms, and I shall wait in this situation for the orders of the Emperor." The old General Kalkreuth saw well that he had nothing to say in reply. The two Generals separated, and hostilities recommenced the moment after. The village of Greussen was taken, and the enemy routed and pursued with the sword at their backs.—The grand Duke of Berg, and Marshals Soult and Ney should, in the marches of the 17th and 18th, reunite by combined movements, and crush the enemy.—They will, without doubt, have seen a considerable number of fugitives—the plains are covered with them, and their routs are encumbered with carriages and baggage of every sort.—Never was there a greater victory signalized by greater disasters. The reserve commanded by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, is arrived at Hall. We are still only at the ninth day of the campaign, and already the enemy is obliged to carry forward his last resource.—The Emperor marches towards it. It will be attacked to-morrow if it remains in its position at Hall.—Marshal Davoust is gone this day to take possession of Leipsic, and throw a bridge over the Elbe. The Imperial Horse Guards have at length joined us. Independently of considerable magazines found at Naumbourgh, a greater number have been found at Weifsenfels. The general in Chief Ruchel, has been found in a village mortally wounded. Marshal Soult has sent him his surgeon. It appears as if it were a decree of Providence that all those who have pushed forward this war should be cut off by the first blows that were struck.

Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Mersebourg, Oct. 19.—The number of prisoners that have been made at Erfurth, is more considerable than one would have believed. The passports given to officers who are to return home on parole, in virtue of one of the articles of capitulation amount to six hundred.—The corps of Marshal Davoust took possession of Leipsic on the 18th.—The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who was, on the 17th, at Eisleben, to cut off some Prussian columns, having learnt that the reserve of his Majesty the King of Prussia, commanded by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, had arrived at Hall, marched thither. After having made his dispositions, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo caused Hall to be attacked by General Dupont, and placed the division of Drouet in reserve, on his left: the 32d and 9th regiments of light infantry passed the three bridges at the charging pace, and entered the city, supported by the 96th. In less than an hour the enemy was completely routed. The 2d and 4th regiments of hussars, and the whole division of General Rivaut, traversed the city, and chased the enemy from Fienitz, from Peissen, and from Nabatz. The Prussian cavalry endeavoured to charge the 8th and 96th regiments of infantry, but were gallantly received and repulsed.—The reserve of the Prince of Wurtemberg was most completely routed and pursued for the space of four leagues.—The results of this combat, which merit a particular and careful detail, are 5000 prisoners, of whom two are Generals, and three Colonels, four stand of colours, and 34 pieces of cannon. General Dupont conducted himself in the most distinguished manner. The General of Division Rouyer, had a horse killed under him. The General of Division Drouet, has taken the whole of the regiment of Freskow. On our side the

loss does not amount to more than 40 men killed, 200 wounded. The Colonel of the 9th regiment of light infantry has been wounded. General Leopold Berthier, Chief of the Staff of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, has behaved in a distinguished manner. By the result of the combat of Halle, there are no more of the enemy's troops that have not suffered.—The Prussian General Blucher, with 5000 men, has passed through the division of Dragoons of General Klein, which had intercepted him. Having alledged to General Klein that an armistice had been concluded for six weeks, that General had the simplicity to believe him.—Montesquiou, the Orderly Officer near the person of the Emperor, who had been sent with a flag of truce to the King of Prussia the evening before the battle, is returned. He has been carried along for several days with the flying enemy. He pictures the disorder of the Prussian army as inexpressible. Nevertheless, on the eve of the battle their boasting was unequalled.—The question was about nothing less than to cut off the French army, and take from it columns of 40,000 men. The Prussian Generals aped, as much as they could, the mannners of Frederick the Great. Although we were in the country, the Generals appeared to be in the most complete ignorance of our movements. They believed that on the little plain of Jena there were no more than 4000 men, and that too when the greatest part of the army had spread over that plain.—The enemy's army retreats in considerable force upon Magdebourg. It is probable that several columns will be intercepted before it arrives here.—No news have been received for several days from Marshal Soult, who has been detached with 40,000 men to pursue the enemy's army.—The Emperor has crossed the field of the battle of Rosbach. He has ordered that the pillar which had been erected there should be transported to Paris. The head-quarters of the Emperor were on the 18th at Mersebourg. On the 19th he will be at Halle. Very considerable magazines of every kind have been found in the latter city.

Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Hall, Oct. 19.—Marshal Soult has pursued the enemy even to the gates of Magdebourg. Several times the Prussians endeavoured to take a position, and were always routed. Considerable magazines have been found at Nordhausen, and also a waggon of the King of Prussia, filled with silver.—During the five days that Marshall Soult has been employed in the pursuit of the enemy, he has made 1,200 prisoners, and taken 30 pieces of cannon, and from 2 to 300 waggons.—The first object of the campaign has been accomplished. Saxony, Westphalia, and all the countries on the left bank of the Elbe, are relieved from the presence of the Prussian army. That army, beaten and pursued with the sword at its back for more than 50 leagues, is at this day without artillery, without baggage, without officers, reduced below a 2d of what it was eight days ago, and, what is still worse than that, it has lost its distinguishing character, and all confidence in itself. Two corps of the French army are on the Elbe, occupied in constructing bridges. The head quarters are at Hall.

Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Halle, Oct. 20.—General Macon, commandant at Leipzic has made to the bankers, merchants, and traders of that city the subjoined notification. Since the tyrant of the seas will not respect any flag, it is the intention of the Emperor to seize every where their merchandize, and strictly to block them up in their island. There were found in the military magazines of Leipzic 15,000 quintals of meal and a great quantity of other species of provisions.—The Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Halberstadt on the 19th. On the 20th he inundated the whole plain of Magdeburg with his cavalry, even to the mouth of the cannon. The enemy's troops, consisting of isolated detachments, were taken at the moment they were endeavouring to enter the place. A regiment of the enemy's hussars, believing that Halberstadt was still occupied by Prussians, were charged by the 22d hussars, and lost 300 men.—General Beaumot has taken 600 men of the king's guard and all the equipage of that corps. Two hours before, two companies of the royal foot-guards were taken by Marshal Soult. Lieutenant-General Count de Schmettau, who had been taken prisoner, has died at Wiemar.—Thus of the superb army, which a few days since threatened to invade the confederation of the Rhine, and which inspired its sovereign with such confidence, that he dared to order the Emperor Napoleon to quit Germany before the 8th of October, if he did not wish to be constrained by force—of this superb army, we say there remains nothing but the wreck, an unformed chaos which merits rather the name of a mob than that of an army. *To be continued.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"At the last election, I was scarcely acquainted with Sir F. Burdett; the support I gave him then, arose "entirely from an approbation of his public conduct, but since that time I have had the means of learning "his private character, and I take upon myself to say, that a man more exemplary in all the relations and "duties of life, never existed in any country at any time;—he is pure from every stain;—he was a good "son;—he is a most affectionate husband and father;—a most valuable friend;—a most exemplary mem- "ber of society;—and all these virtues of private life he carries into his public conduct, with the warmest "patriotism and the most constitutional zeal for the rights of Englishmen, he possesses the most dutiful "affection and loyalty to our beloved King. I speak from the bottom of my heart, and if the Sheriffs will "administer the oath, I will swear to the truth of what I say. I do not know in this world a purer or more "unblemished character, or a man of more public and private worth than Sir F. Burdett. If he has a "single fault, it is that in the generosity of a sanguine mind, he expects to find more virtue than belongs to "these depraved times, and through that virtue to obtain all the happiness for his fellow subjects that the "principles of our free government are calculated in themselves to confer; but in the ardour of this expec- "tation, I do not know of a single act of his life that detracts from his reputation, or ought to lower him in "the esteem of any good or candid man. I have served with Sir F. Burdett in Parliament, and I have ob- "served his conduct there; he never gave a vote but for the constitution; for peace, for morals, and for the "happiness of the human race."—Mr. PETER MOORE's Speech, on the 23d of July, 1804, on the Hustings at Brentford; as given in the Morning Chronicle.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

It appears to me, that a faithful account of the proceedings, and of the conduct of different persons engaged, in this contest, must be not only interesting at the present moment, but must unavoidably become of the greatest utility in future; therefore I shall now continue and conclude the account, from page 760 of the preceding Number. And this is the more necessary as the daily newspapers, with here and there a trifling exception, have, from the beginning of the contest to the end of it, not only excluded every thing favourable to the cause of Mr. Paull and unfavourable to the ministerial candidates; but have been constantly filling their columns with the most barefaced falsehoods, evidently intended to leave upon the mind of the nation an impression exactly the contrary to what ought to be left there relative to an event, which, if I am not amongst the most mistaken of men, will be attended with consequences the most important and beneficial to the country.——The topics upon which I propose to touch are numerous; and as it would be difficult, especially with the little time that I have before me, to connect them by natural and easy transitions, I think it best to let them stand in a detached form, and in separate paragraphs, beginning with

MR. PETER MOORE.——This gentleman, who has been re-elected for Coventry, did, as the reader has already been informed, propose Mr. Sheridan at Covent Garden. How he was hissed, what groans and what other marks of public scorn and contempt, his speech, upon that occasion, drew forth, have already been spoken of; and, his name is only introduced once more for the purpose of giving me an opportunity of calling the attention of the reader to the speech which he made in nominating Sir Francis Burdett, in the year 1804, as a member for the county of Middlesex, and an extract from which I have now taken for my motto. That speech, which was no momentary effusion of enthusiam, but which was afterwards written out with his own hand, and, at his special instance, published in the Morning Chronicle; that speech, in which he proceeded on to eulogize every act of Sir Francis Burdett's life; that speech I beg the reader to compare with the envenomed slanders against that same Sir Francis Burdett, now published in that same Morning Chronicle, under the name of that same Mr. Peter Moore! Whence has this change proceeded? Not from any change in the principles, or in the language of Sir Francis Burdett, from whose unshaken and unalterable mind, have proceeded, upon this occasion, precisely the same sentiments that he uniformly and openly professed at the time when he was the object of Mr. Moore's unqualified praise and admiration. No; not from any change in the principles or the language of Sir Francis Burdett; but, from a change in the interested views of Mr. Moore, has this his palpable and odious tergiversation proceeded. At the time when he eulogized Sir Francis Burdett, he saw no prospect, even the most distant, of obtaining for himself either pension or place; and, therefore, he scrupled not to join Sir Francis in condemning the giving of places and pensions to members of

the House of Commons: but now, having, ever since his friends came into power, been seeking a place; having worried Mr. Fox to obtain for him a place of great emolument in India; having, as appears from a letter, which he has repeatedly shown, from Lord Holland, been desired to wait with patience, until a place can be found for him; having evidently become a dependent upon the ministry; this important change in his situation and his views having taken place, he is become the advocate for bestowing the public money upon members of the House of Commons, he is become the friend and the lofty eulogist of those men and those principles that he formerly so furiously assailed, and he is become the enemy and the furious assailant of the man and of the principles that he formerly eulogized in so lofty a strain.

Mr. Whitbread, whose laudable and powerful exertions, in the case of Lord Melville, have so often been a subject of our praise, but whose motives, or whose firmness, were exposed to suspicion by his ready acquiescence in the bill of indemnity for Mr. Pitt (who had fully participated in the worst part of all that was alledged against Lord Melville) and by his subsequent silence upon the charges preferred against Lord Wellesley; this Mr Whitbread has now joined with Mr. Peter Moore in opposing Mr. Paull, the accuser of Lord Wellesley, the only openly alledged ground of this opposition being, that Mr. Paull professes to have adopted the principles of Sir Francis Burdett.——Mr. Whitbread, like Mr. Peter Moore, was formerly, and until very lately, a warm friend and supporter of Sir Francis Burdett; and, though he has, in the letter inserted in the preceding Number, stated a difference in principles *now* to exist between himself and that honourable Baronet, he has not ventured, like Mr. Peter Moore and the acute Lord William Russell (who is also *a Lord of the Admiralty*) to accuse Sir Francis with "apostacy," nor, indeed, with any *change* of principle or of opinion.——Mr. Whitbread's sole ground of complaint against Sir Francis appears to be, that the latter has declared, that the *servants of the Crown* ought not to be *the representatives of the people*; or, at least, of the people of large cities, or of counties. This, in the eye of Mr Whitbread, seems to be a most pernicious doctrine. But, I think, the reader will, with me, be of opinion, that Mr. Whitbread has been most completely answered by W. F. S. in page 703 of the last Register, and by Major Cartwright, in the present sheet.——The truth is, that Mr. Whitbread, like Mr. Peter Moore, has been *looking for a place himself.* He has, indeed, not yet actually taken a place, or a peerage. We have, by our timely alarms, made him desist from his pursuit; but, like a rook scared from a wheat-field, he now sits snug amongst the branches of the neighbouring tree, his eyes still fixed upon the golden grain, and only waiting till our backs are turned, to drop down again and fall to his meditated feast.——There are few persons, whose rise to public approbation has been more slow, or whose fall from that approbation has been more rapid, than that of Mr. Whitbread. He was sixteen years in parliament before he obtained any thing worthy of being called public notice; and after having obtained it, he had not the wisdom to preserve it much above sixteen months: so that, to use an old figure particularly applicable to his case, he has, with respect to reputation, been saving at the spiggot and spending at the bung-hole.

The Daily Press has, during this contest, been distinguished by every species of partiality. When we consider, that some of these prints are the property of Companies of speculators, and others the property of place-men, or pensioners, or place and pension-hunters, we need not be surprized at this partiality.——I have frequently had to notice the conduct of Mr. Perry, the principal proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, who, I observed, in my last Number, made exhorbitant charges for the insertion of every thing sent to it in behalf of Mr Paull. I stated, that for the then last advertisement of that gentleman *eight guineas* had been charged! This was a mistake, owing to the clerk having placed the wrong sums opposite the names of the different papers. It was the *Morning Post* that charged eight guineas; but, the Morning Chronicle charged *five guineas*, which charge, as the reader will easily conceive, must have been intended to operate as an *exclusion.* In fact, there is no species of misrepresentation, to which the Editor of this paper, Mr. Spankie, as well as his senior partner, Mr. Perry, have not had recourse. I was in hopes, that, in spite of all the degrading influence of ministerial temptation, I should always have had to speak well of Mr. Spankie, who is a man of real talents, and who, for a long while, did appear to have resisted that influence; but, the love of place has evidently taken possession of his heart: he is gone; and now he will, for the rest of his life, be numbered with the herd of hirelings.——His

gentleman (for such I cannot refrain from yet calling him) has, within these few days, *seriously asserted what he knew to be false.* He has, in his own department of the paper, informed his readers, that I, who was *here* opposing Sir Samuel Hood because he was a Pittite, had stayed *in Hampshire to vote* for Mr. Chute and Sir Henry Mildmay, two Pittites; and this assertion he made with the *certain knowledge*, that I came to town a fortnight before the election in Hampshire began, and that I had never quitted the town, but was still in it at the moment when he made that assertion. To the statements of a man who can so completely set truth at defiance, what credit can any one give?——Had I been in Hampshire, and had I had a vote to give, I certainly would have given it to those gentlemen; not, because they were Pittites, but because *to vote for them was to vote against the direct interference of the ministry in imposing members upon the county*; to which I will add, that I should have been strongly inclined to vote for them on another account, namely, because they were not placemen or pensioners; and, though Mr. Chute told the freeholders that he had always been attached to Mr. Pitt, he had great merit with me for having been a member of parliament sixteen years, without ever having asked or received a single favour of any kind from any minister. With equal truth Mr Spankie has asserted, that I have been "seen walking arm-in-arm in the streets of Winchester with Old George Rose;" but, as to the accusation, I would willingly walk with Old George Rose or Young George Rose, or any body else that would walk with me, and that would accept of my aid, in any way, in opposing an act of ministerial dictation, such as that which Hampshire has witnessed.——But, such men as Mr. Spankie is now become always leave *principle* out of the question, or he would have perceived that my conduct in both places was perfectly consistent; for, without reference to the candidates, I was, as far as I was able, exerting myself in Hampshire and in Westminster to prevent the servants of the Crown from forcing representatives upon the people.——To return to the conduct of the daily prints. This same Morning Chronicle has quoted, from the Register of four years back, a passage wherein I express a wish, that "what is "called the liberty of the press may be annihilated." But, the candid writer forgot to take in the context, which would have shewn, that I had then been complaining of the same base partiality in the press that I so justly complain of now; that I had been observing upon the pernicious consequences of a press, bought up with the public money, and sending forth falshoods instead of truths; that I had been complaining of a press which was free only so far as it tended to deceive the people by its misrepresentations, but was completely enslaved as to all other purposes; a press, the main, and, indeed, the only object of whose conductors was, to get places or pensions, or pay, by their publications; *such* liberty of the press I wished to see destroyed *then*, and I wish to see it destroyed *now*, though, while taxes can be collected, this wish will not rise into any thing like expectation.——The daily papers, without a single exception, have been leagued together against Mr. Paull and his cause. There is no species of partiality; of base and scandalous misrepresentation and falshood, of which they have not been guilty. It has cost him and his friends a hundred pounds to procure publicity to contradictions of the sheer calumnious falshoods, promulged against them in these venal journals. And, as to the proceedings at the hustings and elsewhere, relative to the election, their subaltern hirelings seem to have attended for the purpose of hearing and seeing what was said and done, only that their employers might be enabled to make a representation as near as possible the exact contrary of the truth. They have, as was before observed, all along carefully suppressed the circumstance of Mr. Paull being drawn home every evening by thousands of the people. But, suppression is amongst their trifling sins. When the elder Sheridan has been hissed, hooted and groaned off the hustings; when he has been cruelly spit upon in his passage to and fro; when even the children in the street, of six or seven years of age, have, like wicked little rogues, pelted him with orange peel and dirt; after a scene like this, the hireling prints have, the next morning, represented him as having been received with *rapturous applause!* So that, were it not for the weekly news-papers, some of which are conducted with perfect impartiality, it would be impossible for the truth, respecting this election, to find its way to the other parts of the kingdom.——But, there is one particular and marked instance of the partiality of the daily press that I must notice a little in detail.——The public saw Mr. Whitbread's Letter to Sir Francis Burdett in *all* the daily papers. Of the *nick of time* when that letter was inserted, and of the evident motives of the writer, notice has before been taken. To this letter Major Cartwright wrote the excellent answer, which will be found in a subsequent

page of this present sheet. This answer was sent for insertion to every daily paper in London; because one object of it was, to counteract the effect which Mr. Whitbread obviously wished his letter to produce against Sir Francis Burdett. At all the papers, *except two*, it was positively refused admission upon any terms. An obscure print, called the BRITISH PRESS, demanded *ten guineas* for the admission; and the ORACLE, after having kept it back several days, did, at last, insert it.——Such is the London Daily Press; and, is there one good man upon the face of the earth; is there one man, who loves truth and fair-dealing, that does not wish to see such a press annihilated? The mischiefs that this press have done to the country are indescribable. Not only is no man in power afraid of a press which he can at all times bribe; but, such a press is his best ally. The people, taught by this press, seldom have an opinion of their own. They reject the evidence of their senses; and, thus, is the nation led along from calamity to calamity without ever having a true notion as to the cause of those calamities. In short, as the press, in the hands of free and independent men, is one of the greatest of national blessings, so, in the hands of slaves and hirelings, it is the greatest of all national curses.

THE OFFER, which, as was stated in my last Number, Mr. Sheridan asserted to have been made by me, previous to the election, for Mr. Paull to split votes with Mr. Sheridan, has been *proved* never to have been made. After the reader has reverted to page 760, I beg leave to inform him, that Mr. Sheridan, *after he knew my Register was gone to the press*, published, in the Morning Chronicle, my first letter, which will be found at the bottom of page 757, and which letter he had before said implied a proposition to split votes with him, a proposition which he further said, *he rejected* WITH SCORN. The reader was convinced of the falsehood of this by Mr. Sheridan's answer to me, which will be found in page 758; and, to give him an idea of Mr. Sheridan's candour, I need only say, that Mr. Sheridan took special care *not to publish* this his letter, in the Morning Chronicle!——In addition to my letter, Mr. Sheridan published a note from Mr. Paull to Mr. Finnerty, which letter, together with the substance of a short conversation between Mr. Finnerty, Mr. Paull, and myself, Mr. Sheridan *extracted* from Mr. Finnerty, in the first instance, *without avowing any intention to publish them!* And yet, it is the partizans of a man like this, who have the impudence to accuse others of a breach of private confidence! By all these pitiful acts Mr. Sheridan has, however, gained nothing. The town was astonished, not at his falshood, but at his folly, when, from his own publication, it was *clearly proved* that no offer of splitting votes had ever been made to him.——I mentioned in page 760, that MR. RODWELL, on the part of Mr. Sheridan, had made such an offer to Mr. Paull. The answer, which, by me, in behalf of Mr. Paull, was given to Mr. Rodwell, I have now obtained; and it was as follows: "Sir, Mr. Paull being engaged in matters previously before him, he requested me to say, in answer to your letter, signifying a wish on your part, that he would *couple himself with Mr. Sheridan*, that he has, from the beginning, publicly as well as privately, declared that he was not, and would not be connected with either of the other candidates, a declaration, which, for your satisfaction, he begs me now to repeat." ——Now, reader, observe, that Mr. Rodwell showed this letter to Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Peter Moore, the Chairman of his Committee; and, they have taken special care *not to publish it*; nay, to give another instance of the blessings of the liberty of the daily press, Mr. Rodwell sent the letter for publication in the *Morning Chronicle*; but, upon a shuffling pretext that the editor (Mr. Spankie) was *not to be seen*, it was *kept out of that paper!*

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S LETTER. ——The public have seen a letter published in the news-papers, and signed by Mr. Sheridan, in which letter he denies, 1st, that he ever uttered, upon the hustings, any words disrespectful towards the Duke of Northumberland; and 2dly, that the Duke ever wrote, to any of the Electors of Westminster, any letter expressive of dislike to him, Mr. Sheridan ——The facts are these, 1st, that Mr. Stephenson, the vestry clerk of the parish of St. Margaret, read to me, before the election began, minutes, which he had made in his pocket book, of the contents of a letter from the Duke of Northumberland to some leading man in the parish, who, agreeably to the wishes of the Duke, had communicated the contents of the letter to the Church-wardens and overseers and to others of his friends in the parish, which contents, as read to me, in substance, were, that the Duke was highly offended that the ministers could find no other man than Mr. Sheridan to be the colleague of Earl Percy; that he could not bring himself to consent to his son's standing with such a man as Mr. Sheridan; and that, as he, the

Duke, did not like to declare open hostility against the ministers, he would not, upon this occasion, suffer his son to stand at all. The 2d fact is, that Mr. Sheridan, being told of this upon the hustings, in answer to a most insolent remark made by him respecting the low characters of Mr. Paull's supporters, said, in addressing himself to Mr. Powell, that, if the Duke of Northumberland were not *an old cripple and a dotard* he would chastise him for his letter; and, to the truth of this statement, Mr. Powell, who is Mr. Paull's solicitor and is well known to be a gentleman of undoubted veracity and honour, has authorized me to say, that he is, if required, ready to make oath. ——The letter of the Duke of Northumberland, the terms of which I have *greatly softened*, is now in the possession of Mr. Harrison, a linen draper of Bridge Street Westminster; it was carefully read by Mr. Porter of Parliament Street, who has assured me that the contents are what I have described them; and, as Mr. Stevenson appeared to wish to shuffle out of his statement to me, Mr. Clarke of Dartmouth Street, who was present when Mr. Stevenson read his minutes, came to the Crown and Anchor, on the 19th instant, and there publicly declared, that the statement before made by me (exactly similar to that above made) was perfectly correct; and, moreover, that Mr. Stevenson had authorized me to make any use that I pleased of the information he had given me. ——But, as the public have already a hundred times asked, *why does not Mr. Sheridan get the letter of the Duke published?* If it contains nothing disadvantageous to him, why not let the public see it? He knows better; and his friends participate in his prudence. Mr. Stevenson, who, at the time when he read me his notes, had no idea that the ministers would step forth to support Mr. Sheridan, has now shuffled, and most contemptibly shuffled. But, let Mr. Stephenson *publish his minutes*, then! Those minutes contain expressions beyond all measure more *harsh* than are contained in my account of them; and Mr. Stephenson well knows that I have kept far within the limits of truth. ——In fact, Mr. Sheridan himself must be well acquainted with the contents of the Duke's letter; he is boiling with rage at those contents; but, though, in the heat of reply, he gave way to this rage upon the hustings, he, upon reflection, feels how dangerous it is for him to attempt to resent any thing coming from a supporter of the ministry. This he feels, too, is only a *little beginning*; a mere foretaste of that which is to come.

THE SHERIDANS AT STAFFORD.——This topic, which was brought forward by MR. CLIFFORD, in a public meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the 19th instant, I shall leave to Mr. Clifford himself, who, upon rising to give, as a toast, *the free and independent Electors of Stafford*, made the following speech, as reported in the Oracle of the 20th instant:—— "Mr. Clifford rose to "give a toast; but first he should call their "attention to some circumstances that be"longed to it, and observed, that for many "years Mr. Sheridan had been returned "member for Stafford. It had always been "the pride of the electors of that town, to "return a gentleman who had so long and "so ably fought against corruption. But "their minds were very much changed of "late as to the conduct of Mr. Sheridan "himself. Some time before the election, "Mr. Thomas Sheridan, his son, went thi"ther, and (sent the bell-man round) to "call a meeting of the corporation, to re"turn thanks to his father. When the "meeting took place, although a very nu"merous one, *there was not a person to be "found to make the motion.* Afterwards, "when the election came on, Mr. Sheridan "and his friends made inquiry concerning "the circumstances of Mr. Mansel Phillips, "one of the candidates. They found that "a friend of that gentleman owed a bill of "£200 to a tailor, and was in danger of "being reduced to great difficulty, when "Mr Phillips passed his word for the pay"ment of the bill, and saved his friend "from a gaol. Mr. Phillips being thus re"sponsible for the money, *they caused a "writ to be sent from London, and had Mr. "Phillips arrested upon it.* The writ was "brought down by *Major Downes*, (the "*undertaker*, and Major of the volunteers "of whom *Mr. Sheridan* is COLONEL!) "and executed, and a Mr. Burgess, Domes"tic Attorney to Mr. Sheridan, was the "agent for carrying it into effect. Mr. "Phillips, however, was bailed by some of "his friends. Still the party of Sheridan "found out another demand against him, "and caused him to be arrested at the suit "of *Mr. Harvey Combe for* £104, and Mr. "Cocker, an intimate friend of Mr. Sheri"dan, and an attorney of the Whig Club, "was the agent employed on that occasion. "This Mr. Clifford considered a practice "the most dangerous that could possibly "take place to the liberties of the people, "and the rights of election. It might be "said that all this was done by the agents "or friends of Mr. Sheridan, without his "knowledge; but he must have had a suffi-

"cient power and controul over them, and "he must be responsible for their acts. "Notwithstanding all these attempts, the "party of Mr. Sheridan was unable to suc-"ceed; the voters at Stafford were more "than 600, and out of these Mr. Thomas "Sheridan could obtain no more than 165." ——There needs no comment upon this. Let the Sheridans answer Mr. Clifford. But, I will just add, as another striking instance of the partiality and baseness of the daily press, that, though this was an election of great importance, not one of them, as far as I have been able to learn, has, even unto this day, *made any mention of its result!*

High Blood.——During this contest, the most offensive, disgusting, and loathsome eruptions of *high blood* have broken out, on the side of the most noisy partizans of Mr. Sheridan and his *worthy* colleague. Upon all occasions, whether at the hustings or at dinners, they have talked of the low origin of Mr. Paull and of his friends; and have actually represented them as unfit to be heard, because they had no high blood in their veins. At one dinner, Mr. Sheridan gave, as a toast, his supporters, "*the Juvenile Nobility*," alluding to those high-blooded gentlemen, Mr. *Berkeley Craven*, Lord Petersham, Mr. *Barry*, Lord *Barrymore*, and some others; and, upon one occasion, he had the modesty to number, amongst the high-blooded gentry, *his own son Thomas* coupled with a Mr. *Mellish*, whom my readers have so frequently heard of upon the turf, and who seems to have carried court-sycophancy farther than any other man, having actually *put on a pair of German whiskers*, which he constantly wears, with the view, it is said, of being *taken for a Hanoverian*, in which view, I, as an Englishman, most heartily wish he may succeed.——But, these pretentions to high blood, though excessively disgusting, might have passed away under our silent contempt, had not the insolence of the Younger Sheridan been too great to remain unresented.——At a dinner of Mr. Sheridan's friends, at the Crown and Anchor, on the 13th instant, Mr. Whitbread, according to a report of the speeches, in the Morning Chronicle of the 14th, paid some compliments to Mr. Paull for his conduct in the House of Commons, whereupon Mr. Thomas Sheridan, according to the said report, made use of the following words: "Mr. T. "Sheridan thanked the meeting, and felt so "invigorated by the several patriotic toasts "which had been given, that he felt ready "to canvass for almost a thousand votes. "He differed from Mr. Whitbread in his "opinion of Mr. Paull so much that he was "in doubt whether he would not *raise* him "in the estimation of society by *kicking* "*him out of it.*"—Now, then, let us ask what we never should have asked, had we not been thus insulted in the person of Mr. Paull, *whence sprang the Sheridans?* The father of Mr. Paull, they tell us, was a *tailor*. Be it so; but the profession of a tailor is an useful one, a necessary one, and, as I have elsewhere observed, one held not in contempt by those of our kings, whose reigns added to, instead of diminishing the dominions and the glory of England; several of those kings having had their names inscribed as members of the Company of Tailors, while not one of them was ever known to associate with players and buffoons. The hired daily press has described Mr. Hewlines as a "*Feather-man*" and Mr. Gibbons as a "*Commission-man;*" and, when the public consider how much public-spirit and talents have been displayed by these gentlemen during the contest, and how completely, in comparison with the former, the "juvenile nobility" sink into nothing; when they consider, that this gentleman, though the son of a miller, has rejected with disdain all the flatteries by which Mr. Sheridan and his aristocratic friends endeavoured to gain him over to their side; when the public consider this, they will not be surprised that he has been the object of abuse with the venal and envious proprietors and conductors of the daily press.——But, let us revert to the question: *whence sprang the Sheridans?* From a *play-actor*; from a person of that profession, (if it can be called a profession) the followers of which are, in our wise laws, considered and denominated *vagabonds*. Players, we all know, are not, except by special permission of the magistrate, allowed to exhibit their shews. By the laws of our country, written as well as unwritten, there at all times exists a general prohibition against them; and, in the cases where they are tolerated, the toleration proceeds from a maxim, that, since vicious propensities will exist in a luxurious state of society, it is better to indulge the frivolous vice of haunting play-houses than to expose society to the effects of vices of a more dangerous nature. The prohibition of the exercise of this calling is, therefore, the *rule*; the toleration of it, merely the *exception*; and most wise is the law, for, if there be any calling lower than all other callings; if there be any one beyond all comparison the most degrading, is it not that, wherein the operator, for the

purpose of obtaining food and raiment, exhibits his person, displays his limbs, and strains his voice for the *amusement* of the spectators, to whose occasional and often capricious hisses and peltings it is a part of his profession to submit with a smile and a bow!——But, there is something truly whimsical in this charge of *low birth*, preferred against us by the Sheridans and their friends. Lord Percy was nominated by one *brewer* and the nomination was seconded by *another brewer*; and how, I should be glad to know, does the vending of *beer* ennoble a man any more than the vending of *feathers?* Certain I am, that neither of those brewers (Messrs. *Whitbread* and *Elliott*) possesses one half of the public virtue, or of the talent, of Mr. *Heulings*. Where then are their pretensions to superiority, and whence have they drawn the maxim, that it is impossible to rise in the scale of public estimation, except you can trace your exaltation to the paste and paint of the Green-Room, or to the grounds of a beer-barrel?——So much for the *high blood* of our adversaries; and let the public recollect, that it is those adversaries who have thrown the first stone.

The Services of the Sheridans. have, with what prudence we shall see, been a subject of boasting with their partizans.—— Is there, in the whole kingdom, any man who can tell us of any single service, however small, that the elder Sheridan ever, at any time of his life, rendered to any part of the country? Yet, he is now in the receipt of about *five thousand five hundred pounds a year*, out of the public money, not including the occupation of a noble mansion, built and maintained at the public expense, and supplied, from the same source, with coals, candles, and furniture; while the younger Sheridan of whom we have never heard but in the circles of pleasure, is in the receipt of two thousand pounds a year as a *muster-master* in Ireland, which post might have served as the appropriate reward of some one of the numerous veterans, who are starving in the garrets of London.——Our adversaries may call us *jacobins*, or what else they please, but, is there one good man in the world, who will say that this is not reasonable ground of complaint? Will you, Mr. Windham? I address myself to your wisdom and your virtue, always objects of my admiration; will you say, that upwards of eight thousand pounds a year ought to be drawn from the people in taxes to be heaped upon the Sheridans? Pray, Sir, tell me not of *compassion*; let me not be asked "what they are to do," if they have not salaries. The suffering people, from whom those salaries are drained, demand our compassion, and the maxims of virtuous men of all ages, the precepts of religion as well as of morality, command us to be *just* before we are *generous*.

Conclusion.——I shall now conclude with inserting our *Resolutions* and our *Toasts*, together with Mr. *Paull's Address* to the Electors, after the election. To these I shall, at all times refer, for the principles and the motives, by which we have been actuated, and as a faithful summary of the progress and result of the contest; a contest, to have taken some part in which will always be my pride; but which, as far as I am personally concerned, is now, except as to a future publication of names, completely at an end. I retire from it with an increased admiration of the good sense and public spirit of the Electors of Westminster; with the pleasure of having greatly augmented the number of the men whom I personally esteem, and amongst whom I have now the inexpressible satisfaction to include Mr. Powell, to whose exertions we are indebted for so considerable a part of our success, whose rare assemblage of qualities and endowments have been a subject of such unanimous admiration and applause, and the honour of even a temporary acquaintance with whom is well worth all the toil and anxiety even of a Westminster Election.

Resolutions moved by the Chairman, Sir Francis Burdett, and seconded by Mr. Gibbons, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the 30th October, 1806.

"Resolved—I. That, to be represented "in the legislature by men sent thither by "our own free choice, is our undoubted "right as Englishmen; is the only security "for the possession of our property, or the "enjoyment of our personal freedom; and "is, indeed, the only thing which distinguishes us from the subjects of a de-pot.

"II. That duly impressed with the value of this, our constitutional privilege,— "and perceiving, with deep affliction, that, "through the influence of corruption and "venalty, this inestimable privilege has, in "numerous instances, been undermined "and annihilated, it is, at this critical period, the duty of every body of men having a right to vote, and particularly of the "electors of this great and populous city, so "to exercise their franchise as to exhibit to "the rest of the kingdom an example of "good sense, of public spirit, of purity of "principle, and of resolution to maintain or "recover those rights, which, when consti-

"tutionally enjoyed, have always proved to "be the greatest blessing to the people, "and the surest foundation of the throne.

"III. That we have observed, with unfeigned sorrow, that out of the 651 members of the late House of Commons, a "comparatively very small portion ever attended their duty; that nearly one half "of the whole were placemen, dependent "officers, and pensioners; that, it was but "too often evident, that the motive of action was private interest rather than public good; and that, amongst those who "were loudest in their professions of devotion to the king, the chief object was to "render him, as well as his people, the "slaves of a faction.

"IV. That in the parliamentary conduct "of Mr. Paull, we have observed a constant "attention to his duty, a strict adherence to "every promise made to the public, a virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and peculators, an inflexible perseverance in the "prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations, "by which so many other men have been "seduced to betray their trust; and that "upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon "us, collectively and individually, to use all "the legal means within our power to secure his election, and therein to do all "that rests with us to preserve our country "from a fate similar to that of so many European states, which have fallen an easy "conquest to the enemy, only because the "people had neither property nor liberty to "defend."

Toasts given by the Chairman, Major Cartwright, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on Monday the 17th of November, 1806.

"The King, the Lords, and the Commons.—May they mutually unite "and co-operate in the adoption of all "those measures that may be necessary for "the restoration of the happiness and character, and for the preservation of the independence of the country, in spite of the "machinations and the force of all its enemies, domestic as well as foreign.

"The Free and Independent "Electors of Westminster.—May the "noble struggle which they are now making against the combined powers of official corruption, of bribery, of undue influence, of threats of every sort, serve as "a practical example to electors in general; "and may it speedily lead to a perfect restoration of the constitution, with respect to "the representation of the people in the "Commons House of Parliament."

"Mr. Paull.—Thanks to him for having "given us an opportunity of exercising our "franchises, and of demonstrating our indignation at a proscription pronounced by "a minister against an upright member of "parliament."

"The Independent Freeholders of "Middlesex.—May they never forget, "that 100 mercenaries in the House of "Commons are more dangerous to this "country, than 500,000 armed mercenaries "with the Emperor Napoleon at their "head."

"Sir Francis Burdett.—The man of "unblemished virtue, private as well as "public; the sincere and disinterested "friend of both king and people, and the "dreaded enemy of hypocritical loyalists, "and place-hunting patriots!"

"The Naval and Military Defenders of our Country.—May they be "made to participate in all those rights "which will render public liberty as dear to "them as their military fame; and may "their deeds in arms prove hereafter, as "they have done heretofore, that we stand "in no need of the introduction of foreign "troops, an introduction so strictly forbidden by those laws which were bought by "the best blood of our forefathers."

Resolutions moved by the Chairman, Major Cartwright, *and seconded by* Mr. Gibbons, *at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 19th of November,* 1806.

"Resolved, 1st, That our principles, "relative to elections in general, and that "the feelings and motives by which we "were more especially actuated at the outset of the present contest, are fully set "forth in our resolutions agreed to at this "place on the 30th ultimo, and signed with "the honoured name of our then chairman "Sir Francis Burdett.

"2dly, That, proceeding in strict conformity with those principles and motives, "we have from that hour unto the present, "scrupulously abstained from every attempt at undue influence, making our appeal to the good sense, the integrity, and "the public spirit of the electors; while, "on the contrary, the partizans of our enemies have had recourse to every species "of unfair means, whether of compulsion "or of fraud.

"3dly, That, from a conviction of the unfitness of the other candidates to become "the representatives of free and independent men, Mr. Paull has from the beginning, uniformly and explicitly declared

"his fixed determination not to be connected with either, and that the coalition between Sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan did not take place, until after the former had obtained upwards of two thousand votes, under the effect of an opinion sedulously propagated, that he was not, and would on no account be, connected with the latter.

"4thly, That Mr. Paull has polled 4,481 votes of free and independent electors of Westminster, of which 3,077 have been whole votes (or plumpers); while Mr. Sheridan has polled only 955 whole votes, and Sir Samuel Hood 1,033; and that, from the combination of these latter candidates, we find that they each polled 3,240 split votes.

"5thly, That thus, notwithstanding the before mentioned unnatural an odious coalition; notwithstanding and union of the ministry, and of the whole of the aristocracy; notwithstanding the combined hostility of the tax gatherers, of the magistrates, and of the dependent clergy; notwithstanding the means growing out of the large subscriptions made for Mr. Sheridan, by swarms of placemen and pensioners, who have thus opposed the voice of the people with the money drawn from them in taxes; that, notwithstanding all the effects of this hideous and formidable combination against the free and independent part of the people, Mr. Paull has obtained, not only more suffrage than either of the other candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by any candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster.

"6thly, That, therefore, on a calm review of the progress, as well as of the result of this contest, we find solid reason to congratulate ourselves upon having obtained a triumph, the most decisive over undue influence and political apostacy; a triumph which has struck terror to the hearts of our opponents, and which will not fail to encourage us in our future exertions against all the enemies of our king and country, domestic as well as foreign.

"7thly, That, for this glorious triumph, and for the fair prospect of better days which it presents to us, we are chiefly indebted to the integrity and perseverance of Mr. Paull, unto whom, therefore, we, in this public manner, express our warmest gratitude, and declare our unalterable attachment."

Mr. PAULL'S *Address, after the Election, to the Free and Independent Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster, dated Nov. 20, 1806.*

"Gentlemen,—After your having seen "that, out of 14,717 votes, which have "been polled at this election for the three "candidates, 4481 were polled for me, of "which 3077 were whole votes, or plumpers, while only 955 whole votes were "polled for Mr. Sheridan, and 1033 for Sir "Samuel Hood; after having seen, that, "thus, through your virtuous independence "of mind, I have obtained not only *more "suffrage* than either of the other candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by *any* candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster; after "having witnessed the general and indescribable indignation with which Mr. "Sheridan was, on all occasions, received "by the people, and their silent contempt "towards the other candidate; after having "seen these, as they call themselves, *favourite* candidates secretly and ingloriously "sneaking from the hustings at the close of "the poll, and retiring through a back "door, to have the result of it declared out "of the hearing of the people; after having "seen them pursue their retreat through a "private passage, to the spot where their "theatrical car was provided for their reception; after having seen them conducted to the scene of their carousals surrounded by a host of constables and police officers, to whom, upon this special occasion, "had been added the officers of the Thames "Police, while troops were drawn up in "the Park, by way of superabundant precaution, all which, nevertheless, was insufficient to shelter them from that mud, "which the people considered as their most "appropriate decoration; after having seen "that, while they, who were formerly objects of popularity, were thus surrounded "with apprehensions for their personal "safety, and stunned with hisses and "groans, I was conducted to my house "amidst heart-cheering shouts of applause, "that reverberated even to their distant "and barricadoed retreat; after having "witnessed all this, need I remind you, "gentlemen, that *ours is the triumph*, and "*theirs the defeat*? For my share of this "triumph, gentlemen, I am indebted to "your good sense, public spirit, and love of "real liberty, which never, at any time, or in "any part of the kingdom, were so conspicuous as on this occasion, and which, while "they demand my warmest gratitude for the "past, are grounds of my unshaken reliance for the future, especially for the vigorous prosecution of those measures

" which are necessary finally to obtain that " justice, of which, through the means re- " sorted to by our adversaries, we are, for " the present, deprived.—With sentiments " of respect and affection never to be effac- " ed from my heart, I remain, Gentlemen, " your faithful and devoted Servant,

—— JAMES PAULL."

*** I am glad to find, from the Newspapers of this day, that " A HISTORY OF " THE WESTMINSTER AND MIDDLESEX " ELECTIONS, in the month of November, " 1806." is already in the press, and is to include *all* the documents of every description relating to them; because I am sure that the world has nothing to do but to see those documents, to be convinced of the justice of our cause, and of the strict propriety of our conduct from the beginning to the end.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S LETTER TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

From the Oracle.

Dear Sir,——It was not till Monday I first saw, in Lincolnshire, your letter to Sir Francis Burdett, bearing date the 5th of this month (see p. 700); since which, until the present moment, I have not had time to express the sentiments to which it gave rise. Being of opinion, that not only the provocation given by the Baronet to your political party, but the retort it has produced, have tendencies injurious to that country which both, I am sure, sincerely desire to serve, I shall exercise that fragment of liberty, which is almost all that remains to us, to state to you the grounds of my opinion. I lament the conduct of both, and I hope both will hear me with patience and candour —When the calamitous, and, as I must ever call it, the pernicious ministry of Mr. Pitt, was succeeded by a ministry of which Mr. Fox was the inspiring soul, the hope, the expectation, the confident trust of English patriotism was that the day was then near at hand when the political liberty which it was the wish of his grand mind might bless his species " all over the world" should at least be fully restored in England. If, Sir, month after month was seen to elapse, without any intimation being given of intended measures to that end; if those months were not distinguished by proceedings to indicate a different system of administration from that which had brought upon us the heaviest calamities and the greatest dangers; that which had actually confiscated a part of our estates, by the operation called " selling the Land Tax," and which had, for aught we could discover to the contrary, also conveyed the remainder of our property to the King's Exchequer, to be paid in, whenever it should be voted by a House of Commons which *did not represent the people*; if, Sir, this was our situation, could it surprise a gentleman, with whom I had, some years ago, the honour of belonging to the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for a reformation of parliament, that a man of Sir Francis Burdett's acuteness of feeling, in whatever regards the freedom of his country, should give vent to the poignant emotions which must have kept his ardent mind on the rack, or should not even refrain from the language of indignant satire? To Mr. Whitbread's heart I address myself for an answer. I am not justifying the Baronet's want of patience, I am not vindicating his want of temper. As patience and temper are virtues, God knows, of which we never stood more in need, I wish they had more abounded; I wish they had not obstructed his own road to Parliament; I wish they had not excited against him any unnecessary enmity or prejudice. Whatever might have been his displeasure towards men in office, whatever his fears, whatever his suspicions, I still blame him for not shewing more patience and more temper. In his provocation to your political friends, I think there was a censureable defect of self-command. In your retort, which may well pass for a state paper, breathing the sentiments of your party, you will pardon me, I doubt not, when I speak of it as deficient in magnanimity.

Feelings of a genuine love of liberty; a consciousness of intending that reform by which alone it can be restored; a determination to execute with fidelity in power, that for which, when out of power, you in vain contended, might Sir, I humbly think, have preserved in you a dignified silence at the present moment, even under the provocations of suspicions and reproach, rather than have, in any degree, divided the friends of reformation. Such a conduct was not more than might have been expected from men whose task it is, not merely to serve, but to save their country.

Much, Sir, as your letter, penned in the true manner of a gentleman, is to be admired, I would to God that, you had, on this occasion, resembled the Lacedemonian, whom not even blows could move to a resentment hurtful to his country! Might you not, Sir, even under the provocation of reproaches and sarcasms, with truth have nobly said—" The honest Baronet thinks us tardy; he fears that coalitions have diluted our public virtue; he suspects we are adding one more instance to the many that have

gone before, in which the Circean taste of power has oblivioned all remembrance of the former man; we must forgive him; we must bear with his anger; we know his inestimable value, and with what ardour he will support us when he finds us sincere. Let him anticipate our early exertions for restoring to the people their due weight in the legislature, by our favouring, in every way that is constitutional and honourable, his election for the metropolitan county of England! Then shall we have a noble revenge for the injury of his invectives!"

Give me leave, Sir, now to advert to that part of your letter in which you "utterly deny it to be an opinion founded in truth, that a person holding an office under the crown, however otherwise estimable, cannot at any time, become the fit representative of a free, incorrupt, and independent people." Here, Sir, I confess you have surprised me; and no less so, when you add that "the people, by the acceptance of the Baronet's doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the *worst of mankind.*

Not laying, Sir, any stress (for I despise cavil) upon an erroneous interpretation of Sir Francis's words, taken by you as extending "to exclude all the executive servants of government from seats in *either* House of Parliament," whereas they are confined to the "Representative," or Commons' House only; I must still express my astonishment, that the exclusion thought necessary by Sir Francis Burdett, namely, an exclusion of the *servants of the crown* from among the *representatives of the people*, should, by a patriot statesman, be represented as exposing that people "to the hard necessity of being governed by "*the worst of mankind*;" and equally was I the other day astonished, in reading it as the declaration of another patriot statesman (Mr. Sheridan), that "such an exclusion was contrary to *the English constitution*," or words to that effect, for I quote from memory.

Does not Mr. Whitbread know, that in the Seventeen American Houses of Commons, *there sits not among the representatives of the people, a single placeman in the pay of the executive magistrate?* Are, then, I ask, all these seventeen American nations "governed *by the worst of mankind?*" Have we observed in that country any such mismanagement of its affairs, any such perversions of its constitution, any such undermining of its freedom, or any such flagrant corruptions, or abuses, as to indicate that it is "governed *by the worst of mankind?*" When those legislatures, without being assisted by the wisdom of men in office, successively placed the executive sovereignty in the hands of a Washington, an Adams, and a Jefferson, did this bespeak a defect in their constitution, whereby "the people were reduced to the hard necessity of being governed *by the worst of mankind?*" The last-named of these presidents, some time since, informed the people under his authority, that such economy and order had been introduced, that the whole revenue of the United States was raised at their "sea-board," by custom-house duties on exports and imports; that is, on superfluities they sent out of, and luxuries they received into, their country; and that, from one end of the states to the other—states extending over an immense continent, *not a single tax-gatherer was to be seen.* Is this, again, a proof of their "being *governed by the worst of mankind?*" I should rather conceive these sublime facts which have hitherto been thrown away upon us, to prove, that when some of our persecuted ancestors retired beyond the Atlantic, they had the good sense to carry with them only the *purity* of the representative branch of the English constitution, leaving *the corrupt dregs* in the land where they had experienced their persecutions. Nothing can be more certain than that the magnificent facts to which I recal your recollection, are genuine emanations from the English constitution.

Let us now, Sir, view a humiliating contrast; let us suppose a country to exist, where every servile place-hunter, every unprincipled adventurer, every rapacious speculator on public plunder, at the signal of a general election, posts to a Borough to corrupt the electors; where the minister corrupts the pretended representatives, and they in return, corrupt and contaminate the whole executive government; where action and reaction are equally pernicious to the national morals, the national liberty, the national property. Must it not, Sir, I ask you, and I ask it with anguish, be, in such a country, and under such a system, that the people are most exposed to the misfortune of being "governed by *the worst of mankind?*"

My question, Sir, has the authority of melancholy experience. Your assumption is against fact and against reason. Contemplate, Sir, I beseech you, in one and the same view, a *Commons House* and a *Common Jury*; and disunite, if you can, the sacred principles of duty, on which a vote and a verdict ought ever, and ought alone to be given. Both are held in trust for the public. A verdict, Sir, you know cannot be sold for gain; no, nor even given to friend-

ship against duty, but with infamy. If this be so, where, for the most part, only an individual is injured, how infinitely stronger the argument in the case of a vote, by which injury may be done a whole nation and its posterity to the latest generation! For, Sir, if your English mind would revolt with horror at the thought of foisting into a jury, that was to decide a cause of a hundred pounds between you and another, your own hired servants, or pensioners living on your bounty, how can you reconcile it to any principle of integrity, or of the constitution, that a large proportion of the House of Commons should be servants and dependants in the pay of the crown to vote away the money of the people by millions? Neither Mr. Sheridan nor yourself, in pleading for this indefensible practice, have told us in what proportion it ought to prevail. Your inability to tell us this proportion will ever be a proof that the practice for which you (I trust unwarily) have become an advocate, is contrary to all constitutional principle; and if principle be to govern, if the English constitution be to be held sacred, not one placeman can you constitutionally make a representative of a free people. The things are in nature at variance; no man can serve two masters, occasionally in opposite interests, without failing in his duty to one or the other; in short, no man can serve God and Mammon.——To this monstrous inconsistency, to this gross absurdity, it is but too true, that corrupt habit on one hand, and a pretended impracticability of reform on the other, have too much reconciled our blunted our callous feelings; as the feelings of Jamaica planters are reconciled to the viewing with complacency fellow-men in slavery, tilling the sun-scorched soil under the terrors and the smart of the driver's lash!

Surely, Mr. Whitbread, it cannot be necessary to state to you, that a House of Commons which should be filled by genuine election, as free as pure; opening the doors of parliament to all the worth and wisdom of our country, against which they are now barred, and from which placemen, as *voting* members, should be totally excluded, would not cease to be the theatre of ambition, and the road to power! A theatre for the display of all the virtues and all the talents of the patriot and the statesman! Surely it cannot be necessary to observe to a man of your enlightened mind, that such a house must be infinitely more prolific of characters fit for the government of a free people, than a house liable to be filled, by the means I have noticed, with the most base and profligate of their species!

If, Sir, it were possible to extinguish in private life, the just influence of wealth well employed, such distinction would destroy the cements and the endearments of society; or if it were possible to extinguish in public life that influence of the crown which holds out rewards to public toil and public virtue, such extinction would be the curse of our country; but, Sir, in the same degree that we ought to preserve the just influence of private wealth or of public power, we ought to be jealous of the corrupt influence of either. In a House of Popular Representatives, every place, every pension, every emolument dependent on the will of the crown, that is held by a member, is a drop of poison in the legislative chalice.

But, Sir, a pure and truly Representative House of Commons would form men for the duties of government: at the same time that it nourished a love of liberty and patriot integrity, it would train genius and industry to public business, and create a host of statesmen. It would be there the crown would look for ministers and official servants; the House would exult in having furnished them; and the people would rejoice in being governed by the best of mankind. Thus, Sir, would the action and reaction of pure and free election, and of public virtue, prevent parliament from degenerating into servility and dependence, and the crown from becoming either a tempter of parliamentary integrity or a tyrant of the people.—There can be no objection to a Treasury Bench, or to a Naval, or Military, or any other Bench, having place in a House of Commons for purposes of state utility, to be occupied by servants of the crown; but that such persons should vote on questions between the crown and the people, touching either liberty or property, is a proposition too shocking to be entertained. Until a reformation, which is most devoutly to be wished, shall have been obtained, methinks, Sir, it would be but paying a decent homage to the real constitution of our country, should statesmen who hold places of great emolument under the Treasury, content themselves with representing the Boroughs of the Treasury. For these reasons, Sir, although I am sorry to differ from a man I respect and honour, I certainly shall "assist" Sir Francis Burdett to the utmost of my power "in becoming a member of parliament."

I have the honour to remain,
Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant
JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MR. PAULL'S CORRESPONDENCE.

The public have seen, in all the *daily*

prints, but particularly in the Morning Chronicle, garbled extracts from a correspondence between Mr. Paull and Marquis Wellesley, in India. The intention of these garbled extracts has been to cause the world to believe, Mr. Paull has, in the first place been *ungrateful* to the Marquis; and, in the next place, that he expressed, while in India his cordial approbation of *all* the Marquis's measures.——The following *two letters*, which are the *only* letters that ever passed between Mr. Paull and the Marquis, will enable the reader to judge of the fairness of these charges against Mr. Paull.——But, as an introduction to these two letters, I must insert, two, to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, the latter of which has appeared in that paper, but *not the former*.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Mr. Spankie,——From the manner in which you have lately conducted the Morning Chronicle, and particularly, when I consider the unwarrantable conduct of Mr. Perry, who, before he got possession of the place he has been so long seeking, gladly inserted every article calculated to pourtray the true character and conduct of Lord Wellesley; but now, with you, joins in every infamous calumny against his accuser, for whom you formerly professed respect and esteem; I can ask no favour from you, I merely demand an act of justice. This act of justice, is, to insert the inclosed Letters with the preface to them in the Chronicle of Monday. Already you have given to the public garbled extracts from them, because you well knew that the insertion of the whole would not have reflected dishonour on me. They are the only letters which ever passed between me and Lord Wellesley, and will be seen to relate solely to commercial objects of a public nature. The only favour, if an act not to be refused without incurring the risk of punishment, can be called a favour, rendered to me by the Marquis Wellesley, was assisting (with the Nabob of Oude) on my return to Lucknow, where I had been permitted to go by the Court of Directors. This has been magnified into an obligation not to be repaid or forgotten, and I have been accused of ingratitude because I did not suffer such an act so to operate on my mind, as to make me forget my duty to my country, and to suffer tyranny and oppression to go unpunished. Let the people of England be my judges, to them I shall on every occasion be glad to refer my conduct. I never had a personal misunderstanding with Lord Wellesley, as has been so falsely reported, and I have inclosed you these letters that by publishing them the whole world may be convinced I have no wish to shrink from inquiry, or to disclose every transaction of my public or private life.——The beaver will wait for your answer, and for the letters and preface, in case you should refuse their insertion.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant,——J. Paull.——*Nov.* 10, 1806.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,—A great deal has been said by my opponents in and out of Parliament of my ingratitude to Lord Wellesley, and this censure has been pronounced on me, in consequence of a letter written by me to his lordship, in the year 1802. Extracts from this letter of the most partial nature, have been given to the public; in justice to myself, therefore, and that the nation may be acquainted with the real nature of the transaction, I send you the letter, with the answer to it, and shall shortly state the circumstances under which it was written, leaving you and your readers to form your own conclusions from it. They were printed by order of the House of Commons, and have been in the hands of all the members.—When I quitted Lucknow in 1801, where I had resided for 12 years, the Nabob of Oude was in possession of the whole of his territories. On my return to India, in 1802, having, previously to my leaving England, obtained permission from the Court of Directors to repair again to Lucknow, I found the Nabob's country in possession of the Company. With the usurpations and means which had been practised to obtain this possession, I was wholly unacquainted, as was I with the other acts of aggression and oppression committed by Lord Welesley in that country. From personal pique the Nabob of Oude wished me not to return; this will sufficiently shew, that my connection with that Prince was as imaginary as that now imputed to me with the Emperor Napoleon and his 500,000 mercenaries. I demanded of Lord Wellesley to be sent thither, and as an act of justice this was granted me. Finding that great obstructions were put in the way of my commercial pursuits in the ceded territories, I, a few days afterwards, addressed this celebrated letter to Lord Wellesley; and, fresh with the recollection of what had been recently done by him, I, who am not totally destitute of feelings of sensibility, made use of the expression in the latter part of my letter, which has been urged against me as an inconsistency with my future conduct. I leave the world to judge how far it is inconsistent, and to say whether an act of justice in my commercial engagements should prevent my af-

terwards becoming the accuser of a person whom I regarded as one of the greatest delinquents which perhaps ever existed in this or any other country.—I am, Sir, &c.

Nov. 16, 1805. JAMES PAULL.

Copy of a Letter from the Persian Secretary to the Governor General, dated 17th September, 1802, *to the Vizier, relative to Mr. Paull.*

I have had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter (recapitulate his Excellency's letter on the subject of Mr. Paull.) —Agreeably to your Excellency's desire, I have communicated the contents of that letter to his Excellency the most noble the Governor General, who has directed me to state to your Excellency in reply, that previously to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, his Lordship had been induced by the information which he received of the regularity and propriety of Mr. Paull's conduct during his former residence at Lucknow, to grant him permission to return to that station, for the purpose of prosecuting his mercantile concerns; his Excellency was further induced to grant that permission by the consideration that those concerns are calculated to benefit your Excellency's country, by encouraging industry and by promoting the interests of commerce within your Excellency's dominions.—Under these circumstances his Lordship confidently trusts that your Excellency will be disposed to permit Mr. Paull to remain at Lucknow, unless any acts of misconduct on the part of Mr. Paull, of which his Excellency is not apprized, should appear to your Excellency to merit that destruction to Mr. Paull's just and equitable prospects which must be the consequence of his being prohibited from remaining at Lucknow in the prosecution of the beneficial objects of commerce.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Paull to the Marquis Wellesley, K. P. Governor General, &c. Dated Lucknow. Dec. 5th, 1802.

MY LORD,—Although incessantly engaged in the affairs of a most mighty Empire, I am, however, well aware that the concerns of an humble individual are not beneath your Excellency's notice.—I have, my lord, for many years carried on extensive concerns in Gude, and for the ensuing twelve months I reckon my exports from the Vizier's country will be at least fifteen lacks of rupees.—On re-commencing my business, after a short absence in Europe, I find myself, however, reluctantly under the necessity of representing to the notice of your Excellency, a very vexatious and truly grievous hardship in the present mode of collecting the Company's Duties at their Custom houses within the provinces.—By an express article of the commercial treaty, which I understand from the Vizier's government is still in force, the Naboh's Rowannah is therein laid down as the rule for the Company's Custom-Masters to levy the duties on exports from Oude: I am aware at the same time, that in July last, government in its wisdom passed a regulation, which however has never been promulgated, empowering the Custom-Masters to alter the old and to substitute a new mode of valuation. To this regulation it is my duty to yield submission; and it is the mode only of carrying the government regulations into execution of which I presume to complain to your excellency.—Notwithstanding that I accompany my dispatches with the actual and bonâ fide prices of my exports: to these the Custom-Masters will pay no attention: they stop the boats, unpack as many bales as they choose; they carry a number of pieces of cloth from the boats to a distance, and affix an exact an arbitrary undefined rate: in a word, my Lord, it is left to the wisdom or caprice of their native servants to affix what duty they choose upon articles on which government have defined no express rate of duty for their guidance.—The hardship alone, my Lord,, of unpacking bales at three different custom-houses (and they are subject to it at Juanpore, Ghanzipore, and Patna) which are carefully made up in unfavourable weather, or, indeed, in any weather, is of itself a most serious evil: but the consequent delays that must inevitably attend the new system, and the heavy arbitrary undefined valuation put upon property, (and moreover, my Lord, one transaction forms no guide for me to go by, to prevent recurrences of to these evils, for each valuation of the same sort of goods differs from another) are drawbacks and impediments that no commerce can thrive under, and I humbly presume to say, totally incompatible with that excessive wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, that marks every act of the administration of your excellency.—Permit me, my Lord, with diffidence, to suggest that it would prove very beneficial to government, and would remedy at the same time the hardships of which I complain, were the duties in some manner defined: and at all events, those on goods intended for Calcutta, collected at the first government custom-house at which the Oude exports apply for clearance. To this mode I believe no objection could be offered, whilst the present system is open to unan-

swerable ones; the reason for establishing Custom-houses at Juanpore, Benares, Chauzipore, and Patna, is sufficiently obvious; it was to prevent the passing of goods by the Ganges, Gograh, or Goomtie, without paying the regulated duties; but there seems to be no substantial reason for levying a duty of 5 per cent. at separate custom-houses; and as the two custom-masters pay no attention to the valuation of each other, the rate of duties is no longer five per cent. The custom-masters by this mode get a dividend, and sometimes a higher commission, but government is not benefited, and the public greatly injured.—I trust the great interest I have at stake, will plead my pardon for this address to your Excellency to whom I with confidence leave my case, trusting if the provisions of the treaty are no longer in force, that some system will be adopted to render unnecessary the unpacking of goods. The consequent delays at the custom-houses, and the arbitrary, heavy, and capricious valuation of a native appraiser, are grievances that I am persuaded only require representation to ensure redress from your Excellency, to whom no man ever complained in vain, that complained with justice. With an indelible sense of past obligations, with great consideration, and the highest respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) JAMES PAULL.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Southampton.

GENTLEMEN,—Defeated, but not dismayed, I feel a higher sense of exultation in the disinterested zeal and exertions which have followed me to the close of the poll, than I could derive from the successful issue of a contest obtained by the undue preponderance of ministerial influence, and in defiance of the general feelings and wishes of a great majority of the independent freeholders of the county.—The gross, undisguised, and unconstitutional manner in which every department of the executive government connected with this county, has interfered in the choice of your representatives is unexampled in the history of this country. Notorious as these facts are, they cannot fail to have excited a deep and lasting indignation in the breast of every independent freeholder; and, should a reference to the poll prove that the majority which has secured the return of the successful candidates is not equal to the number of the immediate dependents on government who have been brought to vote in their favour, I leave it to your decision whether they are the representatives of the county at large, or of the Dock Yard at Portsmouth.—For my own part, I feel little disappointment in the issue of the contest: I had no political purpose to answer; I had no private ambition to gratify. Called on as I was, in a manner the most honourable to you and highly flattering to my own personal feelings, I willingly submitted myself as an instrument in your hands to assert your independence, and vindicate the insult which you had sustained. I felt that I embarked in the common cause of every gentleman, yeoman, and freeholder, who respected his own consequence, or considered the free exercise of his elective franchise as a valuable inheritance; and I retire from the contest with the proud satisfaction of having discharged my duty, and exempted from the reproach of having surrendered your dearest rights without a struggle. I have, however, the gratification to believe, that, although we may have failed in the full accomplishment of our object, our efforts have not been altogether unsuccessful: the great preponderance of the landed property that has appeared in our favour, and the formidable resistance which your exertions have enabled us to present to the weight of ministerial interference has, I am confident, laid the foundation of the future emancipation of the county, and will finally ensure its independence. It has afforded a lesson to ministers, that, notwithstanding their local influence, they may be assured, that every effort to extinguish our spirit will be fruitless, and that any future attempt to control the free choice of our representatives will terminate in their own disgrace, confusion, and discomfiture. I trust that you will not for a moment lose sight of the important object we have in view: that you will neither abate your zeal nor relax your exertions till you have rescued our native county from the degraded state of a ministerial borough, and restored to our fellow freeholders the constitutional privilege of sending to parliament the objects of their free choice.—Deeply involved in the welfare and prosperity of the county of which I have the honor to represent no unimportant part, I shall not cease to watch over your interests in parliament with anxiety, and vigilance; and when the hour of honorable struggle shall again arrive, I shall be found at my post.—I have the honor to be, with the deepest gratitude, your most faithful servant, H. P. ST. JOHN MILDMAY.

Eastgate-House, Nov. 18, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Thirteenth Bulletin, concluded from p. 800.

Of one hundred and sixty thousand men, whom the King of Prussia had, it would be difficult to unite more than 50,000, and those without artillery and without baggage, partly armed and partly disarmed. All these events justify what the Emperor said in his first proclamation, in which he expressed himself thus, "Let them learn that although it is easy to acquire an increase of dominion and of power by means of the friendship of a great people, its enmity is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean."—Nothing, indeed, resembles more the present state of the Prussian army than a shipwreck. It was a fine and numerous fleet, which pretended to nothing less than to sweep the seas; but the impetuous north wind has raised the ocean against it. There only returns to port a small part of the crews, who have only found security by saving themselves upon the wreck. The subjoined letters truly depict the situation of affairs. Another letter, also subjoined, shews in what respect the Prussian cabinet was duped by false appearances. It took the moderation of the Emperor Napoleon for weakness.—Because that monarch did not wish for war, and did every thing that could be suitably done to avoid it, it was concluded that he was not prepared, and that he wanted 200,000 conscripts to recruit his army.—The French army, however, was no longer cooped up in the camps of Boulogne, it was in Germany, and M. Charles L. de Hesse, and M. de Haugwitz might have counted it. We recognize, therefore, the will of that Providence, which leaves not to our enemies eyes to see, ears to hear, or judgment or reason to guide their conduct.—It appears that M. Charles L. de Hesse only coveted Mayence. Why not Metz? why not the other places to the east of France? Tell us, then, no longer, that the ambition of the French forced you to take up arms; confess that it is your own ill-judged ambition that has excited you to war. Whilst there was a French army in Naples, and another in Dalmatia, you projected to fall upon the great people, but in seven days your projects have been confounded. You wished to attack France, without running any risk, and already you have ceased to exist.—It is stated that the Emperor Napoleon, having, before he quitted Paris, assembled his ministers, said to them, "I am innocent of this war; I have done nothing to provoke; it did not enter into my calculations. Let me be defeated if it is of my making. One of the principal motives of the confidence which I have, that my enemies will be destroyed is, that I see in their conduct the finger of Providence, who, wishing that traitors may be punished, has so far set aside all wisdom in their councils, that when they design to attack me at the moment of weakness, they chuse the time when I am the strongest."

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

BUENOS AYRES.——*Order of Council for opening a Trade with Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies.—Concluded from p.* 704.

And whereas information has been received, that the commander of his Majesty's forces, to whom the said city, town, and fortress have surrendered, has reduced the duties on importation into the same, from about thirty-four and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, to ten per cent. *ad valorem* and two and a half per cent. for the consulate or municipal duties, making, in the whole, twelve and one half per cent. on all articles imported into the said place and its dependencies, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; his Majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, that the said reduced duties shall continue to be levied, and no other, on all articles so imported, with the exception of German linens, which are to continue to be subject to the same duties as were paid thereon before the conquest of the said place by his Majesty's arms, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further signified;—and it is hereby further ordered, that it shall not be lawful for any slave or slaves to be landed, or imported, upon pain that all slaves so landed, imported, or brought, together with the vessels bringing in the same, or from which the same shall be landed, and their cargoes, shall become forfeited to his Majesty, his heirs and successors:——Provided always, that this prohibition shall not extend to the several cases of slaves *bonâ fide* employed in navigating any ships trading to or from the said, or of slaves *bonâ fide* employed as domestic slaves, and coming into the said place with their masters; or of slaves in any manner employed in his Majesty's naval or military service:—And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Unless the next change in the ministry be speedily followed by great changes in the system of ruling the " country, a new race of men will arise, and what changes they may produce God only knows. This has " long been my opinion, and, though I have often expressed it, I have yet met with no one to convince " me that it is erroneous."——LETTER TO A FRIEND, in the Autumn of 1804.

LETTER

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM,

I. *Upon the Westminster Election.* II. *Upon the Situation of the Younger Sheridan in the Army.* III. *Upon the general State of Public Affairs.*

SIR, *Botley, 27th Nov.* 1806.

The conduct of the younger SHERIDAN, during the recent election in Westminster, suggested to my mind the propriety of addressing a letter publicly to you upon the subject of *his situation in the army*, that army for the exciting and preserving of emulation in which you have shown such a laudable anxiety. But, Sir, upon taking up my pen for this purpose, my thoughts naturally fly back to the time, when *you* as well as I had to encounter the effects of the elder Sheridan's mob-courting cant and misrepresentations; and, thus reflecting, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to give you, who were in Norfolk during the whole of the period of the contest in Westminster, a tolerably accurate idea of the occurrences with respect to this our former assailant, who, during the existence of the Addington ministry, was, as he succeeded in persuading the House of Commons, the only man possessing popularity in an extensive degree.

I.——You have read, Sir, in the Register of the 8th instant, page 715, an account of the reception, which Mr. Sheridan met with upon his first appearance at the husttings in Covent Garden; but, Sir, the scene was far beyond the ordinary powers of description. Mr. Sheridan, according to his usual custom, kept every thing waiting for his arrival; and, when he did arrive, he appeared to have been hurried away in an unprepared state. By surplus of misfortune he placed himself on the side of Sir Francis Burdett. Good heavens, what a contrast! An involuntary shout broke forth from the multitude, through whose voice honest nature seemed to exclaim: " look on *this pic-* " *ture*, and on *this!*"——It was not until this moment that Mr. Sheridan was convinced, or, perhaps, that he suspected, that, so far from being popular, he was an object of unanimous unpopularity and odium. I could have told him of the fact several days before; and so could his friends; but facts of such a nature friends are not, in general, very ready to communicate.——The general hissings and groanings, with which Mr. Sheridan and his supporters were received, have been before spoken of; and some notice has, in the venal daily prints, been taken of the particular reproaches of a person, whose *face* Mr. Sheridan attempted to render a subject of ridicule, an attempt which I will not repay by giving a description of Mr. Sheridan's face. This person, as soon as the speeches and the uproar were at an end, approached as near as he could to the hustings, where, raising his arm and shaking his clenched fist, he, in a loud and clear voice, audible within as well as without the husttings, thus began: " Sheridan! many days " and weeks and months and years I have " longed for an opportunity of daring to " speak the truth of you to your face; that " opportunity is now come, and I will not " let it slip." He then began, and, though it took him no little time, he went through the whole of his character and conduct, private and public, moral and political. His description was nervous and eloquent; and, when I tell you that it was *perfectly true*, you will not, I am sure, expect me to repeat it in print, notwithstanding all Mr. Sheridan's professions respecting the liberty of the press.——From the reports of the venal press, Sir, you would imagine, that Mr. Sheridan kept his temper through all this. Nothing is further from the truth. He did, indeed, vent a few of his threadbare jests; but, by the few who were able to hear them, they were received with expressions of disgust and contempt, and, at the close of the first day, he, in these words, took his leave of the people, of that people whom he had so long succeeded in deluding: " you have behaved like a set of " blackguards, particularly you, you broad- " faced bully, and d—— you, I'll stay " with you no longer."——The venal press

has told you, Sir, that this "broad-faced "orator" was *hired* by Mr. Paull; but, the fact is, that neither Mr. Paull nor any of his friends had ever spoken to the orator, nor, until after the day was over, did any of them know who he was. We then learnt, that his name was BURRAGE, and that he kept the Old Parr's Head in Swallow Street. But, while I say this, I for my own part, shall say, that I highly approved of his conduct; and was glad to find, that there was one man, at least, who had spirit enough to discharge so useful a public duty.——The venal prints have said, Sir, that Mr. Paull *hired a mob*; and, that very profound personage, Mr. PETER MOORE, swore, that *he*, forsooth, would look to Mr. Paull for any violence that might take place. But, if any thing had been to be done by *hireing*, is it likely that Mr. Paull would have had the advantage? Was it possible for him to have the 50,000 young men, who, every evening conducted him from the hustings? Mr. Sheridan (and it was truly curious to hear it) requested Mr. Paull, on the first evening of the election, "to *speak to the mob*" to cease hooting him. "The mob!" exclaimed Mr. Paull. "They are *the people*, my very "good friends, and it is not for me to dictate to them, as to the manner in which "they shall express their feelings."—— But, though Mr. Paull *hired* nobody, Mr. Sheridan, or his supporters hired people enough. On the first day, Mr. Paull, in compliance with custom, had a band, if I may so call them, of Marrow Bones and Cleavers; but, they were that night dismissed. The Sheridan party had not only a large body of this description, but, also 200 *bludgeon men*. Yet this formidable corps, though aided by a large gang of Sir Samuel Hood's *sailors* (who would have been better employed on board ship), were unable to keep the field, when, towards the close of each day, the people were assembled at the hustings. The fact is, that the whole of the *free* part of the people were with Mr. Paull; and if he had not been extremely moderate in his conduct, his opponents never could have brought any body to poll for them.—— You have seen, Sir, that the heroic Sheridan *kept away* from the hustings for several days; and, after what has already been published, you will want nothing to convince you, that the *illness* ascribed to a *blow* received at the hustings, was a mere pretence. Such it certainly was. No blow ever was, in my opinion, given. Mr. Sheridan, that same night, drank many toasts and made a long speech, at the Crown and Anchor, and he was, the next day, seen by many persons canvassing from door to door. Of the letter, which has appeared in the newspapers, under the name of the pretended *striker*, you will easily guess at the origin; and, if this man was really guilty of a *breach of the peace*, and was, as he is said to have been, *committed* for it, upon oath made against him, it will not fail to occur to you to ask, by what *sort of law* it was that Mr. *Sheridan* was able to *order him to be released!*——After Mr. Sheridan had been spurred on to come again and show that face of his at the hustings, he took occasion, one evening, to put in his claims to public gratitude on account of what he had done, or rather said, with respect to the *Volunteers*, of which *establishment*, he said, he had the honour to be a *colonel*.—Upon this the hisses and groans, which, from the effects of fatigue, had begun to subside, broke out again louder than ever. "*No* "*regiments of tax gatherers; no Major* "*Downes the undertaker; no palavering; no* "*canting patriotism*," were heard from ten thousand mouths at once. Finding that this did not take, he, as a prelude to another meditated stroke, began to pay some compliments to me, which compliments, coming from him, I took the earliest opportunity to say that I rejected with scorn. They, however, answered his purpose in obtaining silence, which he availed himself of to say, that he "detested my recommendation for "*breaking faith with the public creditors*;" which words were hardly out of his mouth when the air rang with a shout of indignant surprize; and this unusual clamour, in which every voice had been strained to its utmost, being followed by a short interval of comparative silence, a man, from the middle of the crowd, in a very distinct voice, uttered the following words: "*hear!* "*hear! hear! Sheridan; Richard Brinsley* "*Sheridan*, DETESTS BREAKING "FAITH WITH CREDITORS!" which words were echoed and re-echoed through every part of the immense multitude collected in Covent Garden and the adjoining streets and houses. The venal prints have recorded his observations levelled at me; but, they have taken special care not to notice the indignation and sarcasm drawn forth from the people by those observations.—Mr. Paull's address to the Electors, after the election, you have seen, Sir, in the Register, page 818. Mr. Sheridan's you may also have seen; and, if you have, I think I may venture to say, that so strong a mark of mental imbecillity never before met your eye. Is this the man of great talents? Whither, then, are those talents fled?

And what has chased them from their former abode? Is this the man, who has the modesty to rail against Mr. Paull, as a person unfit, from want of talents, to represent the city of Westminster? Could not the Whitbreads and the Moores and the Russells and the whole of the pompous pretenders to superiority of mind, make up any thing better than this senseless address, especially after having taken three days to write and alter and improve? Are we, indeed, to be told, that we shall all be ruined, unless we have men like these to rule us? In yourself, Sir, and in men like you, I, for my part, have no objection to acknowledge a real superiority; but, in men, such as we have had to contend with at Westminster, and of whom, at every step, we have *proved* ourselves to be the superiors in every thing of which men are laudably proud, base and despicable is the meanest man amongst us who acknowledges a superiority, and especially when the acknowledgment is, and with so much insolence too, demanded at our hands. ——Of the *high blood* of our opponents, and particularly of *the Sheridans*, I have before spoken, and I will not, therefore, offend your ears with their disgusting pretensions upon this score. But, Sir, it was impossible to hear the language of our opponents in general; the language of the several branches of but too many of the titled families, of the bankers, of the farmers of taxes, of loan-makers, and others, without looking back to the *real causes* of the destruction of the French Government, and to the conduct of the titled families when the French revolution broke out, and when the unhappy king stood in need of the defence of the titled families. And, what had we done, that we were to be treated as persons too low and insignificant to be heard in public? We had only claimed the exercise of that right, which the King's writ not only called upon us, but commanded us, to exercise. We had called upon all the free electors to choose a candidate free from the influence of either king, or minister; and, were we, for this, to be treated as low and insignificant men? We have convinced our adversaries, that we are not insignificant even now; and, let fortune but give us another opportunity, and we will produce in their minds, if they are not completely stultified, the further conviction, that ours is not a sinking propensity.——Mr. Paull, as you have seen, Sir, obtained not only much *more suffrage* than either of the other candidates, but much more than had ever been before obtained by *any* candidate for the representation of the city of Westminster. And, Sir, this was done without any unfair means. We made no attempt to deceive or seduce the people. No sentiment was expressed by us, that I myself had not expressed in print, when addressing myself to the dispassionate judgment of my readers, who, from the very nature of my publication, are, in general, to be found in what we commonly call the higher ranks of life. I never addressed myself to the ignorance and discontent and prejudice of the people; nor has Mr. Paull done it now. No influence, other than that which was visible to all the world, did any of us use; and, as to myself, though there were many persons in Westminster, on whom I might have imposed, almost a command to vote for Mr. Paull, I defy any man to say, that I even *solicited* a vote from any person under obligations to me. The law says, that "elections ought to be *perfectly free*;" and the dictates of the law I have, both in Hampshire and in Westminster, strictly obeyed. To say the truth, however, no commands were, on our part, necessary. We found all the *free* voice of the people for us; and, amongst those who were not free, we invariably met with hearty wishes for our success. The united influence of the government, the aristocracy, and the dependent clergy, operating upon avarice, upon self-interest, and upon self-preservation, was, with the aid of splitting votes, too numerically powerful for us; but, we had with us all the truly independent and virtuous men in the middle class of society. If the list of our voters were examined, it would be found, that we had not for us one play-actor, not one vagabond, not one of those immense numbers who live by means, which are notoriously illegal, or immoral. Yes, Sir, it will always be our boast, that, out of the 4,481 persons, who voted for Mr. Paull, only 335 voted *for Mr. Sheridan*; and, it will be amusing enough for you to hear, that *Mr. Sheridan* has the honour to number amongst his voters every one who voted at all of those godly persons, the members of the *Society for the Suppression of Vice!!!* Mr. BALDWIN, to whose name, though he verges upon threescore, is generally prefixed, for what reason you may probably guess, the infantine appellation of BILLY; this gentleman, who is a *Commissioner of Taxes, Paymaster of the Police-mens' salaries*, and *a member of the House of Commons*, in which latter capacity he, of course, votes the money that he himself receives on his own account; this gentleman, who was so busy and as clamorous in the cause of Mr. Sheridan as if he had never been a dependent of the Duke of Portland; this gentleman had the modesty to say, upon

the hustings, that he would have the names of Mr. Paull's voters published, "*that none "of them might ever be admitted into gen-"tlemen's company.*" Now, what will Billy Baldwin say, when *I publish* the names of all the placemen, pensioners, and the relations of placemen and pensioners; of all the tax-gatherers, magistrates, police-men, and dependent clergy; of all the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and persons following illegal, or immoral callings? What will Billy Baldwin say, when I publish the names of all the persons of these classes, who have voted for Mr. Sheridan, and when I take care to show the people of England the *sums* which the voters of the former classes *receive from them in taxes*? He surely will not complain of illiberal dealing? Billy Baldwin, as the organ of our high-blooded adversaries, has thrown down the gauntlet; and shame upon our cause if there be a single man amongst us so base as to be afraid to take it up!——You have, doubtless, read, Sir, a description of the *chairing* of the two "*favourite*" candidates, as they are called by the venal writers of the daily press; and, until you read Mr. Paull's last address, it will certainly have appeared odd to you, that, *favourites* as they were, they should not have followed the invariable custom of being chaired *round Covent-Garden*. They no more dared to attempt it, than General Regnier dared to attempt being chaired through our army in Egypt. They slipped away from the hustings, carefully keeping from the people all knowledge of their intentions; and, while the people were waiting in Covent Garden, they got to their CAR, through a narrow passage, which leads from St. Paul's Church into Henrietta Street. The car, which had been constructed by the people of *Drury Lane Theatre*, was surrounded by beadles, constables, police-officers and police magistrates, to whom, even their own venal prints inform us, had been added the numerous officers of the Thames Police. "*The people*," of whom they talk, as *huzzaers*, consisted of the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and mutes of the Theatre, aided by a pretty numerous bevy of those unfortunate females, who are, in some sort, inmates of that mansion. So that, the procession did, altogether, bear a very strong resemblance to that of BLUE-BEARD. The "*favourite*" candidates were almost entirely hidden by large *branches of laurel*, which the Property-Man, as they call him, of Drury Lane Theatre, had placed round the car; but, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the constables and police officers (some of them on horseback and armed with cutlasses) were placed six deep on each side of the car, the *mud* found its way to the inside of it; and, as the venal prints inform us, one man was actually seized, and committed to prison, for this act of throwing mud at the "*favourite*" candidates! About the time that they had got in safety to their place of dining, Mr. Paull set off from Covent Garden to his house, conducted by thousands upon thousands of men. Soon afterwards Mr. Paull, together with Sir Francis Burdett, set out from Charles Street to the Crown and Anchor; and, though it was now dark, the zeal of the people overcame even that inconvenience; for, the street quickly became as light as if it had been day. There needed *no money* to be given to buy torches. The people felt, that they were asserting their own rights; that they were engaged in their own cause; and, Sir, if I am told that they were *foolish*, let me never again be told, that they discover their *good sense* and their *patriotism* when they draw the carriages and light the way of such men as Lord Nelson.—— Let us now look back upon the "favourite" candidates.—As to the Commodore, few people, I believe, grudged him the honour of being the colleague, of being encircled in the embraces, of that man, from whose political touch Lord Percy had recoiled; and, as to Mr Sheridan himself, though he talked of *a victory*, he well knew, he severely felt, that the 19th of November, the day when he was returned for Westminster, was the day of his everlasting political disgrace. Before Mr. Paull offered himself as a candidate, no notion existed in the mind of Mr. Sheridan that he should have any even the slightest opposition to encounter. He expected that the election would pass off as Lord Percy's had done; and, I dare say, his speech for the occasion, was already prepared. He would have considered himself as the *successor of Mr. Fox*; so he would have been considered by the greater part of the country; and, he would have taken care to make the minister consider him as having the people of Palace-Yard always ready to petition, or remonstrate, at his nod. In short, the cup of his ambition was just touching his lip, when we came and dashed it to the ground. The charm we dissolved; all his arts of delusion we baffled; we exhibited him in his true colours, and, in those colours he will be seen unto the end of his days. Previous to the publication of Mr. Paull's first address Mr. Sheridan's friends gave it out, that he had refused any assistance from the ministry, being resolved to be the candidate of *the people*. What, then, Sir, must have

been his feelings, when he was, at last, compelled to go, surrounded with his friends, and humbly implore the protection of the minister; aye, of that very man, whose public character and conduct, and whose talents as a statesman, had, for years, been subjects of his almost incessant censure and his affected contempt!——Sir, I cannot see *him*, thus stripped of his independence by an overweening confidence in his powers of delusion; I cannot see him upon a level with the holder of a Treasury-Borough, while I see *you* a representative of your native county, having had recourse to no mean arts, but relying upon your own virtue and upon the friendship of a truly independent and honourable man; I cannot view this contrast without reverting to the time, when Mr. Sheridan, conscious of a hundred-to-one majority at his back, reveled in the delight of misrepresenting your arguments and your views, and of exciting a prejudice against you, amongst the very people, by whom, politically speaking, he has now been trampled in the dirt.——Here I should dismiss this part of my subject; but, the following passage in a publication of Mr. Sheridan demands a remark or two:——"To this I "can only repeat the answer I gave to a si- "milar remark at the Thatched House, that "I am far from being anxious to obtrude "on the notice of the public Mr. Paull's "praises of me, and still more reluctant to "assist in circulating *a very coarse, though "impotent, attack on the Duke of Northum- "berland and Earl Percy.* And as to Mr. "Cobbett, I must again beg leave to differ "from the committee. Believe me there "can be no use in continuing to detect and "expose the gross and scurrilous untruths "which his nature, his habits, and his "cause, compel him to deal in. Leave him "to himself; rely on it, there is not a man, "woman, or child, in Great Britain, who "believes one word he says. With regard "to the passage repeating the scandalous "words, he continues to assert, I spoke on "the hustings, notice of a different sort will "be taken of that."——I will not stop to ask who is most likely to be believed, *Mr. Sheridan* or *me*; but, I cannot refrain from observing with what ingenuity he is attempting to shift "the *coarse and impotent attack* "on the Duke of Northumberland and Earl "Percy" from his *own shoulders* to *mine*. I merely asserted that *he* had made such an attack, in addressing himself to a gentleman who was ready to make oath of the fact. So far from joining in this attack, I have, upon all occasions, expressed my decided disapprobation of it, well-knowing, as I do, that the Duke of Northumberland stands as high in virtue, private and public, as he does in rank and in real dignity. The conduct of this nobleman, and all the persons acting under him, has been, during the contest at Westminster, truly exemplary and constitutional. They have, in no instance that I have heard of, attempted to interfere in the election. The manner in which the Duke withdrew his son from the city was most dignified and patriotic; and the public have only to regret, that the laudable example of both father and son was not followed by others who ought to have been proud to follow it. A fact has come to light, too, which I have great pleasure in stating, because it will operate as a correction of an error, into which, with many others, I was led with regard to Lord Percy's election, namely, that there had, from the beginning, been a secret understanding between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sheridan. It now appears, from unquestionable authority, that there was no such understanding; but that Mr. Sheridan, having his own objects with respect both to Westminster and Stafford in view, was the sole cause of all the public discontent which, upon that occasion, was so visible.——Mr. Sheridan and his committee interchange resolutions and vows *not to publish any contradiction of my statements*. They are wise, Sir; for they well know, that I have stated nothing which is not *perfectly and notoriously true*.

II. The situation of the Younger Sheridan in the army was, Sir, when my foregoing Number was written, but imperfectly known to me. I observed, that he had *given up* the sword for the more profitable pen; but, I now find, that the sword, as far as the *profit* of it goes, is retained by this person of wonderful versatility of talent.——What the younger Sheridan was, in what line of life he was known, previous to the Autumn of 1803, it is quite unnecessary for me to say; but, at that time he became a cornet in the Prince of Wales's regiment of Dragoons, which corps has now the honour to number the well-known Mr. *Mellish* amongst its officers! Hardly upon the list of cornets, the younger Sheridan became, as the newspapers told us, an *aide-de-camp* to the Earl of Moira, to whose wisdom was committed the protection of the Sister Kingdom, then threatened with invasion.——From the cornet of dragoons, however, our hero soon became a *Lieutenant of foot*, in the 7th Regiment, then and now at Bermuda.——Without having seen this his new corps, he be-

came, in Sept. 1805, a *captain* in the 27th Regiment of foot, of which *Lord Moira* is the *colonel*, and, though the regiment, which is now in Sicily, was then at home, our hero *did not go abroad with it.*—— Since the change in the ministry, our hero has become *Major-General* in Ireland, with three *thousand pounds* sterling a year; and, if I am rightly informed, a *pension* has been settled upon the person who before held that office, as an inducement for him to retire in order to make way for our hero.—— Now, Sir, leaving for a moment, this waste of the people's money out of the question, upon what principle is it, that this captain of foot is permitted to be, not only absent from his regiment, but placed in a situation of enormous emolument, which necessarily compels him always to continue absent therefrom, and which, as necessarily, throws his share of the regimental duty and of *personal danger* upon some other officer, or causes that duty to remain unperformed? Is this the way, Sir, that military merit is rewarded? Is this the way to excite and preserve emulation in the army? Is it thus, that the officers of our conquering enemy have been formed, and have been led to the performance of those deeds, by which almost the whole of Europe has been subdued? Is it, Sir, I put the question close to your bosom, is it reasonable, is it just, is it politic, that this man should cost the country, at a time like this, not less than *five thousand pounds a year?* And are we, Sir, to be abused and reviled, are we to be called *jacobins* and *levellers*, are we to be accused of a wish to pull down the government, to destroy all property and all rank, morality, and religion, because we complain of such an application of the public money? Is this the way, Sir, to insure the affection of the people; to inspire them with ardour in defence of their country; to induce them cheerfully to make sacrifices of property, and, if necessary, to shed the last drop of their blood in that defence? To your wisdom and your integrity I put these questions of infinite importance; and, be assured, Sir, that I entertain and utter the sentiments of millions.

III.——The general state of public affairs is, Sir, it cannot be denied, becoming, every day, more and more alarming. This fact nobody will attempt to controvert; but still, no one, as far as my observation goes, thinks seriously about the means of averting the threatening danger. As to the *people*, Sir, what I have recently witnessed in Westminster (whence the whole country will inevitably take its tone) has given me greater hope than any thing I have ever before contemplated. I found the people of that populous city full of public-spirit, of real loyalty, and of resolution to defend their country. In all the various situations, into which I was thrown during the contest, I heard, from no man, a single sentiment of disloyalty; and, the sentiments the most favourably received were those of attachment to the King and the constitution, and those of hatred towards their and our enemies.—— This disposition in the people, Sir, if properly cherished and cultivated, leaves us nothing to dread, even from the conqueror of Europe, should he land upon our shores; but, Sir, when we view the situation of all the other states; when we contemplate the mighty means that will now be brought to bear against us; when we consider how *long* this war may yet last, and when we reflect on the burdens which the people now bear, and the *daily increase of that portion of them who have no property to preserve*; when thus we reflect, can we avoid entertaining the most anxious apprehensions as to what time may produce?—— One of the worst features in the aspect of our affairs is, that we have *no plan*, whether for domestic or foreign operations. Every one sees the danger; every one agrees that something great must be done; but no one, that I hear of, attempts to tell us *what*. In my view of the matter a great change is necessary in our financial and fiscal affairs; for, after all, it is *here* that the feeling of the people is most alive; and, I imagine, it will not *now* be contended, that it is even *possible* to defend a country, where the people are indifferent as to its fate. Never could the French in so few days, have arrived at Berlin, if the people's hearts had been made of the right sort of stuff. A province, or a kingdom, may be invaded and over-run, indeed, in certain cases, though the whole of the people may be bent upon resistance; but, for an enemy to advance with post-horse celerity, driving over regularly constituted armies as if it were over so many flint stones, and to take possession of cities and fortresses with as little difficulty as if they were sheep-folds, argues a total rottenness in the conquered state; a rottenness, from the fatal effects of which God preserve our country!——In the Autumn of 1804, when a report prevailed, that a coalition was about to take place between the party of Mr. Pitt and the persons then composing the opposition, I publickly gave my reasons for thinking, that

such a coalition would prove best adapted to the country; *because it would prevent any change in the system*. These reasons I stated more fully in a letter to a friend, which letter you, I believe, saw; and from which letter, as correctly as my memory will enable me, I have taken the motto to this sheet. I retain the same opinion still. Every day's observation serves to strengthen it; and, I ask you, Sir, whether you really think it chimerical? Only, for a moment, look back to the year 1800; and then turn to the scene now before you. What a change! Whither are fled the great, well-organized, and regularly combating parties? All is now disjointed. Men know not on what to rely. There is no rallying point; no fixed object of political confidence left. A general confusion of opinion prevails; and, it appears to me, that there needs nothing but some untoward event, however trifling, especially if it come near home, to plunge us into miseries of which no human foresight can anticipate the extent.——Yet, Sir, to avert this dreadful danger, there requires only such measures as the *present ministry* have it in their power to adopt. I, for my part, wish to see *no change of ministry*. If the present cannot save us, none of the sort that would follow it, can save us; and, Sir, these opinions of mine, are those of all the persons, with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing upon the subject.—— The present ministry have it completely in their power to endear themselves to the people; and, I am of opinion, that there requires nothing but *some one man* amongst them to speak the first word. The rest, even if their hearts were not with him, would be ashamed not to follow; and, Sir, perceiving, as you must from the general tenour of my observations, the specific measures which I have in view, and acting, as you always have done, from a disinterested desire to serve your country, why should I not hope, that *you* will be that man?

I remain,

Sir,

Your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

W. COBBETT.

The following Resolutions, passed at a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster and other Friends in the interest of Mr. Paull, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on Monday, the 24th of November, Major CARTWRIGHT in the Chair, I copy from the Morning Post, and insert with an anxious hope that they will lead to the wished for, and confidently expected result:

"Resolved, 1st. That it appears to this "Meeting, that while for Mr. Paull none "but pure and unbiassed votes of free and "independent Electors of Westminster "were given, we are assured that means "the most corrupt were resorted to by his "opponents, in order to obtain a majority "of votes on the poll, by which the free- "dom of election was violated, our rights "and privileges were invaded, and a dead- "ly blow was aimed at our independence.

"2dly. That it is become absolutely "necessary, for the preservation to our- "selves and to our posterity of the Elective "Franchise of Englishmen, that the most "vigorous and decisive measures be adopted "to obtain that justice, and the restoration "of those rights of which we have been so "illegally deprived.

"3dly, That it is the opinion of this "Meeting, that a Petition should be pre- "sented to Parliament against the return of "Mr. Sheridan, and that a Scrutiny should "also be demanded and carried on.

"4thly, That as the contest is not merely "between Mr. Paull and the other candi- "dates, but is one which involves the dear- "est interests of the Independent Electors "of Westminster, as well as the whole "Elective Body of the Kingdom, it is be- "come a sacred duty incumbent on us to "afford every kind of assistance in our "power towards the accomplishment of "that object for which we have so ardently "struggled, and that the fortune of Mr. "Paull should not be made the sacrifice of "his zeal and firmness in the cause of the "People.

"5thly, That therefore a public Sub- "scription be opened, not only in the Me- "tropolis but in all the principal Towns in "the Kingdom, to defray the expences of "the Election and the proceedings subse- "quent thereto; and that books for this "purpose be opened at the Banking-houses "of Messrs. Ransom, Morland, and Co. "Pall Mall; Messrs. Brown, Cobo, and "Stokes, Lombard-street; Messrs. Alex- "ander Davison, Noel, Templer, and Co. "Pall-mall; and at the following places, "viz. Mr. Gibbons's, No 1, Russell-street, "Covent-garden; Mr. George Pulier's, "No. 139, Long-acre; Mr Adam's, No. "73, Dean-street, Soho; Mr. Sandford's, "Conduit-street; Mr. Harris's, Berkeley- "square; Mr. J. Ellis's, No. 22, Charing- "Cross; Mr. Pells's, Broadway, West- "minster; Mr. Edwards's, No. 28, Queen's

" Row, Pimlico; and Mr. Hewlings's, No. " 11, Duke-street, St. James's-square; and " that the subscriptions received by the " latter gentlemen be as soon as possible " paid into one of the above banking-" houses in the names of the Treasurers. " That a Committee be appointed to super-" intend the appropriation of the money to " be raised, and to conduct the future ne-" cessary proceedings, with liberty to add " to their numbers if they should see occa-" sion, and of whom three should be the " Treasurers.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" It was also unanimously resolved, That " the thanks of this Meeting be given to " the Chairman, for his upright and im-" partial conduct in the Chair."

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Seventh Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, comprising the period from the 6th of May to the close of the last session, is ready for delivery. In the Appendix to this Volume will be found all the Annual Accounts relating to the Finance and Commerce of Great Britain and of Ireland. The importance of these Accounts need not be pointed out; and, the Editor ventures to assert, that they are not to be found in any other work extant.——The First Volume of the " PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENG-" LAND, from the Norman Conquest to the " year 1803" is also ready for delivery.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S SECOND ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

[For the First and Third Addresses see pp. 719 and 773.]

Gentlemen;—When I yesterday returned from the poll, I was joined by flags and music. Such an expression of the approbation of well-wishers I hope will not be repeated; as it has an appearance of uniting me with a *town party*. My business here, is to make a practical effort in favour of *public principle*.—I have not observed that any of your religious pastors have thought of alluring you to an adoption of their respective tenets by flags, and drums, and flageolets; and you will recollect, that when my namesake preached in the wilderness, it was without noise or pomp. His object was not to mislead but to admonish; not to make men the instruments of his private gain, but to teach them the truths of *religious salvation*; as it is mine to make you acquainted with the truths of *political salvation*. For no other object would I enter the doors of the House of Commons.—The most vital of those truths are—a Constitutional Representation in Parliament, and a constitutional arms-bearing of freemen. At present we have them not; but only substitutes, semblances, and shadows. Without the real substances, neither Pitts, nor Foxes could save the State; nor could, indeed, Angels from Heaven. That we have not the real substances is the fault of both Rulers and People. Those love arbitrary power too much; these exert themselves for liberty too little.—Should our Country be doomed to sink into slavery, for want of a Constitutional Representation in Parliament; or to lose its liberties by reason of an immense Standing Army, subject to a despotic law which is a particular exception to the general free law of the land; or should England, in consequence of previous hostility to the Constitution on the part of statesmen and of factions, become the seat of a bloody war waged with invaders who had subdued the rest of Europe; and should any of you, my countrymen, live to feel the calamities of that day, I trust you will remember, that there had been one Englishman, whose advice on Parliamentary Representation and the arms-bearing of Freemen, had it been taken, would have averted the evil; and have saved his country from the degradation and misery which has befallen the enslaved nations of Europe on this side of Muscovy, except the one which has swallowed up all the rest. To their cost, and to their unspeakable misery they have found, that without national liberty, there is no sure national defence: and that the standing armies which were sufficient to enslave, were not sufficient to protect them:—In that day, should it arrive, which God forbid! I trust you will also remember that that Englishman, with a hope of improved means for promoting what he has so long recommended, had tendered you his services as a representative.—If it be asked, why, on the present occasion he was so late in making that tender; he in return must ask, what, according to the custom of the borough, were his encouragements to stand forward at an earlier period? While he could entertain a hope, that you might be represented by two persons who could comply with the custom, and could yet be confided in for understanding the principles of the constitution and acting up to them, he abstained. When that hope was lost, he felt it a duty, in the present perilous situation of his country, to stand forward himself.—Whether he shall, or shall not, personally succeed in his

present attempt, is a very inferior consideration. In making it he has higher views. He believes he is doing political good. Of the borough he has seen enough to persuade him, that, if as much pains were taken to inculcate public principle as town party, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston I remain, Gentlemen, your obedient servant, JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Nov. 2, 1806.

MR. O'BRYEN'S MOST MARVELLOUS DISCOVERY.

(From the Morning Post.)

Sir, I have of late been so much before the public, that it would seem as if publicity were a passion with me! My *true* passion, in this respect, is of little consequence to any but myself; and, therefore, I say nothing upon the subject. The incumbencies, whether they are of design or accident, which lye upon me, I shall, at all events, discharge; and I shall do so with the same ease, under every species of hypercriticism, that marks, as I apprehend, the whole tenor of my humble career.——There are three topics which make me think it a personal public duty to write this letter. I shall take them in their separate and successive order.

1st. '*Three thousand Westminster votes for* 3,000 *pots of porter.*'

I understand myself to have been quoted by Mr. Paull, from the Hustings, at Covent Garden, as having given an opinion to the above effect. How Mr. Paull, whom I have never yet beheld, has been led into this error, it is quite impossible for me to know. That hon. gentleman will, however, I doubt not, be eager to acknowledge the mistake he has fallen into, when I thus declare, that I never uttered any such sentiment. Without pretending that Westminster is universally free from that borough contagion which I detest the more, the more I hear of it, I have never entertained, even for a moment, the slightest doubt, that of all the constituent bodies, in the realm, the general mass of the Westminster electors was, *by far*, the purest.

2d. '*My inaction in the present contest for Westminster.*'

To the various inquiries upon this subject my answer is this—that though no mortal admires, more than I admire, the splendid genius and complicated talents of Mr. Sheridan, though Mr. Sheridan is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of my political and personal connections; though I am sure it would be, since Mr. Sheridan thought fit to embark in it, directly subversive of all the declared principles of the Westminster electors, for the last 26 years, not to choose him; (for the objection to him, of holding an office, is neither English, nor even French, nor Grecian, nor Roman—it is of no clime or country, but totally original—it may be the best of doctrines, but it is wholly new)—yet, notwithstanding all the reasons, in favour of Mr. Sheridan, to which I advert, still, for me to engage (I never engage by halves in any thing) even for Mr. Sheridan, as I have been wont, in a Westminster contest, would to me, and in my interpretation of such a thing, be an irreverence to the grave, and making a sort of meritricious transfer of an undivided devoted affection, of which the principal comfort is the consciousness of itself. I blame no other persons, but, on the contrary, applaud them for their activity; but I must crave the liberty of judging, for myself, upon a subject in which there are delicacies unknown, and ever to remain unknown, to the public. It was my fixed intention never again to engage in any election contest; and from that intention nothing should have persuaded me to depart but the cause of an absent friend, assailed by an unworthy, and, as in the result it will prove, a fruitless combination.—If I could, consistently, abstain from exercising my suffrage, upon this occasion, it would be my wish not to be present, even for a moment, at a scene which can only renew afflicting remembrances in my mind; and (governed by that sound maxim which presumes innocence till guilt is proved) as, in my actual, total ignorance of the merits of the impeachment, I infer the innocence of the Marquis of Wellesley—as I think it would be honourable to the Noble Marquis, and justice to Mr. Paull, that the latter should have full scope and power to prosecute his accusation.—Upon these grounds, most assuredly, I should divide my vote with Mr. Paull, but for the reasons which, rendering such a course totally impossible, the reader will find in the third and most material section of this article, namely, as referable to

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

The aptitude to wrong, the bias to bad, which so strongly prevail in our frail natures; my persuasion that the extreme of fashion in opinion, like the extreme of fashion in dress, is generally faulty; the principled repugnance of my mind to every thing like clamour; all these would only have the effect of predisposing me in favour of Sir Francis

Burdett. About the least addicted of mankind, as I believe I am, to swear by the words of any body, not even the admirable, the unanswered, and unanswerable letter of Mr. Whitbread; no, nor even that which has caused it, Sir Francis Burdett's famous advertisement; not even that advertisement, nor all these causes put together, *could* produce the result upon my convictions which I shall presently relate to the reader.——In this world there exists not a man, in my opinion, in whom an assemblage of more amiable qualities is comprised than in Sir Francis Burdett. He is a *perfect gentleman*, in the truest definition of that term. With the mildest spirit he unites the immoveable firmness of a hero. Pride, in its bad sense, is utterly unknown to him, and, of all living beings, I conceive him to be the most perfectly free from every vestige of the arrogant and the supercilious. The public conduct of public men he discusses with freedom; but his lips are never polluted by a personal calumny. Such appears to me to be Sir Francis Burdett; whom, with a little more warmth of temperament, I should as soon covet as a connection, and cultivate as a friend, as any individual in existence.—Yet with even this opinion (can a higher be entertained?) of Sir Francis Burdett, it is totally impossible for me to support Sir Francis, or any man, who swears by Sir Francis, "as a master."—What I am about to state to the reader is very remarkable, and is, at least, as a curiosity, worth his attention — In September, 1802, I wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, then at Paris, in which was the following sentence:—"I think I have fathomed "the mind of Sir Francis Burdett; and "have made a most marvellous discovery. "It is not a subject for the bustle of Paris; "it will serve for a talk in the solitude of "St. Anne's." Upon the very same day, in a letter from me to the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn, was a passage to the following effect; "I have just stated, in a letter to "Mr. Fox, that I have made a most extra-"ordinary discovery of what I conceive to "be in the political contemplation of Sir "Francis Burdett. I shall impart it only "to Mr. Fox; he may to your Grace, if he "likes."——About three weeks before the recent dissolution of parliament, touching upon Sir Francis Burdett, incidentally, among other topics, in a conversation with a noble commoner in high office, I mentioned the circumstances of my letters to Mr. Fox and to the Duke of Bedford, as above referred to. The noble person to whom I allude, asked me, 'what the discovery was?' Though I had wished the question had not been put to me, yet, as my confidence in that noble minister is unbounded, I unreservedly communicated to him what the reader shall presently hear. A syllable of my thoughts, upon this point, I never have dropped in any conversation even with Mr. Cobbett, for whose rare powers, and still more rare incorruptibleness, I make, (not the less that I often differ from him) an open proclamation of my unqualified respect. (To see so many persons, so high in my esteem, in discord, as I see at the present moment, is most painful to me. My sympathy is not the less, that I am myself, at war, where I had rather be at peace: and the rule on which I am studying me in silence, through all these storms—in matters of opinion to state what I think—in matters of fact, to state the truth.—To do any thing in the dark that might seem insidious; to utter any thing in private, which would look like disaffecting a powerful connection from a man for whom my personal esteem is infinite; this is so foreign from my character, that my tongue would refuse its function in saying any thing other than 'in the face of day' upon so peculiar a subject. Some may think, with the poet, that 'the glorious fault of Angels and of Gods,' is expiated by the magnitude of the aspiration, and that such reserve, on my part, was not called for. At all events, up to this hour, I have kept my mind to myself. Many a smile, however, have I had in my sleeve, at many a sapient friend of mine, hard at work as many of them were, after his first election, (the period of my discovery, supposed or real) for Sir Francis, who entertained not even the element of an opinion in common with any one of them. For upwards of four years, whilst the crowd was puzzled with "*hired kings*," and many other inexplicabilities, I can truly affirm, that, to me, 'Wharton was as plain,' as if I had surveyed the interior of Sir Francis Burdett's mind, uneased by its tegument of flesh; and further, that 'the best of princes' and of 'patriots,' excited in *me* only a smile of confirmation in my long settled convictions. What then was this grand discovery of mine? The reader shall have it in the very words I used to both the dead and the living minister:—

THAT WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FANATICISM WHICH WAS CROMWELL'S LADDER—WITHOUT ANY MILITARY PRETENSIONS—*and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Buonaparte's unparalleled renown*;—that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in the full belief of my soul, *aimed at equal supremacy with* BOTH.

Whether I am right or wrong, lies be-

tween Heaven and Sir Francis Burdett. My friend Sir Francis often asks his rivals at Brentford, what are their principles? and they, 'like dumb statues,' never retort the interrogatory. If Sir Francis will develope *his*, I answer for it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places, about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he* will do for them, which every man has practised from Pisistratus to Cæsar; from Cæsar to Cromwell; and from Cromwell to Buonaparté; whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, has raised to domination over his fellow citizens.——With all my profound personal regard for Sir Francis Burdett, I cannot consent to make him prefect, or consul, or protector, or king or emperor of England; and for that reason, though I believe Mr. Paull not to be aware of the movements of the planet under which he has placed his destinies, I cannot advise any man to give his vote for Mr. Paull.—— D. O'Bryen.——*Craven Street, Nov. 16, 1806.*

Major Cartwright's Observations on the above Letter.

Sir—I have just read Mr. O'Bryen's account of his "most marvellous discovery"—"That without the assistance of the fanaticism which was Cromwell's ladder—without any military pretensions—and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Bonaparte's unparalleled renown—that Sir Francis Burdett, in the full belief of Mr. O'Bryen's soul, aimed at *equal supremacy* with both."—This Gentleman then says—"If Sir Francis will develope his principles, he will answer for it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places, about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he* will do for them, which every man has practised from Pisistratus to Cæsar; from Cæsar to Cromwell; and from Cromwell to Bonaparte—whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, have raised to domination over his fellow-citizens."—Now, Sir, as it appears to me, who am a plain man, if Mr. O'Bryen believed the aims of Sir Francis Burdett to correspond with those of men who by the greatest wickedness, established themselves in despotic power on the ruins of public liberty, he must possess a whimsical kind of patriotism and morality, to say of this very man, that, had he "a little more "warmth of temper, he should as soon co-"vet as a *connection*, and cultivate as a "*Friend*, as any individual in existence."—But it seems that Mr. O'Bryen's "most marvellous discovery" was made in September, 1802, and that he immediately mentioned in letters to Mr. Fox, and the late Duke of Bedford, that he had made such a discovery. To the Duke he also says—"I shall impart it only to Mr. Fox; he may to your Grace, if he likes." We are, therefore, to presume, that when Mr. Fox returned from Paris (where he then was) this sagacious Gentleman did not fail to embrace the first opportunity of imparting a discovery of so much importance.—Had, then, Mr. Fox, whose penetration was not, perhaps, less than that of his correspondent, himself made a like discovery, it is not probable that he could afterwards, in any respect, have favoured the political efforts of the Baronet for rising in power. But during the election of 1804, I can bear testimony, formed on a correspondence with the deceased Statesman, to the warm interest he took in the success of Sir Francis Burdett.—On the subject of the Baronet's *principles*, Mr. O'Bryen writes with an "IF."—If Sir Francis *will develope*."—Is any man, except Mr. O'Bryen, ignorant of the Baronet's principles? Was any man ever more frank, or more explicit, than the Baronet, in this respect? He has repeatedly told his Countrymen, that his leading object is *a Restoration of the People's Right to a fair and substantial Representation in Parliament*; and he has told them truly, that nothing but this *can save the State*. If Mr. O'Bryen's "connections" have taught him to treat this question, as one of the "common places about the sufferings of the People," as a phrase without other meaning, than to act "upon *popular stupidity* and *public baseness*," for raising a man "to domination over his fellow-citizens," then what he has revealed as a "most marvellous discovery," amounts only to this, that, in his opinion, Sir Francis Burdett is no better than many who have gone before him; while at the same time this same Gentleman describes the Baronet as a man of most consummate virtue—one who, had he but "a little more warmth of temper, he should covet as a *connection* and a *Friend*."—Now, Sir, if this reader of human hearts, this sagacious politician, can discover any other means than those for which Sir Francis Burdett contends, of *saving the State*—if he can discover any other nostrum for the preservation of our liberties, than restoring to us *a fair and substantial Representation in Parliament*, it will be a "most marvellous discovery" indeed! The idea is perfectly original, that actually to

give men *political liberty*, is the way to make them *slaves*. Had this been the natural effect of a Reform of Parliament, I need not have spent half my life in contending for it. I should have needed but to have announced the "marvellous discovery." From Lord North I should have had a Vote of Thanks; and my Country would have had the Reform thirty years ago.—*Will's Coffee House, Searle-street, Nov.* 17, 1806. JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Fourteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.—Dessau, Oct.* 22, 1806.

Marshal Davoust arrived on the 20th at Wittemburg, and surprised the bridge upon the Elbe, at the moment when the enemy was setting fire to it. Marshal Lannes is arrived at Dessau; the bridge was burnt; he immediately set men to work to repair it. Marquis Lucchesini presented himself at the advanced posts with a letter from the King of Prussia. The Emperor sent the Grand Marshal of his palace, Duroc, to confer with him.—Magdeburgh is blockaded. The General of Division, Legrand, on his march against Magdeburgh, made a few prisoners. Marshal Soult has his posts round the city. The Grand Duke of Berg sent thither his Chief of the Staff-General, Belliard. This general saw the Prince of Hohenlohe. The language of the Prussian officers was greatly changed. They loudly demand peace. "What does your Emperor want, say they? Will he always pursue us with the sword in our loins? We have not a moment's rest since the battle." These gentlemeu were doubtless accustomed to the manœuvres of the war of seven years. They demanded three days to bury their dead. "Think of the living," answered the Emperor, "and leave to us the care of burying the dead; there is no need of a truce for that." Confusion is at its highest pitch in Berlin. All the good citizens, who grieved at the false direction given to the policy of their country justly reproach the firebrands excited by England, with the sad effects of their contrivances. The cry against the Queen is general throughout the country. It appears that the enemy are endeavouring to rally behind the Oder. The Sovereign of Saxony has thanked the Emperor for the generosity with which he has treated him, and which is going to wrest him from Prussian influence. However, a good number of his soldiers have lost their lives in this squabble.

Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Wittenberg, Oct. 22.——Here is the intelligence we have collected concerning the causes of this strange war: Gen. Schmettau (dead, a prisoner at Weimar), drew up a memorial, written with much force, in which he established, that the Prussian army ought to regard itself as dishonoured; that it was, notwithstanding, in a state to beat the French; and that it was necessary to make war.—General Ruchel (killed) and Blucher (who only saved himself by a subterfuge, and by abusing the French good faith) subscribed this memoir, which was drawn up in the form of a petition to the King. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia (killed) supported it by every species of sarcasm. The flame spread through every head. The Duke of Brunswick, (wounded very badly) a man enrolled in the war faction. In short, the memoir, thus supported, was presented to the King. The Queen undertook to dispose the mind of the King, and to make known to him what was thought of him. She reported to him that he was not thought brave, and that if he did not make war, it was because he was afraid of putting himself at the head of his army. The King, really as brave as any Prussian Prince, gave way, without ceasing to preserve the opinion that he committed a great fault. We should signalize the men who have not partaken of the illusions of the war partizans. These are the respectable Field Marshal Mollendorf and General Kalkreuth. We are assured, that after the fine charge of the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, at Saalfeld, the King said, "You pretended that the French cavalry was worth nothing; see, nevertheless, what the light cavalry is doing, and judge what cuirassiers will do. These troops have acquired their superiority by fifteen years fighting. As many are necessary in order to equal them; but who among us could be so much the enemy of Prussia, as to desire this terrible proof?" The Emperor, already master of the communications and magazines of the enemy, wrote, on the 12th of this month a letter which he sent to the King of Prussia, by the orderly officer, Montesquieu. This officer arrived at four in the afternoon of the 13th, at the quarters of General Hohenlohe, who kept him there, and took the letter of which he was the bearer. The camp of the King of Prussia was about two leagues behind. That Prince should therefore have received the letter of the Emperor at six in the evening at the latest. We are, however assured that he did not receive it till nine

o'clock in the morning on the 14th; that is to say, when the battle was already begun. —It is also mentioned, that the King of Prussia said then—' If this letter had arrived sooner, perhaps we might not have fought; but these young men's heads are so high, that if there had been question here of peace yesterday, I should not have led back a third of my army to Berlin.' The King of Prussia had two horses shot under him, and he received a musket ball in his sleeve. The Duke of Brunswick has had all the blame in this war. He has ill conceived, and ill directed the movements of the army. He thought the Emperor was at Paris when he found him on his flanks; he thought to have the lead in the movements, and he found himself already turned. As for the rest, on the morning of the battle, consternation was already among the chiefs. They perceived that they were ill posted, and that they were going to play the last stake of the Monarchy. They all said, 'Well! we shall pay in person!' The common sentiment of men who preserve little hope. The Queen was always to be found at the head-quarters at Weimar. It was necessary at last to tell her that circumstances were serious, and that on the morrow great events for the Prussian monarchy might occur. She was desirous that the King should bid her go away, and in effect she was reduced to the necessity of going away. Lord Morpeth, sent by the Court of London to buy the Prussian blood; a mission really unworthy of a man like him; arrived on the 11th, at Weimar, charged to make seducing offers, and to propose considerable subsidies. The horizon was already very cloudy; the cabinet was not willing to see this envoy; he was told, that perhaps there was little safety for his person, and they engaged him to return to Hamburgh, there to wait the event. What would the Duchess of Devonshire have said, had she seen her kinsman charged with spreading the flame of war, and coming to offer poisoned gold, obliged sadly to retrace his steps in so great haste? One cannot repress one's indignation to see England compromise the rank of respectable agents, and play a part so odious. We have as yet no news of a treaty between Prussia and Russia, and it is certain, that up to this day, no Russian has appeared in the Prussian territory. In other respects the army desire much to see them: they will find another Austerlitz in Prussia.——There is at Leipsic such a quantity of English goods, that sixty millions have been already offered to redeem them. It is asked what will England gain by all this? She might have recovered Hanover; kept the Cape of Good Hope; preserved Malta; made an honourable peace, and restored tranquillity to the world. She was willing to excite Prussia against France to provoke the Emperor and France. Well! she has conducted Prussia to her ruin, procured greater glory for the Emperor, and greater powers for France; and the time approaches when we may declare England in a state of Continental blockade. Is it then with blood that the English hope to feed their commerce and reanimate their industry? Great mischiefs may come upon England; Europe will attribute them to the loss of that honest man and minister, who wished to govern by great and liberal ideas, and whom the English will one day deplore with tears of blood. The French columns are already marching upon Potsdam and Berlin. Deputies from Potsdam are arrived to request protection. The imperial head-quarters are now at Wittenberg.

Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

The Duke of Brunswick has sent his Marshal of the Palace to the Emperor. That officer was entrusted with a letter, in which the Duke recommended his states to the protection of his Majesty. The Emperor said to him, "If I were to demolish the city of Brunswick, and if I did not leave one stone upon another, what would your prince say? Does not the law of retaliation authorise me to do at Brunswick what he would have done in my capital? To threaten to destroy cities may be merely the act of madness; but to attempt to deprive a whole army of brave men of their honour, to propose to them to quit Germany at stated marches, is what posterity will hardly credit. The Duke of Brunswick ought not to have committed such an outrage. Men who have grown grey under arms should respect the honour of military men; it was not in the plains of Champagne that that general acquired the right to treat the French colours with such contempt. Such a summons only dishonours the soldier who makes it. That dishonour does not belong to the King of Prussia: it attaches to the chief of his military council, to the general to whom, in difficult circumstances, he had confided his affairs. It is the Duke of Brunswick alone whom France and Prussia can accuse of the war. The frenzy of which that old general set the example, encouraged a set of turbulent young men, and hurried on the King contrary to his own disposition and convic-

tion. Sir, tell the inhabitants of the country of Brunswick, that they will find the French generous enemies; that I wish to soften the rigours of war with regard to them; and that the inconvenience which the passage of troops may occasion, will be against my inclination. Tell General Brunswick that he shall be treated with all the attention due to a Prussian officer, but that I cannot recognise a sovereign in a Prussian general. If the House of Brunswick lose the sovereignty of its ancestors it can only be ascribed to the author of two wars, who, in one, would have sapped the great capital to its foundation; and who, in the other, attempted to dishonour 200,000 brave men, who perhaps might be conquered, but who would never be surprised out of the path of honour and glory. Much blood has been shed in a few days. Great disasters press upon the Prussian monarchy. How blameable is the man, who by a single word might have prevented them, if, like Nestor, rising in the midst of the councils, he had said, "Be silent, ye inconsiderate youth!" Women, return to your spindles, and to the management of your domestic concerns! And you, Sire, believe the companion of the most illustrious of your predecessors; since the Emperor Napoleon does not wish for war, do not place him in the alternative of war or dishonour. Do not engage yourselves in a dangerous contest with an army, that boast of fifteen years spent in glorious labours, and that victory has accustomed to every sacrifice." Instead of holding this language which agreed so well with the prudence of his years, and with the experience of so long a career, he has been the first to raise the cry of war; he has even been faithless to the ties of consanguinity, in arming a son against his father: he has threatened to place his colours on the Palace of Stutgard, and accompany those proceedings with invectives against France: he was declared the author of that frantic manifesto, which he has denied for these fourteen years, although he could not deny that he had given it the sanction of his signature."——It has been remarked, that during this conversation, the Emperor with that warmth with which he is often animated, often repeated, "to overturn and destroy the habitations of peaceable citizens, is a crime which can be repaired by time and expence; but to dishonour an army, to wish that it should fly from Germany before the Prussian Eagle, is a baseness that none but the person who advised it, could be capable of committing."

Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Potzdam, Oct. 25.—The corps of Marshal Lannes arrived here on the 24th. Marshal Davoust's corps entered Berlin on the 26th at ten in the morning. The corps of Marshal Prince of Ponte-Corvo is at Brandenburgh, Marshal Augereau's corps will enter Berlin to-morrow, the 26th. The Emperor arrived at Potzdam yesterday, and entered the Palace. In the afternoon he went to inspect the new Palace of Sans Souci, and the country in the environs of Potzdam: he found the situation and the building very pleasant. He staid some time in the chamber of Frederick the Great, the hangings and furniture of which are the same now as at the time of his decease. Prince Ferdinand, the brother of the Great Frederick, remains at Berlin. There are 500 pieces of cannon in the arsenal of Berlin, several hundred weight of powder, and a great quantity of arms. General Hulin is nominated Governor of Berlin. The Grand Duke of Berg is gone to Spandau, to follow a Prussian column which is marching from that place to Stettin, and which we are in hopes of cutting off. Marshal Ney's corps blockades Magdeburg. Marshal Soult's corps passed the Elbe a day's journey from Magdeburg, and followed the enemy to Stettin.——The result of the celebrated oath, taken upon the tomb of the Great Frederick, on the 4th of November, 1805, was the battle of Austerlitz, and the evacuation of Germany by the Russian army, by forced marches. Forty-eight hours after this event, a plate was engraved, and exposed in all the shops, and which excited even the ridicule of the peasants. Here were seen the Great Emperor of Russia; near him the Queen, and on the other side the King, raising his hand over the tomb of the Great Frederick; the Queen herself, covered with a shawl, much in the same manner as the London engravers represent Lady Hamilton, rests her hand on her heart, looking at the Emperor of Russia. One cannot conceive how the police of Berlin could suffer such a pitiful satire to be disseminated. At any rate, the shade of the Great Frederick could not but have been offended at such a scandalous scene. His mind, his genius, and his wishes were with that nation which he had so much esteemed, and of which he said, that "if he was their king, a cannon-shot should not be fired in Europe without his permission."

Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Potsdam, Oct. 26.——The Emperor has been to view the tomb of Frederick the Great. The remains of this great man are enclosed in a wooden coffin covered with copper. It is placed in a vault, without any

ornaments, any trophies of victory; without any distinction to recal the memory of his great and heroic actions. The Emperor has presented to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris, the sword of the Great Frederick, the ribbon of his Order, the Black Eagle, and also the colours which he took in the Seven Years' War. The old invalids of the Hanoverian army will receive every thing with a kind of religious veneration which belongs to one of the greatest generals in the annals of history. Lord Morpeth, the English envoy to the Prussian court, was only six hours distance from the field of battle, on the 14th He heard the firing. A courier informed him that the battle was lost, and in a moment after he was surrounded by fugitives pouring in upon him on all sides. He ran away exclaiming, "I must not be taken." He offered 60 guineas for a horse; he obtained one and fled. The citadel of Spandau, three miles from Berlin, and four from Potsdam, strong by its situation, in the midst of water, having a garrison of 1200 men, and a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, was surrounded in the night of the 24th. Gen. Bertrand, the Emperor's aid-de-camp, had previously reconnoitred the place. The cannon was ready to open upon it, and the garrison began to be alarmed, when Marshal Lannes proposed the capitulation subjoined to be signed by the Commandant. Large magazines of tents, clothing, &c. have been found at Berlin; we are employed in taking inventories. The Prince of Hatzfeld; Busching, the superintendant of the police; the President Kerchiffen; Formey, a privy counsellor; M. M. Ruesk, Siegren, Hermensdorff, counsellors, sent as deputies by the City of Berlin, have this morning delivered the keys of the place to his Majesty at Potzdam. They were accompanied by M. Groote, counsellor of finance, and the Barons Vichnitz and Eckarlstein. The head-quarters are at Charlottenburg.—[By the capitulation the officers are to go where they please. The privates are prisoners of war.

Nineteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Charlottenburgh, Oct. 27.—The Emperor left Potzdam at twelve o'clock, to inspect the fortress of Spandau. He has charged Gen. Chasseloup, commandant of the engineers, with improving the fortifications of that place. This is a fine piece of work; the magazines are magnificent, and meal, oats, &c. have been found in them sufficient to serve the army for two months; besides ammunition sufficient to double the [illegible] sion for the whole of the artillery. To give an idea of the uncommon confusion which prevailed in the Prussian monarchy, it is sufficient to say, that the Queen, upon her return from her ridiculous and lamentable journey to Erfurt and Weimar, passed a whole night at Berlin without seeing a single person; that the people were, for a long time, without knowing where the King was: that no person took any care for the safety of the capital; and that the citizens were compelled to unite, in order to form a provisional government. Contempt for the authors of the war has reached the highest point. The manifesto, which the people of Berlin call a scandalous libel, and in which not one single complaint is brought forward, has inflamed the public mind against its author, a needy scribbler of the name of Gentz, one of those men devoid of honour, who suffer themselves to be bought for gold. The whole world is witness, that the Queen has been the cause of all the reverses to which the Prussians have been exposed. Every where we hear it said, "A year ago she was so good, so kind; but how is she changed since the fatal meeting between the Emperor Alexander and his Prussian Majesty?"——In the palaces there was not the least order observed, so that the sword of the Great Frederick was easily found at Potzdam together with the scarf which he wore during the seven years war; also the insignia of the Black Eagle. The Emperor took these trophies with transport, saying, "I would rather have these than twenty millions:" then pausing a little, he added, "I shall send these to my old soldiers, who served in the war of Hanover; I shall present them to the governor of the invalids: in that hotel they shall remain."——After the Queen withdrew from Potzdam, the portrait of the Emperor of Russia was found, which she had received from that monarch. At Charlottenburg was found the correspondence between the Emperor of Russia and the King for three years past, together with some memorials written by English authors, to prove that nations were under no obligation to observe any treaty made with the Emperor Napoleon, but that it was necessary for every power to range itself on the side of the Emperor of Russia. These documents ought to form historical records: they shew, if it was necessary, how unfortunate princes are when they suffer [illegible] men to interfere in state affairs. The notes, reports and state papers were scented with musk, and lay mingled together on the Queen's toilette. The princess had turned the heads

of all the women in Berlin. But now another change has succeeded. The first fugitives that took refuge there were received with contempt, and they were reminded of the day when they flourished their swords upon the plains of Berlin, they pretended to cut down all that opposed them.—General Savary, sent off with a detachment of cavalry to seek the enemy, has informed us that Prince Hohenlohe, compelled to leave Magdeburg, was on the 25th between Rathenau and Ruppin, retreating to Stettin.—Marshal Lannes is already at Zehdenick; and it is probable that the remains of the enemy will not escape without being attacked.—This morning a corps of Bavarians were to enter Dresden; but we have not yet received any advices upon the subject.—Prince Louis Ferdinand, who was killed at the opening of the campaign, was publicly nick-named the Little Duke of Orleans, at Berlin. This young man abused the King's goodness to such a degree, that he even scandalized him. He was one, who, with some other young officers, broke the windows of Count Haugwitz, on the night when that minister returned from Paris. We are at a loss to know which to admire most, the audacity or the weakness of that young man.—A great part of the effects, sent away from Berlin to Magdeburg, and embarked upon the Oder, has been intercepted by the light cavalry. Upwards of sixty schuyts have been brought back, loaded with cloathing, meal, and artillery. Some of the regiments of hussars have made prizes to the amount of upwards of 500,000 francs; and it is reported that they exchange their silver for gold, with a loss of fifty per cent.—The palace of Charlottenburg, where the Emperor resides, is situated one mile from Berlin, upon the Spree.

Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Charlottenburg, Oct. 27.—As the military movements are no longer uncertain, they are still more interesting, by the contrivances of marches and manœuvres. The indefatigable Grand Duke of Berg was at Zehdenick on the 26th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, with a brigade of light cavalry under General Lasalle, while the division of dragoons under the Generals Beaumont and Crouchy were marching to the same point. —The brigade under General Lasalle presented itself to the enemy, who opposed it with 6,000 cavalry. This was the whole of the cavalry of the Prussian army that had escaped from Magdeburg, forming the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe's corps, directing their march towards Stettin.—— At four in the afternoon, when both divisions of the cavalry had arrived, General Lasalle attacked the enemy with his usual intrepidity, which has always formed the character of the French hussars and yagers in the present war. The enemy's line, though formed three deep, was broken; they were pursued into the village of Zehdenick, and thrown into confusion in the defiles. The Queen's regiment of dragoons endeavoured to recover themselves, but the dragoons of Grouchy's division soon shewed themselves, fell upon the enemy, and made dreadful havock among them. A part of these 6,000 cavalry were driven into the morasses; 300 remained upon the field; 700 with their horses were made prisoners. The colonel and a great number of officers of the Queen's regiment are included. The colours of the regiment are taken. Marshal Lannes' corps is in full march to support our cavalry. The cuirassiers are marching in columns to the right wing, and another corps is advancing towards the Gransee. We shall be at Stettin before the army that are marching there; which, being out-flanked, is as good as cut off already. Undisciplined as they are, there is reason to hope that not a man of them will escape, and that the whole of that part of the Prussian army, which lost two days, without any advantage at Magdeburg, in order to collect themselves will not be able to reach the Oder.—— The above mentioned affair at Zehdenick, as a martial achievement, is remarkable; neither party had any infantry; but that the Prussian cavalry is much inferior to ours, is proved by the events of this campaign. They have never been able to make a stand against half their number of French.—One of the adjuncts of the general staff taken prisoner by the enemy in Thuringia, as he was carrying orders to Marshal Mortier, was conveyed to Custrin, where he saw the king. He says, that very few troops had arrived on that side of the Oder either there or at Stettin; he scarcely saw any infantry.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 23.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"No person, who has an office, or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, "shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons."——Act of Parliament, passed in the twelfth and thirteenth of William III. Chap. 2; and by which act the crown of these realms was settled upon the present reigning family.

"*Qu.* Who is likely to be frugal of the people's money?

"*Ans.* He who puts none of it in his own pocket." ——BOLINGBROKE.

LETTER II.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM,

On the state of the Continent.——II. Upon the [illegible] consequences with respect to England —— III. Upon the measures necessary to prevent those consequences.

SIR, *Botley, 4th Dec.* 1806.

In the letter, which I did myself the honour to address to you in the preceding Number, I alluded to the measures, which I considered as absolutely necessary to ensure the preservation of our country from the perils that await it. Those measures I now propose to speak of in a manner more specific, troubling you previously with some remarks tending to shew that the necessity of those measures actually exists.

I. To attempt a description of the present state of the Continent of Europe would be a waste of time. That Continent is now subdued. The whole of it, Russia excepted, has fallen before the arms of one nation: and that nation is our implacable enemy. To see so many governments, so many ancient establishments, so many of the works of centuries swept down one upon another, like the pines of America yielding to the force of the hurricane; to see so many noble and royal Houses annihilated, or worse than annihilated by owing their existence to the mere compassion of men, who were but yesterday unheard of in the world; to contemplate this picture the heart sickens within one. Yet, I must confess, that with all my veneration for antiquity; with all that desire, which is so powerful in me, to see preserved whatever has been long established and held in honour; notwithstanding all my feelings on the side of birth and of rank, I must confess, that the contumely and insolence of our "high-blooded" opponents at Westminster, and that the foul combination there formed against the exercise of the undoubted rights of the people, a combination avowedly founded upon the arrogant and unjust allegation, that, on account of our low birth, we were unworthy of any public influence or trust; this, I must confess, Sir, has had a tendency to mollify, in me, the mortification and grief, which the fate of certain persons on the Continent was so well calculated to excite. To forgive, and even to love our enemies, is, in certain cases, our duty; but, this precept, if stretched too far, would subvert every principle of justice, and would leave nations as well as individuals without the means of defence against aggressors of every description. Not to carry resentment beyond the period of repentance is reasonable and just, and is strictly commanded; but, to love and cherish those, who discover their inward hatred, and who openly affect contempt of us, is commanded by neither morality nor religion.——But, Sir, to apply these remarks to the subject more immediately before us, may we not be permitted to ask, whether contumely and insolence, somewhat resembling that above-noticed, may not, upon the Continent of Europe, have largely contributed towards the producing of those events, which now seem to have stricken terror to the hearts of even the most arrogant and foolish? May we not be permitted to ask, too, where, in the history of the last eighteen eventful years, the superior wisdom and courage and virtue of "high-blood" has discovered itself in a manner so decided and so conspicuous as to warrant the doctrines held forth by our haughty and supercilious adversaries at Westminster? Yes, surely, we may ask, whether any one will now venture to maintain, that none but "high-blooded" men are capable of defending the honour and the territory of their country?——With respect to what may yet take place in the way of subjugation upon the Continent, the erection of a kingdom in Poland seems pretty certain; and, this, it will be recollected, was predicted by me more than a twelvemonth ago. It was, indeed, an event easy to foresee; and, whatever effect it may produce upon Russia by carrying the armies and the principles of the South into that vast Empire, it will not fail to produce astonishing effects elsewhere, and of which effects we shall, if I am not greatly deceived, soon have ocular demonstration. This last event will complete the

"federative system" of France; or in other words, her scheme of "*universal dominion*," so much laughed at by the elder Sheridan and others, and so much dreaded by Mr. Burke and yourself. These Islands (God be praised!) are still unsubdued; but when the Romans had, in the common acceptation of the words, "conquered the world," there were still many parts of the world wherein they had never set foot. To be called the conquerors of the world it was sufficient that they had left no nation in a state to be their competitor for power.

II. Of the consequences, which the subjugation of the continent by our enemy must naturally produce with respect to England, we have already, in the transactions at Hamburgh, seen a trifling specimen. Often, as the public can bear testimony, have I reminded the Baalams of the city, that the soldier was abroad, and that, rail and curse and cry as much as they pleased, he would, I was afraid, before he sheathed the sword, have his share of the good things of this world. They may now, probably, begin to believe me; and, when they consider, that at the very moment when their goods were seized at Hamburgh, they were exulting in their triumph at Brentford, they will certainly excuse the people, over whom they triumphed, for being too much absorbed with their own chagrin to have time to break their hearts with sorrow for that seizure. For my own part, events of this sort do, I will freely confess, give me very little uneasiness; because I am persuaded, that, with respect to the general and permanent interests of the kingdom, the seizure of mercantile property, already deposited in foreign states, can be productive of very little injury. I know well enough, that the merchants and the daily press will set up a most lamentable outcry upon this score; and they will accuse me of rejoicing, or, at least, of not weeping, at the success of the enemy; but, this will not deter me from expressing my opinion upon the subject; and, they cannot, in this instance, at any rate, accuse me of magnifying the power and success of that enemy. I will go a little further in this way, and say, that, were the French to succeed in seizing all the English goods and property in every port and place in Europe, and if they were to prevent such goods from being sent thither in future, I do not believe it would, even in the smallest degree, tend to disable England either for the defending of herself, or for the annoying of her foes. That it would shut up a great number of commercial houses, I allow; that it would lower a great number of merchants and bankers; that it would diminish the means by which the Shaws and the Mellishes have been put into parliament; that it would do much in this way I am ready to allow; but, I am by no means prepared to allow, that it would be injurious either to the liberties and happiness of the people, or to the permanent security and dignity of the throne.——There is a strange perversity, which, upon matters of this sort, appears to have taken possession of men's minds. "*How are we to live*, say they, if we cannot *get rid* of our manufactures?" They regard the nation in the light of an individual shopkeeper; and then they run on reasoning upon all the consequences of *a total loss of customers*. But, they forget, that the individual shopkeeper must sell his goods in order to obtain food and raiment and money to pay for his goods, whereas the nation has nobody to pay for its goods, and can never receive an addition either to its food or its raiment for the sale of its goods. The fact is, that exports of every sort, generally speaking, only tend to enrich a few persons and to cause the labouring part of the people to live harder than they otherwise would do. We have seen, that many other nations have arisen to the highest pitch of greatness without the exporting of a single article of merchandize; and we have, I think, a pretty satisfactory example, at this time, in the situation of France. Yet, our eyes are not opened. We are not, indeed, so stone blind as we were some few years ago, when, in answer to those who dwelt upon the dangers to be apprehended from the increasing power of France, the conceited and shallow-headed Pitt talked of nothing but the inexhaustible resources of our commerce, and of that poverty and bankruptcy, which must, he said, end in the total destruction of the power of the enemy. You well remember, Sir, that, at the peace of Amiens, your apprehensions of the still further increasing power of France were, by that enlightened statesman, Lord Hawkesbury, answered by a constantly repeated appeal to our Capital, Credit, and Commerce, to which he as invariably and triumphantly pointed, as the no less profound Mr. Mellish lately did to the state of the poll. But, if one were now to go and ask that famous possessor of a four-thousand-a-year sinecure what Capital, Credit, and Commerce have been able to do in arresting the progress of French power, and how they are likely to operate in the preserving of England from the lot of Prussia, he would, methinks, be puzzled for a reply.——To the embarrassment and

obstruction in our commercial pursuits, I do not, therefore, for my part, attach much importance; but, in the complete subjugation of the Continent, I see, and, I think, every man must see with dread, the means which the French will acquire of meeting us with an equal, if not with a superior force, upon that element, where we have hitherto been the acknowledged masters, and upon which mastership, talk as we may, we do, at bottom, place our *only* hope of safety. Exactly how long it may be before our enemy will be able to arrive at such equality, or superiority, it would perhaps, be difficult to say; but, is it possible to believe, that, with the naval arsenals of every state upon the Continent, those of Russia excepted, at his command, he will not, in a comparatively short space of time, be able to send out fleets equal, at least in numbers, to ours? Holland, let it be remembered, is now no longer under the rule of an assembly of fat-headed burgomasters. That Denmark will be somewhat worse than neutral who can doubt? Whatever force Prussia had will now belong to France. Genoa, Spain, Portugal, must contribute to their last ship and last sailor. With all the ports and all the arsenals of continental Europe at his command, he may, and I trust he will, be unable, for a long while, at least, to equal us in naval skill and prowess; but, while defeats will cost him little, victories will cost us much. We have seen what he is able to do by land; and can it be doubted, that, when all the Continent is fashioned to his will, the same extensive plans and unremitting perseverance will be applied to his operations by sea? The conquest of England has always appeared to me to be, by him, reserved for his last labour. To suppose that he has not resolved to attempt it would be a mark of downright insanity. The only question is as to the time. ——There has been, and yet is, much difference of opinion with respect to the practicability of his landing a large army in England, while our fleets can keep the sea; but, in the case of those fleets being unable to keep the sea, there can be no doubt upon the point; and, if he arrive at the capability of engaging, at the same time, or nearly the same time, all our naval forces in the Channel and in the North Seas, our fleets, even supposing them to be at all points completely victorious, will not, immediately after such engagements, be able to keep the sea. ——In viewing his points of attack he surely will not overlook Ireland. To *risk* a fleet and an army of thirty or forty thousand men, will not, with such an object in view, be the subject of an hour's hesitation. If one expedition fail another will follow; and, if that fail, another, until success, in some degree, at any rate, crown his enterprize. This is a war, which, with him will be now only *beginning*. There will be novelty to recommend it to his people and his army, while to the latter will be held out the powerful enticement of plunder unparalleled. Every day his means of carrying on this war will be increasing in quantity and improving in quality; while, with us, it will be singularly fortunate, if the reverse is not the case. ——To hope, therefore, that we shall not have, at no great distance of time, to fight for England upon English ground, can be expected in nobody but such men as Messrs. Bowles and Mellish and Shaw and the Sheridans and Byng and Moore and their like. We have long been *talking* about this fighting for England upon English ground; but we must now think of *acting*; for, as sure as we are in existence, the necessity will come.

III. If we regard it as certain, that, first or last, we shall, before the contest with the Emperor Napoleon is at an end, have to fight against his armies upon our own land; if this be our opinion, it then behoves us to consider what may be the final consequences; it behoves us to ask, why we should not, in such a war, share the fate of our neighbours; or, in the language of the courts, to *shew cause*, why we should not be subjugated. For, though we must all, of course, have the greatest possible confidence in the wisdom as well as in the personal courage of the Duke of York, and in the wisdom and personal courage of the Dukes of Cambridge, Cumberland, Gloucester, and all the other persons, whom his Majesty and the Duke of York have selected as commanders upon the staff in these Islands; and though we have the happiness to know, that our army have all been disciplined and dressed in exact conformity to the discipline and dress of the Prussian army, while we, at the same time, reflect, that we have the excellent example, both military and moral, of at least, thirteen thousand Hanoverian troops; Yet, Sir, since we have seen great commanders, like ours, I mean the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Hohenlohe, &c. &c. defeated and their armies captured by wholesale; since we have seen that Prussian discipline and dress could not defend Prussia; since we have seen, that Hanoverian troops, though animated by the presence of one of these illustrious and gallant princes, to whom the defence of England is now so judiciously committed, were not sufficient to defend

Hanover: since we have seen all this, and that, too, within a very few months, I think that every man who is really anxious to preserve the independence of the country will wish to see it provided with something more than the wisdom and courage of our generals, great as they may be and aided as they are by Prussian discipline and dress and by Hanove ian troops.——The states, which, one after another, have fallen before the arms of France, have contained a miserable and degraded *people*. We have seen all their princes and nobles and armies active enough; but, except in Switzerland, we have never seen any thing of the people. In every other instance the people of the conquered country seem to have been quiet and indifferent spectators of the conflict; or, if they have appeared to feel any interest at all, it has, as far as our intelligence goes, been on the side of the conqueror. France, on the contrary, has exhibited a most complete proof of what *the people alone* are able to do. There, not only had the people no princes or nobles to assist them against the invaders of their country; but, their princes and nobles were either inactive, or expressing impatience for the arrival of the invaders, or, were employed in stirring up and encouraging those invaders and actually aiding them in their attacks upon France. We know the result: love of country supplied the place of generals, of discipline, of magazines of resources of every kind, or rather, it created them all in abundance. The king and his family, the nobles, the clergy, the farmers of taxes, the merchants, the parliaments, the courts of justice, all were overthrown and destroyed; but, amidst the wreck the people lived, fought, defended their country, and finally became the conquerors of their invaders.——With this example before him, Sir, is there any man, is there any statesman, who, in calculating the means of defending England, will leave the hearts of the people out of the question? "No," I shall, perhaps, be told, "but the "hearts of the people *are now* decidedly "with the government;" a fact which I certainly shall not deny. But, this being happily the case, then, all that I shall venture to do, is, to point out such measures as appear to me to be necessary to prevent the hearts of the people from being alienated from their government, or, in other words, to prevent the people of England from looking at an approaching invasion with the eyes of Italians and Germans.——It is greatly to detract from the merit of patriotism, or love of country, to regard it as an attachment to the mere soil, an attachment of which brutes are not only capable, but which they invariably entertain. Love of country is founded in the value which men set upon its renown, its laws, its liberties, and its prosperity; or, more properly speaking, perhaps, upon the reputation, the security, the freedom from oppression, and the happiness, which they derive from belonging to such country. If this definition of the foundation of patriotism be correct, it follows, of course, that, in proportion as a country loses its renown, has its laws and liberties frittered away, and its prosperity diminished, the patriotism of the people will decline; and, if we could suppose it possible for England to become, in matters of government, what many of the states upon the continent were, upon what ground could we expect to see Englishmen voluntarily risking their lives in its defence?——The objects, for which men in general contend with the most zeal, are those in which they are most deeply interested. Amongst men who set a high value upon reputation, whether for talents or for courage, the renown of their country will be an object full as interesting as its liberties or its prosperity; but, amongst the mass of the people, freedom from oppression, and that happiness which arises from a comfortable subsistence, will always be the chief objects of attachment, and the principal motives of all the exertions which they will make in defence of their country.——If this be true, and I do not think that any one will deny it, does it not behove us, Sir, to think seriously of some means of alleviating the burdens of the people, or, at any rate, to prevent the increase of those burdens? Are these burdens imaginary? Are they not but too real, and too severely felt? Can you, Sir, contemplate the 1,200,000 paupers in England and Wales, without lamenting that so large a portion of the people have nothing, no, not even the rags upon their backs, to call their own? Add to these the vast numbers, who, though not actually paupers, have nothing worthy of the name of property; consider how fast this class is increasing from the natural and unavoidable effects of such a system of taxation as ours; and then say, how great is the number of persons who are in the enjoyment of that for the preservation of which they may reasonably be expected to venture their lives.——Persons, who do not examine or reflect; persons, who, in certain situations of life, can know nothing of the distresses and miseries of the labouring part of the people, may be excused for paying no attention to them; but, such inattention in a statesman is, at all times, and particularly at a time like the present, inexcusable. Ex-

perience, daily observation, minute and repeated personal inquiry and examination, have made me familiar with the state of the labouring poor, and, Sir, I challenge contradiction when I say, that a labouring man, in England, with a wife and only three children though he never lose a day's work, though he and his family be œconomical, frugal, and industrious in the most extensive sense of those words, is not now able to procure himself by his labour a single meal of meat from one end of the year unto the other. Is this a state in which the labouring man ought to be? Is this a state, to preserve the blessings of which he can reasonably be expected to make a voluntary tender of his services? Is this a state, to prevent any change in which he must naturally be ready to make, if necessary, a sacrifice of his life? How this state of hardship and of misery is produced by the system of taxation; how that system, by creating idlers lessens the quantity of production, at the same time that it feeds one man upon that which has been produced by the sweat of another; how that system diminishes the number of proprietors of the soil; how it increases the riches and the luxuries of the few and the poverty and wretchedness of the many, I have heretofore, to my own satisfaction at least, amply proved. And, Sir, in answer to all this, shall we be told by those "petty tyrants," of whom you speak in your Address to the Norfolk Freeholders, that the labourer's miseries arise from his vices, and that, instead of bread he stands in need of the lash? Shall we be told by the elder Sheridan and Messrs. Bowles and Redhead Yorke, wallowing as they are in luxuries derived from our labour, shall we be told by these men, that we must make further sacrifices? Sacrifices "not only of "the comforts but of the *necessaries of life?*" And, if we complain at this cool and hard-hearted insolence; if we say that it is for them to begin at last to make some little sacrifices, shall we be stigmatized as Jacobins and Levellers? Not merely to the labourer is the degrading effect of the taxing system confined. The tradesman, the farmer, the clergyman, and the gentleman of ancient family, if he be not already driven from the mansion of his forefathers; all these feel, and most grievously feel, the effects of a system, which is daily and visibly depriving them of the hope of seeing their children able to move in the same circle that they themselves move in, and the means of accomplishing which hope they see taken away by the tax-gatherer to be carried to aggrandize such men as the Bowles's and the Sheridans. And, if these persons, when they see themselves, and their families thus stripped, complain; if they express a wish to have their burdens alleviated, and to see the public money more wisely and justly applied, are they to be told, by the Bowles's and the Sheridans, that they are Jacobins and Levellers? And that, though it is just to call them Jacobins and Levellers, it is also just and reasonable to call upon to make voluntary sacrifices, and, if necessary, to shed their blood, in defence of this same system? ——But, *what are the specific measures that I would recommend?* They are not few, Sir, in number, nor do they relate solely to a reduction of the taxes; but, there is one thing, which must, if any good be to be done, take the lead, of all attempts of an inferior description; and that is, *a House of Commons, in which there should be neither placeman nor pensioner.*——From a thorough conviction, that all our calamities and dangers had arisen from the members of the House of Commons being capable of receiving the money of their constituents, in consequence of votes given by themselves, I did, when I offered myself to the Electors of Honiton, state that I thought that no member of that House ever ought to touch the public money. I was instructed thus to speak from the reason of the case, as well as from experience; but, until I saw Sir Francis Burdett's last address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, I did not know that the principle had been so clearly laid down in a legislative enactment, and that a law had actually been passed, containing the wise and important provision, the words of which serve as a motto to this letter. That act of parliament I have now read; and, considering the time when it was passed, and the persons by whom the passing of it was advised, I should like to hear how the *Whig*, Mr. Whitbread, would answer the observations of Sir Francis. Mr. O'Bryen too, (of whom, by the bye, I think much more highly than I do of Mr. Whitbread), after declaring Mr. Whitbread's letter to be *unanswerable*, says: "the objection to Mr. "Sheridan (as a candidate for Westminster) "of holding an office, is neither English, "nor even French, nor Grecian, nor Ro-"man; it is of no clime or country, but "totally original; it may be the best of "doctrines, but it is wholly new." How Mr. O'Bryen will answer the act of parliament, made for the security of the liberties of Englishmen, I will not presume to guess; but, I am very strongly of the opinion, that, by this time, both these gentlemen are heartily sorry for having suffered their wish to annoy Sir Francis Burdett to carry them to such lengths. Mr. Whitbread's attack,

when the obvious motives are taken into view, was the most unfair and the most inmanly, that, as far as my observation has gone, has ever disgraced electioneering contests. But he evidently estimated his character and his power far too highly. Like Mr. Sheridan, he does not seem to have had a friend to tell him that he was upon the wane in public opinion. He thought his stock of reputation so great as to leave him enough to squander in defence of his placed and pensioned friends; and, like Mr. Sheridan, too, he did not discover his error, until it was too late. —— To return to the principle, for which I am contending as proper to be acted upon most rigidly at this moment; there is, upon the very face of the thing, such an evident incongruity, nay, such a barefaced indecency, in members of an assembly, who are chosen to represent the people, and who are specially charged to see that their money is not misapplied, voting part of that money to themselves, that it appears to me passing strange, that any disinterested and reflecting man should ever have been reconciled to it. That members of the House of Commons should have been paid by the people who sent them, and that they should now be paid, for their time and expences, was, and now would be, just and reasonable; but, that they, or any of them, should receive, in any shape, remuneration, from any other quarter, and especially in virtue of appropriations made in consequence of their own votes, the money coming out of that purse to guard which is their office, is, whatever Messrs. Whitbread and O'Bryen may say of it, without a parallel amongst all the mischievous inconsistencies and incongruities that ever were heard of in the world. —— Mr. Whitbread's doctrine is, that, if the members of the House of Commons were prohibited from holding places of profit, the people would be reduced to the sad necessity of being governed by the worst of mankind. Upon this point he has been answered by Major Cartwright, in the 22d Number of the present volume; and, in this sheet, he will find another letter addressed to him by that gentleman, after which if he can hold up his head in public he must have more confidence or less feeling than generally falls to the lot even of a whig of the 19th century. But, *why* does it follow that we must be governed by the worst of mankind, unless our representatives in Parliament hold places of profit under the king? If the profit of your place, for instance, and that of Lord Howick's, and Lord Henry Petty's were taken away, would you, all at once, become the worst of mankind? "No," but, perhaps, it will be said, "you would be unable "from want of means, to defray the ex- "pences attendant upon the filling of a high "office." I do not, for my part, see the necessity of any such expences, when I know that every thing belonging to the office, down to the very pens and ink, is furnished by the public; and, when I am told of the keeping up of the *dignity* of the office, I really never can perceive how this is to be done by money, especially when I see no outward and visible signs of this dignity, and hear of nothing, for which ministers are, in the way of splendour, distinguished above other men, but the giving immense Daw-like dinners, the very accounts of which are surfeiting to men of mind, while they are cruelly insulting to the sinking and starving families with which the country abounds. You may read all the Paris papers long enough, Sir, without meeting with the history of a turtle-feast given by any minister of the Emperor Napoleon; and, if Napoleon himself had given turtle-feasts, and had associated with play-actors and buffoons, be assured that he never would have been an emperor. ——But, supposing, merely for an argument's sake, that a man, when he becomes a member of the ministry, is compelled to live at a more expensive rate than he otherwise would do; or, supposing, that it is in vain to look for men who will serve as ministers without deriving profit from their services. If this be so; if the people, on whom the ministers call for sacrifices even of "the necessaries of life," are to be told that these same ministers will not sacrifice so much as a part of their time; why, then, be it so; but, all that we, in such case contend for, is, that those ministers ought not to be members of the House of Commons, there to vote the public money into their own pockets. And, Sir, I think, it would be very difficult to shew how the business of the state would suffer from the banishment of that thing called *the Treasury Bench* out of the House of Commons. On the contrary, is it not notorious, that the business of that House interferes so much with the official business of ministers as to leave them little or no time for those reflections and deliberations, which are absolutely necessary to the well-governing of the country? And, how many are the instances, Sir, which you well know I could point out, where measures in the cabinet have been fashioned much more with a view to their effect in *debate*, than with a view to their national utility! —— The great business of the House of Commons is, to watch over

the interests of the people, and not to grant any money which ought not to be granted. The writers upon our "Excellent Constitution," that constitution of which Mr. Mellish vows to be the champion, have, all of them, spoken in high terms of this *third branch* of the legislature. To be sure, say they, the King has great prerogatives and power, and so have the peers; but, then, the people are completely protected against all these; because without the consent of their representatives, that is, *of themselves*, not a shilling can the king obtain in taxes. This is the "glorious constitution," of which we have heard, and of which we talk so much; but, is *this* the sort of constitution which Mr. Mellish, and the like of him, have in view? Or, do they mean a constitution, which admits of a House of Commons, elected as the late House was, and headed by *the servants of the King?* A House of Commons, in which, when a member moved for certain papers relative to the expenditure of the public money, a servant of the King had the audacity to tell him, that the paper should not be produced, *because the member who moved for it had not previously communicated his motion to him!* This Sir, is the constitution, which Mr. Mellish and Mr. Sheridan eulogize, and which, I doubt not, they will defend to the utmost of their power.——That a man cannot serve two masters is universally allowed, and this maxim may, surely, be regarded as particularly applicable to a case where the two services have been devised as a *check* upon each other; but you Sir, if you are not grossly misreported in the news-papers, have, in your speech to the Freeholders of Norfolk, not only denied the truth of this maxim, as applicable to the case in question, but have asserted, that *the contrary* is the truth; and, that a servant of the King, so far from being *less* able to serve his constituents, is *more* able to serve them. If you meant, by serving his constituents, the obtaining of places for them, the making of them officers in the army or navy, or the giving livings to them, or the making of them excisemen or clerks or door-keepers or sweepers or messengers; if you meant, that he was more able to scatter the public money amongst them; more able to bribe them with the spoils of their country; if this was what you meant, Sir, you were certainly correct. But, I hope, and do believe, that this was not your meaning; yet, Sir, how, in any other sense, are the words attributed to your reconcileable to reason? If you spoke of services to be performed *in the House of Commons*; and if your doctrine were sound, it would, of course, be better for the country, if that House consisted wholly of servants of the King. In one way or another, the House is, to say the truth, partly well furnished with such persons already; but, as they are *more* able to serve the people than any other description of persons; as they are even *better* than independent men, why should we not be completely blessed at once; especially when there are so many hundreds of placemen and pensioners, who have nothing upon earth to do, and to whom the passing of laws and the voting of money at St. Stephen's might offer an agreeable afternoon's amusement, and might a little relieve the bookseller's shops from that language which is now their curse.——Surely, Sir, when you uttered the words to which I have referred, you must have entirely forgotten the act of parliament above-quoted, which act was passed, observe, for the twofold purpose of *settling the crown upon the family of his Majesty*, and for *securing the liberty of the subject*. That act, with a view to this latter object especially, provides, "that no "person holding an office or place of profit "under the king, or receiving a pension "from the crown, shall be capable of sitting "in the House of Commons;" but you tell the people, that the *fittest* of all persons to sit in the House of Commons are those which this law so explicitly disqualifies! And yet, Sir, you do not fail, when occasion offers, to call upon us to make sacrifices for the preservation of our "glorious constitu- "tion!"——The House of Commons ought to have the power, the real and practical power, of *refusing* to grant money. Has it this power, Sir? Does it ever refuse? Let the minister that asks it be what he may; whatever may be the purpose for which the money is wanted; have you ever witnessed a refusal? And, if every sum, be it what it may, is *sure* to be finally granted, where, I should be glad to know, is the use of that *power of the purse*, with which the world has been so long amused? That this invariable submission to the will of the minister of the day, no matter who or what he is, has proceeded from the power which that minister has of bestowing places and pensions upon the members, there will no doubt be pretended to be entertained by any well-informed and candid man; and, therefore, Sir, until this evil be removed, by restoring to us the practice of the constitution in this respect, I, for one, expect to see nothing ef- ent done for the preservation of the country, because, until then, it would be folly worse

than childish to look for any measure calculated to lighten the burdens of the people and to encourage them to make those exertions, without which you will find regular armies, though partly composed of Hanoverian troops, of little avail against a powerful host of invaders.——Nevertheless, I shall in my next letter, proceed in pointing out such measures as I think ought to be adopted; and, in the meanwhile,

I remain,
Sir,
Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT.

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, after the Close of the Election on the 27th of November, 1806.

GENTLEMEN,—The moment before the commencement of the late Election for Middlesex, Mr. WHITBREAD, in a manner most unbecoming his station, connexions, and character, inserted in the public Newspapers the following passage, signed with his name: addressed indeed nominally, with dissembled respect to me; but intended as a political Electioneering Manœuvre against you.—"I do not perceive in your present "Address (says Mr. Whitbread) any allusion to an opinion promulgated by you "on the late Election for Westminster, "which is—'*That a person holding an "Office under the Crown*, however otherwise estimable, *cannot at any time become "the fit representative of a free, uncorrupt, "and independent People.*' If such opinion "be founded in truth, which (continues "Mr. Whitbread) I utterly deny, a law "ought to be passed to exclude all the executive servants of Government from "seats in either House of Parliament. I "have not heard, that it was in the contemplation of any one to propose such a "measure: and, if proposed, I am sure, "it would meet with resistance from all "descriptions of persons, who have the "power or the will to reason upon its consequences. The people by the acceptance of your doctrine, would reduce "themselves to the hard necessity of being "governed by the worst of mankind,"—These, Mr. Whitbread's sentiments, have likewise been recently paraded by Mr. Windham, Secretary of State; by Mr. Tierney, Chairman of the Board of Controul; by Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy; and are now held, I presume, as the political creed of the whole party.—*Gentlemen*, In that act of Parliament (12 and 13 Will. 3.) which gave the throne of these kingdoms to his present Majesty, and his family, intitled—"An Act for the further limitation of the "crown, and better securing the rights and "liberties of the Subject,"—it was wisely and honestly thus enacted—"That no person, who has an office or place of profit "under the King, or receives a pension "from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons."—But Mr. Whitbread, it seems, never heard of this provision—"for better "securing the Rights and Liberties of the "Subject." And because, after a melancholly experience of the necessity of such a provision, which our honest ancestors only foresaw, I maintain the opinion of those from whom his Majesty holds his Crown, I am represented, by these best of Patriots, as an enemy to the Constitution, and by some of their place-holding and place-hunting Party, as a traitor to my country. The worst of traitors to their country are those who eat up its resources. Mr. Whitbread's judgement upon us who hold this opinion, is indeed something milder: he only concludes us to be either fools or rogues,—"either we "have not the *power* or the *will* to reason "upon its consequences." I have reason to believe, that Mr. Whitbread himself possesses both the *will* and the power to obtain speedily a lucrative office under the crown, without much embarrassing himself with its consequences to the public.—GENTLEMEN, When the last additional Taxes for the present year were lately imposed upon the People by these best of Patriots, it was undisguisedly and tranquilly acknowledged by them, without the least compunction, or commiseration of the People, that the necessary effect of these taxes would be, to drive the inhabitants of a house into lodgings, and the lodgers of the first floor into the second. Here indeed they stopped; leaving us to complete the miserable picture of national calamity: viz. that the lodgers of the second floor must mount up into the garret, the garreteer descend into the cellar; whose former wretched inhabitant must be thrust out upon the pavement, and from thence transferred to the workhouse or the grave. And this process is to be repeated *toties quoties*;—so that the best provided amongst us cannot tell where himself and his family may be found at last. This is a hard lesson for Englishmen to hear. It is harder still to hear it enforced from the mouths of those, who themselves are all the while creeping forward from their original garrets into palaces. Such unfeeling insult as this would never have taken place but amidst placemen and pensioners. Had they been

really the Representatives of the People, they would have felt something for the People; and, instead of incessantly calling for fresh sacrifices, and telling us gaily that we must "retrench even part of our necessaries," they would surely now at last have held out to us some prospect of consolation and redress; they would no longer continue to gorge upon the vitals of their country, but would think themselves too well off, if they were not justly compelled to disgorge their past infamous swallowings.—GENTLEMEN, In becoming a Candidate at the late Election for your county, I do acknowledge, that I rather sought a Public, than a seat in Parliament. I sought for, and have found, amongst you, Freeholders who would vote for themselves, and not for any Candidate, —who would not give their votes as a favour conferred, but as a sacred trust reposed in an honest man, to enable him to stem the torrent against these venal Coalition Whigs, who are, by their own avowal, hunting the People of this country from the second floor to the garret.—That this system of corruption and oppression may cease, is the only ardent wish, and, in spite of every calumny, shall ever be the constant and unremitting endeavour of, Gentlemen, your most obedient and respectful humble Servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S SECOND LETTER TO MR. WHITBREAD.

29th November, 1806.

DEAR SIR;—Our elections being now over, there remains one other passage in your letter to Sir Francis Burdett, on which I must enter into a little expostulation with you. It is the following——

"I have supported the present administration from a conviction that they were "united upon principles of real public utility, and for the purpose of carrying into "execution, plans of great national improvement, both in our foreign and domestic circumstances: and I cannot abandon them, because, in a situation more "difficult than that in which any of their "predecessors have ever stood, they have "not been able to effect, what I believe to "have been nearest the hearts of them all "—I mean a peace with France, seeing "such a peace could not have been obtained "upon terms consistent with national honour: and because time has not sufficed "to mature and execute the schemes of internal improvement, which they have "manifested their determination to pursue."

Had this paragraph contained the word *reformation* it would, I confess, have afforded me more satisfaction. From an old member of the "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE," and a man of firm and decided character, I should naturally have looked for language more explicit, more in the style of the plain honest English of the Duke of Bedford—who, in a letter dated the 29th of April 1805, says "I should be ashamed to "give support to any set of men who did "not feel the necessity of a radical amend-"ment in the whole system of our govern-"ment. The source of our evils is an in-"adequate defective representation of the "people in parliament, and until that "source is cut off, in my humble judg-"ment, abuse and corruption will never "cease to flow in a thousand different chan-"nels. I hope and trust, the day is not "far distant, when that most desirable "want, a substantial and radical reform in "the representation of the people, may be "brought to bear: in the mean time, let "them see the extent of their grievances, "let them know whence they arise, and "let them coolly and dispassionately form "their own judgments upon the best and "surest remedy: it is at hand, simple and "of easy attainment." *

Although, Sir, we cannot doubt of your consistency, nor of that of your political friends, in adhering to the cause of parliamentary reformation, especially as the reasons for it daily grow stronger and stronger, yet it were much to have been wished, as a ground of hope to the nation, which certainly stands in need of every thing that can raise a hope of its condition being bettered, that you had at least hinted at such reformation having been one of the objects of the union and pursuit of his Majesty's present ministers. But I will proceed.

'Peace *nearest* the hearts of ministers.'—'Peace not to be obtained with honour.'—How should it, when the natural and most obvious means to that end had been neglected? In *Napoleon*, either as a statesman, or as a warrior, do ministers see one whom England can awe into moderation and amity, while she puts not forth half her defensive energies? What those energies are, is fully unfolded in "England's Ægis," a new edition of which work I had the honour to present to each member of the cabinet last spring soon after the new ministry was formed. If it then made on their minds but little impression, the military events now before their eyes perhaps may. The doctrines of the Ægis, and those events teach the same lesson. That it may practically

* State of the Nation by J. C. 144.

influence the conduct of our rulers, 'ere the war get into the bowels of our own country, and thereby hazard the existence of the state, is my prayer.

Schemes of internal improvement "which ministers "have manifested their determination to pursue."—What! when empires and potent kingdoms in the twinkling of an eye are daily vanquished from our sight—when, at the pointing of the great necromancer's sabre, Victory conducts his legions to battle, and Dominion takes her course in the direction he bids, are we to counteract the spell, by making auditors of accounts? Are we to avert from ourselves the mighty mischief, that has overwhelmed so many nations, by "improving" the law courts beyond the Tweed?—As many "internal improvements" as ministers please, but, as foundations of their fiance as statesmen, in the present crisis of England's destiny, such petty objects are very trash and trumpery. Napoleon, I doubt not, has his "internal improvements" in finance and police, but these are not the things of which you hear. To place France at the head of nations, and himself at the head of all conquerors, are *his* objects. To place England as the rock of security, to preserve her independence and her honour, ought to be the leading object of her ministers.

I ask you, Mr. Whitbread, as a man of experience and ability, as a man of constitutional knowledge, as a patriot, and as a man of honour, if ministers could merit your support, or if they could deserve the name of statesmen, were they incapable of comprehending this great truth, that POLITICAL LIBERTY MUST BE THE TRUE BASIS OF ENGLAND'S DEFENCE? — I then ask, what is political liberty? You, who took so active a part in "THE FRIENDS OF THE "PEOPLE," know as well as I in what it consists. Whatever we may think of the advantages of institutions not *necessarily* producing freedom, you know as well as I, that *political liberty* and *legislative* representation are convertible terms. If, therefore, our political liberty consists in being represented in the Commons House of Parliament, *and nothing else*, how infinitely important to us is the purity of that house!

I know not, Sir, whether you actually signed the petition drawn up by "THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE," and now upon the Journals of the Commons, for the 6th of May, 1793, but, I am sure you are well acquainted with its contents. Eight years ago, I remarked, that, on the authority of that petition, I found "the majority seated "in the house by the crown, by the borough-holders and the peers, at only "307;" but, that in a newspaper statement, taken from the *History of the Boroughs*, it was then said "to amount to no "less than the dreadful number of 424!" This was when the house consisted of only 558 members.

If, Sir, among "the schemes" of the cabinet to which you allude, a reformation of this be one, why, in God's name, not proclaim it aloud! It requires no hesitation, no veil. What is it but this reformation that can give heart and hope to an almost despairing public? What but this, can silence faction and unite the nation in support of patriot ministers? What but this, and arms in the hands of England's millions, can check the career of him who has already nearly conquered the whole Continent, but who has hitherto conquered none but *slaves*?"

That man calls us a nation of shopkeepers, and truly, Sir, I am not surprized. In too much of our policy, there is the meanness of the shop. In a dirty traffic for votes we see eagerness in the extreme; while the vital principles of freedom scarcely find an advocate. The borough trade, contraband and iniquitous, is now a road to what I will not name; and its contamination degrades even those whom one would be proud to respect. Parties contend by all the arts of intrigue for the reins of government; but which of them, when it prevails, manifests a grandeur of sentiment by restoring to the people the rights they have lost, or repairing the damage which the constitution has received? These are not views to enter into minds intent upon the emoluments of office, fees, sinecures, stock-jobbery and all the other profits of the shop.

And which, again, among the statesmen who have been rivals as war ministers, has shewn himself superior to the contracted views and sordid policy of the shop—for every thing which wants the generosity and dignity arising from a genuine love of constitutional liberty, I account selfish and sordid.—No one of them has *founded* his defensive system on THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, or THE LIBERTY OF HIS COUNTRY? The two conspicuous features in the place of

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* On the 12th January, 1798, the Morning Chronicle gave a list of members, holding civil and military appointments, places, contracts, and sinecures *under the crown*, with near relations, &c. which amounted to *one hundred and sixty-three*. It was from the same statement the above number, 424, was copied.

each, have been a PERMANENT *standing army*; and a TEMPORARY arming of portions of the people at the *discretion* of ministers, liable to be blown away by a breath of their lips.—Is this the way to encounter him, who in a few days utterly annihilates immense *standing armies* famed for tactics and discipline? When landed upon our shores, what has England to him, before whom all *despotic* nations fall, but her LIBERTY! Despots dare not arm their millions. An enslaved population to a regular army is "an "unresisting medium;" while an English population armed and organized agreeably to *the Constitution*, must prove a barrier which the conquerors of the continent could never pass, were every soldier a Napoleon.

If, Sir, you regard the fame of those whom you support, if with humility and true devotion you bow before the shrine of your country, impress upon those ministers the few simple truths of the constitution on which I have touched. Receiving those truths, their situation will no longer be "difficult:" Their course will be straight before them. Their proper line of conduct will be that which he who runs may read. In saving their country they cannot fail.

Shall I be told of *unseen difficulties?*—Have these ministers the confidence of their sovereign? If they have not, if they cannot do that which is necessary to save the state, they have no business where they are; and their continuance in office can only deceive the people, and bring the kingdom to ruin. If they have their sovereign's confidence we will adopt their advice. Firmly supported by their lawful sovereign, ministers are more than a match for the mock sovereignty of our borough potentates, and may at their pleasure lay it prostrate on the dunghill from whence it sprang. Neither its wealth, nor all its mercenaries, can save it from perdition, when once an honest king and honest ministers shall have determined, that it shall cease to reign.

I shall not at present speak of the part to be taken by the people in this business. If the king and his ministers should be agreed, the part of the people will then be very easy. It is because I do not imagine the people wish for such a state of things, as exposed Italy, Holland, Austria, and Prussia to conquest, that I presume upon their readiness to second their sovereign and his ministers in the natural means of precaution.

I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MILITARY FORCE.

SIR,——It is most justly observed by Mr. Dugald Stewart, in his account of Dr. Smith that "the happiness of mankind depends "not on the share which the people pos-"sesses, directly or indirectly, in the enact-"ment of laws, but on the equity and expe-"diency of the laws that are enacted;" and that "the value which wise men set on po-"litical freedom, arises chiefly from the fa-"cility it is supposed to afford for the in-"troduction of those legislative improve-"ments, which the general interests of the "community recommend." The most celebrated writers, such as Smith, Quesnai, Turgot, Cumpomanes, Beccaria, and others, have accordingly "aimed at the improve-"ment of society, not by delineating plans "of new constitutions, but by enlightening "the policy of actual legislators." Mr. Stewart also cites a passage from Lord Bacon in which the object which a wise and enlightened statesman ought to have in view, is stated to be that the people may live quietly and happily, and the means are pointed out by which this great end may be most effectually attained. Lord Bacon reckons it necessary, that they should be *armis adversus hostes externos tuti*; protected against the violence of external enemies. But in order to afford them complete protection, it would be necessary to understand, in what way a nation will be most likely to add to its effective strength, because, if the people are ignorant in this important particular, the political liberty which they enjoy, will only furnish them, as Mr. Stewart observes, with the means of accomplishing their own ruin.——But in Britain, not only the actual legislators have an influence in the making of laws; but indirectly the great body of the people, and this influence is not inconsiderable, because it is not every man who chooses to expose himself to that boundless rage and obloquy which must ever be the lot of him who thwarts their prevailing prejudices, or shews them their errors. There are always too in this country, a set of men constantly ready to administer fuel to the angry passions of the multitude, by their vulgar and intemperate abuse of those whose views happen to be superior to their own, and as their situation affords them all necessary obscurity, they venture without scruple on the most open prostitution of truth. These are principally editors of newspapers and other periodical publications. And, although the trash which they circulate may be extremely pernicious, no person who pretends to the character of a gentleman can think of noticing

it. Who could reply to the vulgar ribaldry of the Courier? The Morning Chronicle might have been useful in enlightening the public judgment, as it is the only daily paper which displays any information or ability, and in this respect, it has some merit, but the editor seems to have sunk into the tame hireling of a party; and to forward the views of his party, he does not appear to scruple at the mean propagation of interested falsehood.—The great object of our internal policy since the peace of Amiens, or at any rate since the breaking out of the present war, ought undoubtedly to have been the improvement of our warlike strength, and a comprehensive plan ought to have been devised for that purpose, which should have been steadily adhered to. As the power of France at that time was also an object of well grounded alarm, and as her views of ambition were sufficiently manifested in her unprovoked aggression and subjection of Switzerland, the object of our foreign policy ought to have been silently to lay the foundation of a general and universal concert against her, and in the gradual improvement and increase of our military force, which would have been the result of a wise and systematical plan for that purpose early adopted and steadily pursued, our internal policy would have given life and vigour to our foreign policy. One important question for deliberation therefore, was, in what way is a nation most likely to be effectually and advantageously protected. This was a question undoubtedly far too delicate to be settled by the tempestuous clamours of an angry multitude. It was a question intirely for the philosopher, on which no settled opinion can be formed without the most patient meditation, and without also an extensive examination of historical evidence. Those however, who at that time ventured to oppose the plans which were projected, namely, the establishment of the Volunteer system in such splendour, and the raising of such a large proportion of force, by the very nature of its constitution chained to the soil, were persecuted by clamour and misrepresentation; and held up almost as enemies to their country, and Mr. Pitt, whose declamation at that time alarmed all sober inquirers, was, and has been ever since most blindly exalted as a popular idol. As the subject is of importance, I shall endeavour to argue the matter with those of your readers who will listen to argument on a topic which has given rise to such angry passions; and, as my object is not to irritate, but to convince, I shall confine myself to calm reasoning.—It appears to me from the most ample survey of historical evidence, that an efficient military force has been in all ages a sure foundation, not only of national security, but of great political pre-eminence and power; and that, wherever a well trained and disciplined army has existed, it has uniformly commanded the respect, and often the submission of foreign powers. Armies have been indeed, in all ages, the immediate and efficient instruments in bringing about all those important revolutions of which history has preserved any authentic record. By what means did the Romans achieve the conquest of the world, but by means of a standing army? Being originally forced to struggle for their existence, necessity gave a warlike complexion to the manners of this wonderful people, which they ever afterwards preserved. Their armies were almost constantly in the field, and were composed of men exclusively devoted to the military profession, and the nations whom they attacked were the peaceful inhabitants who were occasionally trained to the use of arms. But, were they ever able to withstand the steady shock of the Roman battalions? It is impossible to trace the uniform success of the Romans to any other cause than to the superiority of a well disciplined standing army, over a mass of irregular force, such as our volunteers. Where the Romans were not successful, it was owing also to the very same cause, namely, to their being obliged to oppose men unpractised in war to the attack of a well disciplined, and well commanded regular force. This was invariably the case in all their battles with Hannibal in Italy. Hannibal's force had been inured to the hardships and perils of war in Spain, and in every action their superiority was great and manifest. View the same Hannibal in Africa, commanding the African militia (or volunteers) discomfited and defeated by Scipio's veterans. In short, wherever there has been any nation pre-eminent in consequence and power above other nations, we shall find that it has owed its elevation to a superiority of warlike strength. To what are we to ascribe the fall of the Grecian states, but to the superiority of the Macedonian army, which was kept in constant pay by Philip, and had been employed in subduing or chastising frontier states. The Greek militia though pretty well trained, were unable in the battle of Chæronea to withstand the attack of the Macedonian veterans. To what are we to ascribe the fall of Persia, but to the same cause? Whenever a nation is surrounded by regular armies, it must either adopt the same system, or it must hold its independence at the mer-

cy of a more powerful neighbour. This is proved by the whole experience of history. To what does Buonaparté owe his present importance, but to the superiority of his army, and if it enables him to vanquish the armies of other states, which are not brought to the same state of perfection, how much more completely would he rout and discomfit any other species of irregular force? Would it not, therefore, be to the last degree imprudent to expose the volunteers to the attack of his veteran battallions hardened by long service, inured to peril, and flushed with constant triumphs? Could any man rationally hope for success in such an unequal contest? Or would he hazard the safety of the state on the steady valour of raw troops? Although these conclusions appear to be perfectly plain and incontrovertible, if we chuse to be guided by reason and argument, yet a man cannot hold these opinions without being hunted by popular obloquy and clamour. Mr. Windham, because he said that in case of a battle the volunteers might become the depositary of panic, has been traduced, abused, and misrepresented with the most vulgar scurrility. But does not all history prove that the best troops are occasionally seized with a panic, and that it requires the greatest exertions frequently to rally them? Even the strong and constant curb of military discipline, cannot therefore prevent the temporary prevalence of natural feelings; and, it is surely, therefore, extremely natural for Mr. Windham, and for every man who reasons, to think, that they will much more readily predominate, where they have never been under any check. And yet this statesman has been subjected to the most intemperate scurrility and abuse, because he has expressed an opinion that the volunteers would act in a battle, as men placed in their circumstances have always done, and as even disciplined troops have sometimes done. Mr. Pitt indeed said, that the volunteers were fit to stand in the line with regulars, and he trusted they would not form the weakest part of the line. But this is a mere assertion contradicted as I have shown by the whole experience of history, and I have not been able, though I have very carefully ransacked Mr. Pitt's speeches, to find that he supports his opinion by any argument. I find, indeed, a great deal of declamation about dispersing and routing the enemy with utter ruin, defeat, and discomfiture, chastising the insolence of Buonaparté, delivering the Continent, &c. &c. &c. But, I do not perceive that he ever attempted to shew that the measures adopted were likely to attain the end proposed, or to answer any of the objections which were urged against them. He perpetually indulged in sketching imaginary pictures of political prosperity, but he left to others the rugged task of dealing with intractable realities. It is no wonder that Mr. Pitt was the popular idol, because he yielded to the fickle humours of the people, he flattered their prejudices, he lulled them with the illusions of Buonaparté humbled and chastised. While those who broke this pleasing harmony by the intrusion of disagreeable truths, who told them that their means were inadequate, and summoned them to fresh exertions, were universally looked upon as rude and ungrateful monitors. But, it is also urged against Mr. Windham, that he said that a good general would rather want the volunteers, because they would incumber the operations of his army, and that it was a disgrace to the army that the volunteers were permitted to wear red coats. But, if the volunteers are not equal to regular soldiers, if they are not fit for the most daring and desperate hostility, which our regular soldiers confessedly are, it is most evident that they will encumber and enfeeble their operations, and that a good general would rather be without them as regular soldiers. With regard to the second point, namely, that the army are disgraced by the volunteers wearing red coats, I heard Mr. Windham most successfully, and with becoming resentment, repel this most disgraceful misrepresentation, (and many others indeed, which were very copiously retailed by Mr. Perceval) in the following words: "With respect to the particular expressions which the learned gent. "imputes to me on a former occasion, I can "assure him that I never made use of such "expressions. What I said then, and what "I am prepared to say still is, that distinctions, whether honorary or ornamental, "are the life and soul of an army, that no "army can exist without them, and that the "more common those distinctions are rendered, their value is the more depreciated. "This is the opinion which I then expressed, and which I am ready to support by "argument, if the learned gent. chuses to "argue with me, but I am not to be deterred by clamour from expressing and "maintaining opinions which appear to me "to be conformable to truth and reason." Can any thing be more clear or satisfactory? This is agreeable to common sense and sound philosophy. But it is the last effort of defeated faction to bring a man's opinions against him in the shape of a reproach. And men who in the discussion of a speculative question resort to those arts of misrepresen-

tation for the purpose of inflaming the passions of the mob, are below the reach of argument or philosophy.——As it is obvious that without a large regular army, Britain may possibly be secure at home, (although that may be even questioned), but must always continue insignificant abroad, it is natural to inquire why our military plans were not in a most especial manner directed to the increase of our regular force; and, it is indeed, most unaccountable, that Mr. Pitt who always talked of rousing the Continent, should yet consent to raise a force chained to the soil by the very laws of its existence, and incapable of affording the slightest assistance to a single ally. The militia and supplementary militia, and the army of reserve were all of this description. These plans were opposed by Mr. Windham, who asked, if any rational man thought it possible with such a large mass of such a force, that we could have a regular army. But the counsel of this gentleman, like the predictions of the ancient prophetess, is always despised when offered, until experience extorts a reluctant assent from the most refractory opposition. The army of reserve was raised, the balloting system went on, bounties rose to an extravagant height, the regular recruiting was at a stand, and to close this miserable scene of mismanagement and folly, Mr. Pitt produced his parish bill, remarkable for nothing but for the notable conceit of converting parish officers into recruiting serjeants. The consequence of all this confusion was, that we had no army; while our enemy had improved in military strength we had declined. On the Continent, therefore, we had no weight but what our money gave us, which was an odious source of influence, and was also comparatively very insignificant. A system, therefore, of foreign and internal policy was pursued radically wrong in all its parts. A partial coalition was formed, which instead of delivering the continental states from oppression, rivetted their chains. The glory of Europe may now indeed, be said to be extinguished. This is the more to be lamented, as I conceive that the state of affairs in Europe presented peculiar facilities for forming a general confederacy against France, because the alarming increase of power which she had acquired was notorious, and the evils to be apprehended from her ambition were not matter of vague conjecture or of remote suspicion; they were visible and imminent. The humiliation of France must have been desired equally by all the European powers. And, in point of fact, they all saw that it was necessary for their own safety. They might differ about the means, but in the end they all agreed *. The violent and unjust conduct of France, it appears now (and I do not think it was ever a matter of doubt) made the same impression on Prussia as on other states. Since, therefore, the principal nations in Europe were actuated by the same views, would it have been impossible, had wise statesmen presided in England or any other country, to have united them together in principles of self preservation for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the common enemy? Would it have been impossible to have established a friendly and confidential intercourse between powers virtually united by congenial desires and by common interests, to have promoted a frank and unreserved communication of views, and means, and resources, and thus to have laid the foundations of a firm confederacy, not for the purpose of making a sudden irruption of hostility against France, but for the purpose of observing her motions, and in case war should be ultimately necessary, of preparing in harmony and in concert all those measures which might be thought necessary to oppose her with success? In those amicable consultations plans of hostility might have been agreed upon, the number of troops to be employed might have been settled, and as such vast interests were at stake, the most choice and skilful generals might have been selected, so that when the crisis arrived, the confederates might have wielded at once against the enemy their whole consolidated strength. When by the wise policy of King William, the whole of Europe was united in one grand confederacy for the purpose of wresting the Spanish monarchy from a French heir, will it be believed, that in the present times, when the calamities arising from the undue increase of French power were not of remote or uncertain apprehension, but were actually felt in all their bitterness by one half of Europe, and were dreaded by the rest; will it be believed, I say, that in such circumstances the few surviving states could not have been brought to concur in joint measures for their own safety? Were not the motives to exertion equally strong and obvious; were not the objects to be attained equally desireable; and were not the dangers to be warded off equally near and formidable? I always proceed on the supposition, that Britain could have sent and maintained on the Continent from 80 to 100,000 men. Because such a force would have given spirit to our foreign policy, and an irresistible weight to our arguments; and

* See Manifesto of Prussia.

because, in my opinion, it is a most serious charge against Mr. Pitt, that with a population of 15,000,000 we had no such army; from which charge, I should like to hear him defended, those who voted public honours to the enemy. The evil consequences of the want of our army spread far and wide. It destroyed the natural consequence which we possessed on the Continent, and in the union of its parts. The consequences are too well known. The war with Prussia naturally arose out of the weakened, disjointed state of the Continent, and no rational man is disappointed at its issue.——The great object of our policy now must be to provide an army; and this must be done by discarding all our former idle projects. You must render the profession of a soldier respectable, by exclusive honours, privileges, and immunities; you must render it desireable by the term of service, and by providing for a long and faithful discharge of duty, a competent and secure provision. And you must above all things employ regular recruiting serjeants. As to the armed peasantry, this scheme seems to be derided by those who do not understand its nature. They seem to think it will be a disorderly mob, without officers, and that it will be inferior to the volunteers. But one great property of the armed peasantry is, that they may do a great deal of service with no risk, whereas, the volunteers if defeated, (and it is likely, I think, that they would be defeated) would occasion the discomfiture of the whole army. But those who deride an armed peasantry, should read the history of the American war. They should look at the Calabrian peasantry. They should consider that the Neapolitan peasantry under Cardinal Ruffo delivered their country from the French; and a thousand other instances where they have been of incalculable service without any sort of risk. I have thus, Sir, stated my reasons for being friendly to Mr. Windham's views, and for not joining in a blind admiration of Mr. Pitt.

B.——*Nov.* 26, 1806.

NEW SINECURE.

SIR;—Even the friends of administration here are astonished by the creation of a *new Sinecure*, which has lately been bestowed on the professor of moral philosophy in our university. The literary merits of Mr. Dugald Stewart are well known to the world. His work on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, will transmit his name with honor to posterity; and the impressive eloquence with which he inculcates the great truths of morals and politics, in the important official station which he fills, has for nearly thirty years attracted the admiration of his countrymen. Every person of a liberal mind would have rejoiced, that some mark of public approbation should have been bestowed on the first literary character in Scotland; and on a man, besides, whose services as an instructor of youth, entitle him to rank in the first order of useful citizens. Yet, Sir, though the approbation of the country would have gone with the ministry who rewarded Mr. Stewart's useful and important labours with a pension, what good citizen can see without indignation, a titular office with a salary of 300*l.*, created, one would think, in order to sport with the feelings of the people? This proceeding of the ministry appears altogether unaccountable. But such is the mania for sinecures which has seized the Whigs, that I do believe the Earl of Lauderdale and his friends, to whose perverse ingenuity we owe this addition to the public burdens, are seriously convinced that they have bestowed a greater favour on Mr. Stewart, by giving him 300 pounds with the name of an office, and the consolatory reflection that it is a tax entailed for ever on the people, than if they had given him a pension of 300 guineas as the reward of merit, and a mark of the gratitude of his country. Let them not tell us that the patent of *Writer, Compiler, and Publisher of the Edinburgh Gazette*, extends only to the end of 20 years. It is much easier to create sinecures than to destroy them. If we had found by experience, that ministers and placemen are daily becoming more virtuous, we might have believed that those who shall rule this country 20 years hence, will not look to this patent as a precedent. If the present ministry do not scruple to introduce a new evil, what security have we, that those who succeed them will not continue an old evil to which we are familiarized by habit?—I entreat you, Mr. Cobbett, either to introduce some remarks of your own, or to publish this letter in the next number of your Register, which is now almost the only record of truth. I am confident that my sentiments are those of every independent man, and I know that you feel the importance of opinions, which can neither be bought nor sold.—In the eyes of the present ministry, whose only estimate of political importance, seems to be the number of members who can be by them returned to serve in the House of Commons, Scotland may, perhaps, be an object of less consequence than Cornwall; but you have laboured to prove, that the representation of Westminster, is of more importance than that of old Sarum.—I remain, Sir, &c.

Edinburgh, Nov. 23. EDINENSIS.

ON RETALIATION AGAINST FRANCE.

SIR,——Unless the British government immediately retaliates upon France in the only way we have left, that is, by prohibiting all maritime intercourse with it and any other state whatsoever, there is no possibility of checking that exercise of French power, the continuance of which must inevitably ruin this country. Such a measure will certainly offend the maritime states, but it is necessary to save ourselves, and their hostility is of little importance compared with our own political safety and independence. The people wait with anxiety for some daring and decisive line of conduct to be adopted by our government. They see the necessity of extraordinary measures. At this time the vessel will answer the helm, and all on board are willing, but she is running fast ashore and the weather tempestuous. Haste must therefore be made to save her, or the crew will despair, and then all is lost. If you approve my idea, I shall be much gratified to see it taken up by you, and enforced in the Political Register in that impressive style for which you are so particularly distinguished, or give this letter a corner in your valuable paper, and oblige,—

A CONSTANT READER.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——In your Register of the 15th of November, you have inserted an address from Major Cartwright to the Electors of Boston, one passage of which has been recently pointed out to me and calls for observation. In your page 778 of the 10th volume, is the passage to which I allude, and it stands thus: "Above 20 years ago, and "in my hearing, it was proclaimed in parliament by Mr. Pitt, that the Nabob of "Arcot had his seven or eight members in "the House of Commons of England; at a "subsequent period, the same minister "might have known that as great a number of mercenaries were placed in this "House, to be guardians of the infernal "slave trade, by the gold of Jamaica." To the assertion in the latter part of this paragraph, I request your attention; for, understanding it as I do, and, as I presume, all that heard the Major must do, it is false. That seven or eight or even a greater number of gentlemen, whose property in whole or in part has been acquired in the British Colony of Jamaica, may have been at any time in parliament, I will readily grant, and it will be difficult to assign any reason, I presume, why they should not find a seat there in common with other subjects of the realm. But the Major speaks of mercenaries *placed there* by the gold of Jamaica, meaning, no doubt, by the public purse of that island, and in this sense he will upon inquiry find that he has made an assertion unwarrantable and untrue. Mr. Robert Small, who received a salary as agent in this country for Jamaica, had at one time a seat in the House of Commons, to which, independently of his connection with one of the most valuable dependencies of the British empire, he was by his education and talent well entitled, and presuming that in that House he might feel it to be his duty to protect the rights and interests of the colony, it will yet be impossible on this foundation to justify the Major's assertion, or to vindicate the candour and pertinency of the comparison the Major has made of a representation, by whatever means of our own colonial interests, with the representation of the peculiar interests of a foreign potentate.—I am, &c. &c.——COLONUS.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Berlin, Oct. 28.—Yesterday the Emperor made his public entry into this city; he was attended by the Prince of Neufchatel, the Marshals Davoust and Augereau. Marshal Lefevre headed the train with the Imperial Foot Guards. The Cuirassiers of Nansouty's division were drawn up in order of battle along the road. The Emperor marched between the Grenadiers and Horse Yagers belonging to his Life Guard. At three in the afternoon he alighted at the Palace, where he was received by the Grand Marshal Duroc. A vast concourse of people had assembled, as spectators of this ceremony. —The road from Charlottenburg to Berlin is very good, and the entrance through the gate is superb. It was a most beautiful day. The whole of the Civil Administration, presented by General Hulen, came to offer the keys to the Emperor. This body immediately waited upon His Majesty. The General Prince Hatzfeldt was at their head.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"We are all the proprietors of land only stewards to the public, must not necessity force them to practise it? "the arts of oppression used by stewards; where the absence or negligence of the proprietor renders them "secure against inquiry."——HUME: Essay on Public Credit.

LETTER III.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM,

I. Upon placed and pensioned Members.—II. Upon the burthen of taxation.—III. Upon the means of alleviating that burthen.

SIR;—I.—In my haste to conclude the foregoing letter (see page 865) I omitted one observation, which, upon reading your speech to the Norfolk Freeholders, had occurred to me; to wit; that, while at Norwich, you were maintaining that a man was *more fit* to be a member of parliament on account of his being a placeman, MR. HERBERT was, at Winchester, telling his intended constituents, that he had, since he had offered himself as a member of the county, *given up a place*, which he before held under the crown. This contrast is striking; and, one of its least possible effects must be to shew, that there is, some how, or other, a shocking want of principle, whereby for public men to regulate their conduct, as to this, as well as to almost all other matters. ——Before I entirely quit this part of my subject, give me leave to ask you, Sir, a question, to which, I think, the public would like to have an answer from you. I will first state the case, upon which the question is grounded ——We have seen, that the principle laid down in *the Act of Settlement* was, that "no person holding an office "or place of profit under the king, or re- "ceiving a pension from the crown, "should be capable of being a member of "the House of Commons." This was the principle laid down in that act of parliament, which took the crown of England from the Stuarts for ever, and gave it to the present reigning family; and, without stopping to state any of the many reasons for wishing that no part of that act had ever been annulled, I will proceed to express my opinion, that, if the changes in the state of the country called for any alteration as to the grounds of excluding men from seats in the House of Commons, the alteration should have been of a kind exactly the contrary of that which has taken place; because, the vast increase in our naval and military establishment, naturally demanded an exclusion of naval and military officers, all of whom hold their offices and emoluments from the mere will of the crown, and all of whom can, at any moment, be deprived of those offices and emoluments, at the sole pleasure of the crown, and that, too, without cause assigned! At the time when the act of settlement was passed, the navy and army were, comparatively, trifling in magnitude; but, now the army alone costs nearly 20 millions a year; and, except the mere subsistence-money of the soldiers, the whole of this sum is handled by, and serves, in one way or another to the profits of, men whose offices are held at the absolute will of the crown. Much the same may be said of the navy; and, how large a portion of the members of the House of Commons consists of naval and military officers no one would believe, until he came to examine the list ——*Contractors*, I shall be told, *are* excluded, Alas! Sir, *how* are they excluded? Can the law, as it now stands, prevent a member of parliament from being a contractor in an hour after he has voted the supplies for the year? Can it prevent a member from being a *sleeping* contractor? Does it prevent this? Does it prevent *loan* contractors from sitting in the House? Does it prevent Bank-Directors from sitting there; those Bank-Directors, with whom the minister has so many money bargains to drive during the year? Does it prevent West India or other merchants from sitting there? No; and, what is more, it does not prevent them from assisting to vote, out of the taxes of the nation, loans of money to themselves to aid them in carrying on their speculations, or in preventing the natural and fit consequences of such speculations. Does the law prevent East India creditors, or pretended creditors, from sitting in the House, there to vote (in conjunction with the East India Directors) the money raised in taxes, into the pockets of themselves, in payment of what is due from those Directors and the East India Company? Does the law (and this will lead to the question that I have in view) prevent such men as *Boyd and Benfield* from sitting in the House of Commons? The act of settlement; that act of parliament which settled the Crown of England

upon the present wearers of it, provided, as a means of better securing the liberties of Englishmen, that no member of the House of Commons should be a placeman or a pensioner; and this provision was evidently grounded upon the maxim, that the men most likely to be frugal of the public money were those who put none of it into their own pockets. But, what have we witnessed within these twenty months? We have seen a minister lending the public money *without interest*, that is to say, *giving the public money*, to members of parliament, without the approbation of parliament or of the King, without consulting his colleagues in the cabinet, and without making any minute or leaving any record or trace of the transaction; and, when the deed was, by mere accident, detected, we heard not, in the House of Commons, a single voice to censure him, but, on the contrary, we heard "those holders of the purse-strings," those faithful "guardians of the people's rights and property;" we heard them unanimously join in passing, almost by acclamation, an act, a *law*, to declare that this minister should be, for ever after, held to be perfectly innocent of what it was notorious that he had done! In addition to which, we saw, in a few months afterwards, that same House of Commons (a House that never ought to be forgotten by the injured and insulted people of this country) pass two other laws, one of them to make us pay the debts of that minister; and the other to make us, at our expense, raise a monument to his memory! A list of that House every man should keep, nailed up against his chimney piece!——But, my question, Sir, is this: *Would such laws as these ever have been passed by an unplaced and unpensioned House of Commons?* To this question, Sir, I should like to have an answer.——Many, aye, many scores of laws could I mention, passed by that House of Commons, which, I think it is evident, never could have been passed by men independent of the minister and of the crown; but I shall, for the present, at least, content myself with these; or, if I make any addition now, it shall be of the law for *augmenting the pensions of the younger branches of the Royal Family*, while, a few days before, another law had been passed exempting the property *which the King had in the funds* from its share of the tax imposed upon the funded property of his subjects; and, having made this addition, I again I ask, Sir, would such laws as these ever have been passed by an unplaced and unpensioned House of Commons?

——A House of Commons, having in it neither placemen nor pensioners, a House, none of the members of which touched the public money, would naturally become the scrupulous managers of that money, because every man of them would feel, that he was managing his own money as well as that of his constituents, and that wherever he could save in the public expenditure, he would be really saving for his neighbours and himself.—Such a House, therefore, would seriously and effectually set about measures for alleviating the burthen of taxation, now approaching to a weight insupportable.—— Of the effects of taxation in the way of creating pauperism and misery, from absolute want of necessary food and raiment, I have before spoken; give me leave, Sir, to say a word or two here upon the *vexations* of the taxing system, as imprinted upon my mind by actual experience, in my own concerns, during the last eight or nine months, and as exemplified in the occurrences which I was led to enumerate from reading a paragraph, in the Courier news-paper, where the writer, after descanting upon the facility, with which Napoleon had over-run the Continent, breaks out in the following apostrophe to Britain: "Dear and happy land! the last asylum of "persecuted liberty; the last, but the safe, "retreat from the tyrant's grasp! In thy "blessed laws the hand of the unjust ma-"gistrate meets with restraint; and by "those laws the foot of the domiciliary vi-"sitant is arrested! All thy children sleep "in security! Thy houses are castles to "their inhabitants, however humble! *Crimes* "only are punished by thy righteous "laws; and, if innocent of these, those "laws insure to every man the free use of "his reason, the complete liberty of his "person, and the uninterrupted enjoyment "of all the property that he possesses whe-"ther by descent or from his own earn-"ings." I have not the paper now before me; but, as to the substance, this quotation is not far from being correct. I shall not deny any part of this. I cannot, however, with due submission to the Editor of the Courier, help remarking, that Britain has been "the *last* asylum of persecuted liberty," at any time since the French revolution began; but, with this remark I dismiss the apostrophe, and proceed to the matter of fact exhibited in my nine month's occurrences.——1. A friend made me a present of some fine old rum, which I ordered the waggoner to bring from London to Botley; but, when he came to take it away, there was no "permit" as they call a written paper, without which, it seems, you cannot move

your own liquor from one house to another; and so my rum was obliged to remain for another week, until the waggon came again; for, if I had taken it away without the "permit," the law, I was told, imposed a heavy penalty upon me.——2. In order to save trouble in washing the boards of the floor of a large passage laid with oak, the maid servant wanted to have the floor covered with painted canvass, which her mistress consented to the more willingly because we had some old canvass, and also some brown paint; but, just as the painting operation was beginning, a carpenter, who was at work just by, came up, and, with a voice expressive of great trepidation, asked the painter if we knew what we were about, informing him (which I found to be the case), that we could not paint the canvass without running the risk of an information, and of a penalty of ten pounds.——3. A beam, in a cellar was decaying very fast for want of air; and, as there was no opening into the cellar except at the door, I ordered a man to make a hole in the wall, in order to let in both light and air; but the man reminded me of the window law, which, by requiring six months notice before I open or close a window, compels me, under a penalty of twenty pounds, to let my beam rot on quietly until next April, and, in the mean while, to do without light below stairs as well as I can, to think myself well off that I can get light above-stairs, and to bless my good fortune that I am not under the sway of Napoleon, who, perhaps, might find out a way of shutting out the air, which would, it must be confessed, be a great deal worse than imposing a penalty of only twenty pounds upon one for breaking a hole through one's own wall.——4. I wanted a man, for a day, to help to plant some trees in my garden, because the keeping them out of ground for any length of time is very injurious to them; but, I found that this aid could not be obtained, without running the risk of being either taxed or surcharged for this man as a gardener.——5. I had a little cart made for the purpose of sending to market, or elsewhere, and sometimes to put benches in to take out my children. But, when the cart was completed, and the little things on tip-toe for a ride, I was reminded, that unless the cart was entered as a taxed-cart, and notice of my intention to use it as such was given twenty days before hand to my neighbour, the shoe-maker and assessor, I should expose myself to a penalty in suffering any body to ride in the cart, unless it was, at the same time, loaded up well with straw or dung or some sort of real loading for a cart. Not to disappoint the children, however, I asked my neighbour to lend me his cart, but that was in the same predicament, and I remember he told me, that, his wife being ill, he wished to fetch her mother to see her, and, having no vehicle but his cart, he had fetched her in it, and for that offence had very narrowly escaped a surcharge, not to mention the tax itself, which made it, as he observed, a pretty dear trip to him. Baffled here, I applied to a person to let me his horse and gig; but, he dared not, not having entered them as kept for hire; and, as he was not a person from whom I chose to borrow, we were obliged to give up the expedition.——6. I gave a person a draft upon my publisher; but, after he had carried it home, a considerable distance off, he came back with it, saying that it was not good; and, indeed, I found, that I was forbidden by law to draw any such draft, at such a distance from London, without the special authority of a stamp.——7. I had made an engagement to go a distance from home with another person; but, on the morning of our intended departure, there came a summons from the Commissioners of Property or Income Tax, commanding his immediate personal attendance. Instead of going with me, he had to ride fifteen miles off to receive the further commands of those gentlemen, who, after keeping him about three hours in waiting, told him that the information they thought they wanted, they now found to be unnecessary. When I saw him again, you must needs think, Sir, that our conversation turned upon making "exertions and sacrifices," and as Messrs. Sheridan and Bowles and Redhead Yorke have it, "for the preservation of our excellent constitution."——8. Some time ago a friend of mine, who wished to please one of my little boys, gave him a poney to learn to ride upon; and in my system of education, this poney was really very useful; but, when the tax-gatherer came with his bill, I found that my poney (making the *second horse*) cost me in tax *four pounds* a year, though the fee simple of the poney itself was only *four guineas*.——9. I had a poor unfortunate puppy die, the other day, with the distemper; and, as we are compelled to give in an account every April of the highest number of dogs, above six months old, that we have kept at any one time in the year, I, not knowing the age of the puppy, was obliged to send to the place of his nativity, ten miles off, to ascertain his age; and this upon pain of paying a year's tax, or running the risk of a surcharge.——10. You have, probably heard, Sir, of a Single-Stick match at Salisbury, in October last; and you

may have observed, that there were no Hampshire players there. You will think it odd; but the cause really was the system of taxation and its restraints. Our best players live up about New Alresford and Brandeen. They informed me by the waggoner, that they were ready to go, if I would go with them. I sent a letter to them by the waggoner, there being no possible means of getting at them by post. According to this letter, they were to come to me at Botley, where I should have taken them to Salisbury; but, some one told the poor waggoner, that he was doing an unlawful act in carrying the letter, which letter he, therefore, did not deliver; and thus were the players as well as myself kept in a state of ignorance with regard to each others wishes and intentions, until the Single-Stick match was over.——11. Ten instances might suffice, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the eleventh, because it serves to show that these vexations, like one's evil genius, follow one at all times and in all places. Come up to London for the Westminster election; lodged at the house of a friend; having near me neither cart nor gig, neither horse nor dog, neither man servant nor maid servant, looking through other people's windows, and, if I drank any "permitted" liquor, drinking it out of other people's glasses; in such a state, who would not have hoped to have remained for a week or two, at least, free from the visitation of the tax-gatherers? One morning, just as I was squeezing into the hustings, what should meet me but a summons to attend at the Stamp Office; and there had I to go, and together with my two printers and my publisher, to sign a bond, and then, drawn up in a line, with our hats off before three Commissioners, to take each of us an oath; and, *of what*, do you think, Sir? What should you think it was that required all this ceremonious solemnity? What should you think it was that we first bound ourselves to towards man, and then towards God? Why, Sir, it was this, *that my publisher had removed his shop from Bow Street, Covent Garden, to Brydges Street, Covent Garden.* And for this mighty cause had we all this attendance, all this binding, and all this swearing!——Now, Sir, these vexations, to say nothing of the burden itself, are a part, and only a part, of what have actually occurred to me during the last eight or nine months. I know that Sheridan and Bowles will laugh at a story about children riding out in a cart. They, with their chaise before them, will ask why we children could not as well run about in the street, or upon the green; and will wonder what I could do with a puppy or a poney, when the keep of those animals might be spared, especially as I should thereby be the better able to contribute towards their incomes, and to make "sacrifices" for the defence of the country, that is to say, in their view of it, in defence of that system which enables them to live in ease and luxury out of the labour of others. They, with their friend and associate Redhead Yorke, and I dare say, Mr. Whitbread would now join them, will tell me, that such sacrifices, and even "sacrifices of the necessaries of life," must be made (by every body *except themselves*), or else the French will invade and conquer the country. But, it never seems to occur to these persons, that such sacrifices might be avoided, or, at least, that they might be greatly alleviated. They appear to regard the defence of the country, the preservation of its independence, as a great and even a sacred duty; but, the keeping of their places, with undiminished emolument, they never think it necessary to reason about, or even to insist on. They appear to look upon this as a matter upon which there cannot possibly arise a dispute, or a doubt, any more than there can respecting the necessity of air or fire or water.

III.——Upon the means of alleviating the burthen of taxation other persons think, however, if the Sheridans and the Bowles's do not; and, Sir, the far greater part of these persons do, I am persuaded, think, with me, that, in the work of alleviating, we ought to begin with the *places and pensions.*——First, however, let me say, that I am for a system according to which all *necessary* offices should be well provided for; all *real* services to the public should be well rewarded; all *losses* sustained for the sake of the public should be well compensated. Of the sinecures and pensions now subsisting those which were fully merited should be retained; but, those which were not should be abolished. Am I told, that this would be an act of *injustice*? If I am, I shall not scruple to pronounce my accuser to be a profligate, or a hypocrite. The parliament had the power to pass the Act of Settlement; it had the power to alter the course of descent of the crown; it has had the power to do away a very important provision of that act; and, shall Mr. Sheridan and John Bowles tell me, that it is unjust and unconstitutional for this "omnipotent" parliament to do away a pecuniary grant? The parliament has had power, quite sufficient power to impose all the restraints, of which I have, as above, given practical instances; it has had the power to compel men to expose all their

trading and family concerns and secrets, as far, at least, as property goes; it has had the power, in the act for what was called the "*redeeming* of the Land Tax," to make land-owners buy part of their own land, or, in case of refusal, it has given to one man a lien upon the land of another man, and, in fact, made one man part owner of the land of another man; it has had power to authorise the present incumbents of the Church to alienate, for ever, part of the property of the Church; it has had power to cause to be deducted a tenth part of the dividends of every one (the *King and foreigners excepted)* who has property in the funds; and yet John Bowles and Messrs. Sheridan and Redhead Yorke will tell us, that, to abolish sinecures and pensions is beyond the scope of its power! This is something so barefacedly impudent, that it never could have entered into the mind of any man, who had not formed a settled resolution to live upon the country all the days of his life.——But, if all useless places and unmerited pensions and allowances of every sort were done away, would the abolition produce any very great effect in the country? I say it would; a very great and a very excellent effect. I will not, Sir, revive the misrepresentation, so long used against you, about "cheese-parings and candle-ends;" but, I believe, that your opinion, as well as that of many others, is, that, in the way I am speaking of, no considerable reduction of our taxes could be made; and, some of the new-converts in the Morning Chronicle have lately asked, "*what tax* we "would propose to take off."——I have given you, Sir, some instances of the vexations attending the *Assessed Taxes*, and do you not think, that, if all these taxes could be taken off, the measure would afford great relief, and give quite a new spirit to the country? Well, Sir, I assert, that the whole of these taxes might now, this very session of parliament, be taken off, without producing the least injury to the business of carrying on the government and of defending the soil and the honour of England. I have made a calculation the result of which will astonish you, perhaps; but which you will, nevertheless, find perfectly correct. I find, Sir, that the *two Sheridans* cost the public annually more than the amount of all the assessed taxes of *twenty parishes*, taking the parishes of England and Wales upon an average. And, pray pause a moment, and reflect, Sir, upon the trouble, the loss of time, the vexations, the real injury to so many persons, and the discontent, which the keeping of only these two men occasion in the country!—— The Sheridans would, perhaps, say, that they perform *services* for this money: and as I do not like to dispute with them, I will leave the public, who pay them, to judge of that. But, it surely will not be pretended, that the Marquis of Buckingham performs any necessary services, as a Teller of the Exchequer. In fact, that place is a notorious sinecure; and the annual profit of it is about 30 thousand pounds. Supposing it, however, to be no more than 25 thousand a year, in that case his Lordship receives from the public more than the average amount of the assessed taxes of *sixty parishes*, taking, as before, the parishes of England and Wales upon an average. Is this a mere trifle, Sir? Is it a thing not worth talking about?—Lord Liverpool's sinecure swallows the assessed taxes of about *fourteen parishes*; his son's sinecure, the assessed taxes of about *seven parishes*; a sinecure of Lord Hobart, the assessed taxes of about *twenty parishes*; the sinecure of Lord Sidmouth's son, the assessed taxes of about *seven or eight parishes*; a sinecure just fallen into one of the young Eden's (a son of Lord Auckland), the assessed taxes of about eight parishes; Lord Grenville's Auditorship, the assessed taxes of *fourteen parishes*; Mr. Rose's sinecure, the assessed taxes of not less than *ten parishes*; Mr. Huskinson's precious pension, not less than the assessed taxes of *three parishes*; the pension of Lady Louisa Paget, the assessed taxes of nearly *one parish*, and for *what services*, I should really like to ask her ladyship, or her immensely rich and most noble father.—These are merely mentioned as specimens, and are stated from memory. Had I leisure to refer to the accounts and reports, laid before parliament, I could make the list much too long to be contained in the sixty four columns, of which this double Number of the Register consists.——And, as to the Army, Sir, might there not be great savings made there? The army cost us, last year, about 18 millions of pounds sterling, independent of arms and ammunition, which come under the head of Ordnance. "Well; but would "you have no army? And, if you have one, "must it not be maintained?" I would have one, and I would maintain it well, Sir; but, a very simple statement will shew, that it is not the pay of either soldiers or officers that swallows up the money. Suppose the regular army to consist of 200 thousand effective men, and that there are no vacancies. Allow each soldier to cost 20 pounds a year, which is quite enough. Let there be 200 battalions of a thousand each; let each have 10 Ensigns at 7s a day; ten Lieutenants at 12s a day; 10 Captains at 20s; a Major at

500*l.* a year, and a Colonel at 1000*l.* a year; and allow 400*l.* a year for additional pay to non-commissioned officers, and you will find all these most ample allowances to amount to a sum far short of 4 millions a year.——There must be horses and other things; but, even upon this bare view of the matter, is it not evident, that the immense sum placed annually against the account of the army, might be greatly reduced? Nay, when we know what has passed in the Barrack department; when we cast our eyes back upon the famous accounts of Commissaries and Quarter Masters General; when we know that the Apothecary General (who never sees the army) has a place that clears him *ten thousand* pounds a year; when we see what has just taken place with regard to the younger Sheridan, whose place of muster-master general is worth three thousand pounds a year, and to make way for whom a large pension has been settled, for life, upon his predecessor; when we see and hear all this, need we wonder, that 18 millions a year is charged to the account of the *army*?——The mere list of sinecures and pensions, the mere amount of those *so named*, is, indeed, trifling, when compared to the whole annual monstrous amount of the taxes; but, it is, I think, a new principle, that, because our expenditure is enormous it would be useless to save a part of it, however small, comparatively, that part might be. In speaking of *useless* places and allowances, we must include, and we will not, however, confine ourselves to what are *called* sinecures and pensions. We will ask (and we will hope to receive, one of these days, an answer) what reason there can be for giving the elder Sheridan 4 thousand pounds a year and a palace to live in? What reason there can be for giving "Billy Baldwin," who is also a member of parliament, from 7 to 900 pounds a year merely for paying the Police Officers their salaries? What reason there can be for keeping still on foot a "Dutch Property Office," where John Bowles and his brother Commissioners are growing rich as nabobs, long after the nation has been saddled with an enormous pension and grant for the Dutch Stadtholder? What can be the reason that the country is charged with nearly 200,000 pounds a year for *secret services*, great part of which is stated to be for secret services *at home*? Yes, certainly, we will ask, what occasion there can be for *secret* services *at home*, and of what description, for our good, these services can possibly be?——I have said enough, I think, to convince you, Sir, that, whenever I shall be disposed to go into detail, I am quite able to prove this position: *that, without causing any injury to those services which are necessary to the safety and honour of the nation, the amount of the whole of the Assessed Taxes and of the Income Tax except the part imposed upon the funds, also* MIGHT BE SAVED. And, Sir, if this can be done, why should it not be done? And, if proper to be done, why should it not be done without delay, and before it be too late to talk of plans of economy? Every man of common sense and of common opportunities of observing, now clearly perceives, that the taxing system is fast approaching towards an utter extinction of private property; that the state has laid its hold upon property of all sorts, in so many different ways, that no man can scarcely say he has any thing, properly speaking, *his own*, the land-owner himself being little more than the steward of the government, and, steward-like, is compelled to oppress and harrass the tenants under him, until they are at last driven to the work-house. These truths every man of common sense now perceives; and, he perceives also, that, without a great change in the system, a change which you will do me the justice to recollect I *always* represented as absolutely necessary; every man of common sense perceives, that, without such a change, the burthens of taxation *must go on increasing*; and for what will finally be the consequences of such continued increase, he refers you to the late taxers upon the Continent.——There are, however, other measures, Sir, which, in my opinion, the necessities of our situation require to be adopted; but of those I must speak in a fourth letter, which I shall take the liberty to address to you. In the meanwhile,

I remain,
Sir,
Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head I should, if I had had time, have submitted to the reader some remarks upon the probable consequences of the entrance of the French into Poland;——Upon the propriety of our government making any provision, out of the taxes of this country, to the princes and princesses, whom Napoleon may have stripped of their revenues by his late conquests;——Upon the dispute between this country and the United States of America, and, especially upon the appointment of Mr. Erskine, as our Minister Plenipotentiary to the United

States;——Upon the state, and the views of parties in the House of Commons, which is now about to meet;——Upon the annual humbug, long confined to the SUN, but now taken up by the Morning Chronicle, relative to "the unexampled *flourishing state of our finances*;"——Upon the *challenges*, sent by Messrs. *Whitbread* and *Redhead Yorke* (very worthy fellow-labourers) to Sir Francis Burdett;——And, upon a most delightful subject, *the Play-Actors' Dinner to the Sheridans.* This last was so tempting that I should not have been able to have refrained; but, it has been announced to me, that, in the next Number, a sort of *official* defence of the Sheridans has been prepared, and will be sent to me, if I will insert it. Not only will I insert every word of it, but, I will abstain from saying any thing more of the Sheridans, until the public has had an opportunity of seeing this their defence. I am always for fair play. My opinion is, that, in the long run, no cause ever gained any thing from foul play; and of the soundness of this opinion, the Sheridans are, I should think, by this time, feelingly convinced.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME

OF

Cobbett's Parliamentary History,

Which, in the compass of Sixteen Volumes, royal octavo, double page, will contain a full and accurate report of all the recorded proceedings, and of all the speeches, in both Houses of Parliament, from the earliest times to the year 1803, when the publication of "COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES" commenced.

Whoever has had frequent occasion to recur to the Proceedings in Parliament, of former times, must have experienced those difficulties which it is the object of the present Work to remove. Merely to find the several works wherein is contained an account of the Parliamentary Proceedings, is, at this day, no easy matter; some of them being very scarce, and others excessively voluminous. Hardly any of them, those of the last twenty years excepted, are to be purchased regularly at the Booksellers. The far greater part of them are to be come at by accident only; and, of course, sometimes not to be obtained at all. But, supposing them all to be at hand, the price of them is no trifling object; and, in many cases, must present a difficulty not to be easily, or, at least willingly, surmounted. Of these works, taken in their chronological order, the first is, "The Parliamentary or Constitutional History," in Twenty-four Volumes; the second, "Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments;" the third, "Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621, collected by a Member of that House, and published from his Original Manuscript in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford," in Two Volumes; the fourth, "Chandler's and Timberland's Debates," in Twenty-two Volumes; the fifth, "Debates of the House of Commons, from the year 1667 to the year 1694, collected by the Honourable Anchitell Grey, Esq., who was thirty years Member for the town of Derby," in Ten Volumes; the sixth, "Almon's Debates," in twenty-four Volumes; and, the seventh, "Debrett's Debates" (now in the hands of various Booksellers) in Sixty-three Volumes. These works are not to be purchased, if to be purchased at all, under One Hundred and Ten Pounds sterling. But, with all these, the information wanted is very imperfect, without perpetually having recourse to the Journals of the two Houses, which Journals occupy upwards of a hundred volumes in folio: so that the price of a complete set of the works, in this way, cannot, upon an average of purchases, be reckoned at less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds.

These difficulties surmounted, another, and a still more formidable obstruction to the acquiring of information is found, not merely in the number and the bulk of the volumes, but also in the want of a good arrangement of the contents of most of them; and, further, in the immense load of useless matter, quite unauthentic, and very little connected with the real Proceedings of Parliament, to be found in many of them. In the first-mentioned Work, we find a narrative of battles,

sages, and of domestic occurrences. The real Proceedings of Parliament form but a comparatively small proportion of it; whole pamphlets of the day, and very long ones, being, in many places, inserted just as they were published and sold; and, when we come down even to the Debates by Almon and Debrett (taking in Woodfall and others occasionally), we find, that, in numerous instances, three-fourths of the volume consists of Papers laid before Parliament, of mere momentary utility, repeated in subsequent and more correct statements, and now nothing but an expense, and, what is much worse, an incumbrance to the reader, and a constantly intervening obstacle to his researches; to which may be added, with respect to all the Debates from Almon's inclusive, downwards, that there is a total want of all that aid which is afforded by well contrived Running Titles, Tables, and Indexes, and which are so necessary in every voluminous work, particularly if it relate to the transactions of a long series of years.

With a view of removing all these difficulties, and of putting the Public in possession of a History of the Proceedings in Parliament, from the Norman Conquest to the year 1803, (when the Work entitled, "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates" commenced) as complete as that which has met with such general approbation in this last-mentioned Work, the present publication is undertaken. The Sixteen Volumes, of which the Work will consist, and the first of which is now presented to the Public, will be printed in the same form and size as those of the "Parliamentary Debates," with this difference only, that the character of this Work, which has been cast expressly for the occasion, will, in the same compass introduce one-fifth more of matter. When, therefore it is recollected, that so large a part of the several Works above enumerated, is taken up with matter, as before described, wholly unconnected, or having but a very remote connection, with the Proceedings in Parliament, and entirely destitute of authenticity; when it is recollected also, how much room is saved by the abbreviation of words descriptive of titles and of constantly-occurring phrases of courtesy, the reader will not be surprised, that the whole of the Authentic and Useful Records of the Proceedings of the Parliament of England, of that of Great Britain, and of that of the United Kingdom, down to the year 1803, will be comprised in the Sixteen Volumes of this work, which will, upon the best computation that can be made, contain as much print as One Hundred and Forty common octavo volumes.

The present Volume, comprising the period from the Conquest to the Death of James the First, has been compiled principally from the Records, the Rolls of Parliament, the Parliamentary or Constitutional History, and from the most reputable English Historians. From the Reign of Henry the Eighth inclusive, we have the additional aid of the Journals of the House of Lords, and from that of Edward the Sixth, that of the Journals of the House of Commons. Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, has been diligently consulted, and the Debates of the House of Commons in the years 1620 and 1621, published from the Manuscript in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, have been carefully incorporated, under their respective dates. The State of the Peerage, and Lists of the Members of the House of Commons have, from time to time, been given: and at the close of the Parliamentary History of each reign, will be found Lists of the Public Acts passed; together with an account of the Taxes imposed, of the Supplies, of the State of the Revenue, and of the Value of Money in relation to the Price of Provisions.

To the Volume is prefixed a copious Table of Contents, and a variety of useful Lists of the Persons who have filled the several high Offices of the State from the Conquest down to the Death of James the First. It was originally intended to give an Index to each Volume; but, at the suggestion of several eminent literary persons, it has been determined to undertake A General Index of the whole Work, which will be constructed upon the excellent Plan recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1760, and afterwards adopted by the persons employed to make out the Indexes to the Journals; which General Index will, of course, be contained in the Volume with which the Work will close.

In a Work of this nature, the utmost impartiality is justly expected; and it is with confidence presumed, that a careful perusal of the following pages will convince the reader, that that impartiality has been strictly and invariably adhered to. Nothing has been inserted without due authority; and, as the object has been, not so much to dive into matters of Antiquity, as to preserve what was really useful, many things have been omitted which would have swelled the bulk of the work, without adding to its usefulness. Nothing, however, has been left out, which was not judged to be spurious or not agreeable to the design of such a Collection; nor any thing added,

merely on account of its being favourable to the reputation or the doctrines of any party whatever. In short, whatever appeared to have been actually said or done, in either House of Parliament, that had any tendency to what ought to be the chief object of such a publication, has, as far as authentic materials could be procured, been recorded with scrupulous fidelity.

It would be improper to conclude, without returning thanks to the several Noblemen and Gentlemen, who have obligingly offered the use of their valuable collections, some of which have already been found to be of great advantage to the undertaking, and others will, in the course of the work, be applied for and gratefully received. The many judicious suggestions, which have, from various quarters, been communicated, have been, and in future will be, carefully attended to; and, it is hoped, that the execution of the Work will prove that no pains, of any kind, have been spared to render it equal to that expectation, which, with respect to the manner as well as the matter of it, has evidently been conceived by no inconsiderable part of the well-informed men in this kingdom.

With the literary aid which the Compiler has received, the Public has, perhaps, strictly speaking, little to do; but, he cannot, for one hour, exist under the idea, that the whole of the merit, whatever it may be, should be ascribed to himself, to the exclusion of the invaluable talents and exertions of the Gentleman, who is his principal assistant, and upon whom no small share of the execution has devolved.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 1806.

The second volume will be ready for delivery on the 25th of March, 1807; and, so on, a volume every quarter of a year, till the whole be completed. This distance between the periods of publication will have many conveniencies attending it, and particularly that of leaving the young reader time to have gone through one volume before he has another to purchase. The price of each volume, containing, as was observed, more print than eight common octavo volumes, is 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* in extra boards, uncut. The work is published by Mr. BAGSHAW, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; sold also by Mr. BUDD, Pall Mall, Mr. FAULDER, Bond Street, Messrs BLACKS and PARRY, Leadenhall Street, and Mr. ARCHER, Dublin.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

Of the above booksellers may also be had, in Seven Volumes royal octavo, neatly half-bound in Russia leather, complete sets of COBBETTS' PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES from the commencement in 1803 to the Dissolution of the Last Parliament. The first number of the Eighth Volume, will be ready for delivery shortly after the meeting of the NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE PLAY ACTORS' DINNER TO THE SHERIDANS.

On Sunday, the 30th of November, an entertainment was given at the Piazza Coffee House, by the gentlemen of Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres, to Mr. Sheridan. The table was laid out in a horse-shoe form. At the top was Mr. Wroughton in the chair, with the elder Sheridan on his left and his son Thomas on his right. Mr. Sheridan did not arrive till late. He apologized to the company by saying that he had just been attending a meeting of the privy council. He appeared unusually thoughtful during dinner, and seemed deeply affected with the recent melancholy news from the continent. The dinner and wines were excellent. The meeting was indeed "the feast of reason, "and the flow of soul." The Dramatis Personæ were Incledon, Braham, Purser, Kelly, Emperor Clermont, Munden, Ledger, Johnstone, Dowton, Taylor, Sam Spring, Blanchard, Elliston, Downes, Powell, R. Palmer, Mathews, &c. Neither Mr. Kemble nor his Brother Charles honoured the company with their presence. After dinner the King, Queen, and Family, and Prince of Wales were drank with accustomed honours, "*Non nobis Domine*," on account of its being Sunday, was proposed by Mr. Sheridan, and was most feelingly and melodiously given by Incledon, Braham, Kelly, Taylor, and Munden. After the usual toasts, Mr. Wroughton, the president, proposed the health of his right honourable friend, Mr. Sheridan, which was drunk with unbounded applause.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose. He expressed his utmost satisfaction at the honour they had done him, not only in supporting him by their individual exertions in his canvass and during the election, but more particularly as it was from a profession that lay nearest his heart, a profession, the followers of which were enabled to decide upon the scale of right and wrong, with more judgment than fell to the lot of the generality of men. They must naturally be possessed of more shrewdness—they must necessarily dive deeper into the hearts of men. [*great applause.*] On this part of his subject, he said it had been urged against him by Mr.

Cobbett, that he was the son of an actor. True: he was the son of an actor; and he gloried that he was so. When his father first went upon the stage, he did not consider that he had disgraced the line of ancestry which he could boast—ancestry which had even royal blood in its veins; for Mr. Cobbett seemed to be strangely ignorant of his family, when he accused him of low birth. He would recommend Mr. Cobbett to visit Ireland, where he might soon learn the high blood that ran in his veins, and the antiquity of his family. "I do not," said he, "mention this as any boast—every man is respectable who makes himself so; but to wipe off the obloquy which a foul slanderer would fasten on me; but for him I entertain the most ineffable contempt, and with this feeling shall I treat him and the rabble that follow and support him. Mr. Cobbett should be silent. My son, who is now present, will completely put him down." Mr. Sheridan dwelt on this part of his subject with a mind evidently galled, sore, and betraying an impatience very unlike the rest of his demeanour. He then thanked the actors for the many and various favours he had received from them; he said he considered this as the proudest day of his life, and could never sufficiently express his gratitude to them. He concluded by acknowledging that he was as proud of his alliance with the actors as of any alliance he had formed during his long and chequered life; and complimented them on their talents, activity, and zeal in his behalf.

Mr. SHERIDAN then gave "The Immortal Memory of Mr. Fox," which was drunk standing, and in awful silence.

When the gloom excited by the last toast was somewhat worn away, Mr. SHERIDAN gave amidst most immoderate bursts of laughter, his "*Old Friends*, the Patriottic Females of Westminster."—Mr. T. SHERIDAN gave "The Stage," which was loudly welcomed.—Mr. Grubb then rose, and proposed the health of Mr. Thomas Sheridan.

Mr. T. SHERIDAN rose and said, "Gentlemen, I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for the honour you have done me. My father in returning you thanks for your unparralleled exertions, mentioned a Mr. Cobbett, a satellite of Mr. Paull's. This Mr. Cobbett has stated that I am a gambler, a street lounger, and that I have laid down the sword for the more profitable pen. I will tell this Mr. Cobbett that he has laid down the halberd for the pen [*peals of laughter*]. This man, for his roughness and vulgarity towards my father, (whom I think I may fairly describe as the person in whom eloquence may be said to preside),—I had intended to thrash, and for that purpose I went down to his house with a cane, but he was not at home. I afterwards thought it best to offer him a pistol, and wrote to him for the purpose, but this valiant Mr. Cobbett answered me by saying, that he never fought duels. Gentlemen, this Mr. Cobbett reminds me of a person in one of Congreve's witty comedies, called Bully-back, who is represented as attending and assisting Sir John Whittol in that play, and who never could speak, but when his friend Bully-back was at his elbow to prompt and urge him on, and this is exactly what Mr. Cobbett was to Mr. Paull, who never could say a word but when his Bully-back prompted him. And this goes to prove, Gentlemen, that though Mr. Cobbett dislikes to become a *principal* he has no objection to be a *second*."

Mr. MUNDEN sang T. Dibden's celebrated song of "*Poor Dido*." Incledon and Braham, with great effect, sang Jackson's Canzonet, "Time has not thinned my flowing hair." Mathews of Drury Lane, attempted an imitation of Mr. Paull on the Hustings, but was so unlike him in manner, person, and language, that it is too contemptible to notice. The elder Sheridan seemed, however, highly delighted with it, and honoured it with his frequent applauses.—Major Downes sang an excellent song of his own composing. Emperor Clermont gave Shakespeare's "Mulberry Tree" with great effect. Mr. Sam Spring rose and made a neat speech. Great as his admiration was for the "Mulberry Tree" of our Immortal Bard, there was another *Tree* which, with the approbation of the Company, he would give, and that was "The COCOA TREE, "and may it ever flourish." [Loud applauses with laughter.]—Lord Barrymore, attended by the Reverend Mr. Barry, and a few friends, entered the room about 11 o'clock. As soon as they were seated,

Mr. SHERIDAN addressed the company a second time. He contrasted the juvenile nobility of this country, with the old nobility of France. He was convinced, that the Revolution in that country was, in a great measure, occasioned by the contempt of the nobility for the people. He alluded most eloquently to the recent possession of Hamburgh by the French. "England," exclaimed the Right Honourable Treasurer, "with all thy faults, I love thee still, be-"cause thou'rt free." There was in this country more freedom than in any other. This was, indeed, a condition of society

worth defending. He felt it to be so. The present was a most momentous and perilous crisis; but we must employ our best energies to repress the evil. Burthens greater far greater, than those we now labour under, we should have to bear: taxes we must submit to; deprivations we should prepare for: let us curtail our superfluities; let us resolve to face the foe, and to preserve the Throne and Independence of our Country, or courageously perish in the conflict! [*Unbounded Applauses*].—Mr. Sheridan retired at 2 o'clock. His son favoured the company with his presence till 6 in the morning.

LETTERS BETWEEN MR. WHITBREAD AND SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

To Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

SIR;—Ever since my entrance into public life as a Member of Parliament, it has been my earnest wish to divest political differences of all personal animosity, and I have been at all times ready to concede to others, with regard to myself, the liberty I have assumed towards them, of the fullest and freest discussion of every part of my public conduct. But there are limits, beyond which it is not possible to step, without injury to the party who may happen to be the subject of animadversions, such as he must be compelled to resent.—It is with pain I am forced to say, that I feel myself so injured, by some passages contained in your Advertisement to the Freeholders of Middlesex, published in the Statesman of yesterday.—In the face of the People of England, you tell me, that, by the publication of a Letter addressed to you, in answer to a printed Circular Letter addressed by you to me, as one of the Electors of Middlesex, "I have acted in a manner "most unbecoming my station, connections, "and character."—After the account I gave you privately on the Hustings at Brentford, respecting the Letter in question, which was, "That it was written without concert "or consultation with any person whatever, that I began it within half an hour after the receipt of your Circular Letter and Address; that it was out of my hands before four o'clock on the same day; and that it was entrusted to the revision of one friend only (and that not till after the copy addressed to you had been sealed and dispatched), in order that he might see whether, from the haste in which it was written, it was not too inaccurate in point of language for publication;"—you say, that "I addressed that "letter nominally, and with dissembled "respect, to you; but that I intended it "as a political electioneering manœuvre a-"gainst the Freeholders of Middlesex."—I did not dissemble, Sir, in any part of that transaction, and at the time I wrote, I intelligently, as I told you, felt respect towards you; and if you possess those feelings which I am still willing and desirous to believe that you are actuated, you feel that it is impossible for me not to demand reparation for the injury my character must sustain from a patient acquiescence under such imputation as you have most unprovokedly thrown upon me—such reparation I demand at your hands.—Mr. Brand has been so good as to undertake to carry this Letter, and is the only person who is acquainted with the circumstance of its having been written.—He will state to you what my demands are.—This is not the time to enter into what I conceive to be the fallacy generally, or the injustice personally, pervading the whole of your Advertisement.—You are certainly not so much in my confidence as to entitle you to tell the people what my Political Views are; but I have never yet done any one political act, from the recollection of which I shrink; nor will I ever do one, without making as well understood, as my faculties will permit, what the grounds are upon which that act was done. It will be for the public to determine then upon my conduct. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Southill, December, 2 1806.

To Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

SIR;—Nothing could have been more distant from my intention, than to introduce into the Advertisement, which I thought it necessary to address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, any expression which could be construed into personal disrespect to yourself; and I take this opportunity of assuring you, that every interpretation of its contents, which may be perverted into a sense personally disrespectful to you, is contrary to my meaning and intention. I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

Piccadilly, December, 3 1806.

P. S. Mr. Brand thinks it necessary to gave publicity to this Correspondence, to which I can have no objection.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM.

SIR,——The prepossessions of powerful minds yield not to slight circumstances, and numerous causes frequently concur to prevent a full and perfectly dispassionate scrutiny into opinions, which have grown upon us from our political situation, or which

have been deeply rooted in our bosoms by mental complexion or habits of thought.

Your prepossession, Sir, against a reliance on *the People in Arms*, and in favour of *a regular standing army*, as the proper defence of a nation, was not it seems shaken, either by the subjugation of Italy, or the Low Countries to the dominion of France; and even the events of Marengo and of Austerlitz were quoted by you in support of your own side of the question; while on other minds those events, especially the latter, flashed a contrary conviction, never to be eradicated.

Your own observation, Sir, that "after the imperial *regular army* had been beat at Ulm, the Austrian population became an unresisting medium to the passage of the French legions," so far from an argument against defence by *a people in arms*, was a demonstration of its necessity.

No rational man talks of defending a state by *the people in arms*, unless that people be FREE, and in regular training; nor unless there be a complete organization, and a matured system at all times in preparation, for promptly putting them in motion, for preserving perfect order, and for bringing to bear upon invaders, and without waste of power, every particle of the physical force of the nation, and the whole of its moral energies. Was it not, Sir, because the Austrian population were utterly destitute of FREEDOM, of arms, of training, of organization, and of a prepared system interwoven into the laws and habits of the people, that they became "an unresisting medium" to invaders? Here, Sir, you see that its *despotism* was the sole cause of the disaster of the Austrian empire.——But, Sir, had it been possible for the sovereign of Austria to have opposed to those invaders MILLIONS OF ARMED MEN, conscious of LIBERTY, feeling that enthusiastic devotion to their country and its government which freedom ever inspires, and breathing an inextinguishable hatred and abhorrence of ruffians and cutthroats coming with fire and sword to deprive them of their happiness, to seize their property, to desolate their fields, to drive them from their homes, to violate their females, and to reduce themselves and their posterity to the vile condition of slaves,—and all this merely to gratify the ambition of a madman,—could the Austrian, I say, have *thus* opposed Napoleon, must not French carcasses have raised a mound for Austrian defence, and France have been drained to the last conscript, ere their leader could have penetrated to leagues beyond his own frontiers?

Now, turn, Sir, the eye of reflection towards that gloomy space in the North of Europe which, but yesterday, was an mighty monarchy, and to day is a spoil, to be rent asunder and dealt out among the satellites of that same Napoleon! Contemplate, Sir, this instructive lesson to kings and statesmen! Ruminate on the events, and that despotism which was their radical cause! Where is now that *Prussian army* once so potent and so glorious? How has it defended the territory and the throne of its master?—The large proportion of it that has been given to slaughter, we know not: we only conjecture its amount from the great numbers, which, while hunted by surrounding packs of tygers, we know to have daily perished with hunger and fatigue; or, from reading the bulletin of the conqueror, that his prisoners exceed *a hundred and forty thousand*; where it is added, that, on this side of Poland, not a Prussian soldier remains. Not one solitary fragment is to be found, of that pride of armies which, under the Great Frederick, was the dread of his rivals, a model to Europe, and a school of science to the military of all nations! Awful consideration! O liberty! had I never before been thy votary, now at least I should become a convert to thy worship! It is for you, Mr. Windham, the war minister of your country, to ask yourself, if events such as we behold, inculcate the lesson, of resting the defence of that country upon a *regular standing army*, or upon *the free millions of the land in arms!* It is for you also to reflect on the consequences to follow, from the shipping of the whole south shores of the Baltic, being added to the naval means of him who meditates our downfall. It is for you, moreover, to consider the possibilities, by which even the maritime strength of Sweden and Russia, *in alliance with France*, may be turned against us. The morality of despots is the lust of power, and the pride of aggrandizement. When the crafty Corsican shall, in the East, have ministered to the aggrandizement of the Czar, and when all the northern, and all the southern nations, shall at once from every shore between Archangel and the Dardenelles, pour out upon this land their myriads for our destruction, it will then, Sir, believe me, be too late, to repent of having disregarded the constitution, and despised the wisdom of an Alfred, it will then be too late to give to our defence, such a solid foundation of ENGLISH LIBERTY, such an organization, and such a perfection of practical arrangement, as to render it available to our preservation! Knowing, Sir, that I have done my duty, I can with personal composure meet the worst of public calami-

ties. No responsibility having been cast upon me, but having faithfully laboured towards an effectual and infallible defence, no one, in the day of horror, can plant a sting in my bosom, by saying to me, '*This we ought to have done!*'

As, Sir, you have long been in possession of what is prescribed by the military branch of our constitution, together with my leading sentiments on this great subject, and as those once adopted, will necessarily lead to what remains, I shall not now trespass longer on your time. Conjuring you to reconsider what is in your hands, and to revise our present imperfect plan of defence, I have the honour to remain, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

Nov. 30, 1806. JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MILITARY FORCE.

SIR;—The perspicuity and ability with which your correspondent B. has written upon the subject of our military force cannot but claim considerable respect and attention, and the more so, as he appears to have given the subject much consideration. I cannot, however, Mr. Cobbett, bring my mind to the same conclusion with your correspondent, when he urges the evident necessity of a standing army in lieu of our volunteers and militia forces; and I must here take the liberty of making a preliminary remark, that however forcible an argument in favor of such a measure might have been after the Peace of Amiens, from the probable advantage which a British army might have produced upon the Continent, yet surely we cannot view the present calamitous situation of that Continent, and not admit that no such expectation now remains, and that consequently the argument in this respect is considerably enfeebled; so that the question at present seems purely to be reduced within the limits of our own individual defence—whether or not it be incident to man, in proportion as his enjoyments daily *decrease*, to have an *increasing* anxiety to preserve what *little remains*, and on that account to be over liberal in the anticipation of dangers which may be very remote and unlikely to happen. I confess that for myself I do feel an extraordinary degree of jealousy and suspicion at all arguments which tend to shew the necessity of an increased standing army in this country; because, Sir, I am impressed with a strong opinion that however beneficial such a force may be in the hour of attack from a foreign enemy, that it daily menaces us with the destruction of that, for which alone a country be worth defending, I mean our national liberty. But this apprehension appears to be neither imaginary nor novel, as we find the most acute and best informed authors have entertained a similar conception; "Another "great advantage," says De Lolme, "attending the remarkable stability of the "English government is, that the same is "operated without the assistance of an armed standing force;" and Gibbon observes, "that the licentiousness of the *Prætorian* "*bands*, who received their institution from "the crafty Augustus, *were* the first *symptom* and *cause* of the decline of the Roman Empire." I am of opinion, that *if* we pursue the inquiry still further, we shall find that a standing army is a viper that sooner or later inflicts a mortal wound on the bosom that has cherished it.——If then, Sir, the destruction of our national liberty be consequential on such a mode of defence, we are certainly reduced to a very hard condition, if we have no other alternative than what your correspondent mentions; as it seems to me of very little importance, whether we permit the Corsican usurper to enslave us, or enslave ourselves. It cannot however be questioned, that we should most clearly defer the adoption of so dangerous an expedient until we are satsified no other remedy is left us; and this I think will lead us to the inquiry, first, whether we are in any serious danger of combating the enemy on our own shores, and if we are, then, 2ndly, whether we have no fair prospect of making a succesful resistance by the aid alone of our present military establishments. With respect to the first inquiry, we are necessarily led to the consideration of the present miserable and crippled state of the enemy's navy, and we may fairly I presume disarm ourselves of any serious alarm of an invasion, while it remains in so forlorn a condition; but it may be answered that a wise man provides for the future, and that the recent events on the Continent have afforded our enemy the means of building a considerable navy, and that hereafter we may tremble for the dominion of the seas; but I should much wish to ascertain, Sir, whether, after Buonaparté has accomplished such a navy, he will be able, while the British officers and seamen preserve their wonted energy and vigilance, to form a *junction* of his ships to *any considerable or formidable extent;* this seems at least problematical, and I am inclined to believe at present that no such junction could take place; however I shall feel most happy on seeing this point fairly discussed by one of your nautical correspondents. With regard to the second branch of the inquiry, whether, supposing the enemy to land, the zeal and energy of our Volunteers with an armed peasantry,

and our present standing force, would not be amply sufficient for our defence. I acknowledge myself for an answer indebted in some degree to your correspondent's letter, who informs us, that the Neapolitan peasantry under Cardinal Ruffo delivered their country from the French; and he also reminds us of the conduct of the Americans, and the final issue of the American war; and, Sir, in addition to these facts, do we not know that the citizens of the Swiss States more than once effectually repulsed a veteran German army far exceeding themselves in numbers; and, Sir, let it be remembersd too that the Romans, surrounded as they were by belligerent nations, had no army in pay till after the siege of Veii in Tuscany; and what is important to be noticed, we are here speaking of continental states possessing none of those advantages peculiar to our insular situation. I must admit however that the nations I have mentioned, were animated with the sincere love of their country; a country where they enjoyed freedom without oppression, and where too every man could support himself and his family by dint of manual labour; no wonder then that they thought, and justly thought, their lives well hazarded in the defence of such benefits. Could it be doubted, Mr. Cobbett, that if this country were so situated, the same result would follow from the generous zeal and energy of the people; the contrary of which, in *despite of standing armies*, has reduced the Continent to almost one general wreck. Let then our ministers put us upon a parallel with those nations where courage and magnanimity have been pre-eminent among the people, which can only be done by what you, Sir, have so frequently urged, the relieving the inhabitants from the accumulated burthen of those insatiable leeches of the state, our sinecure placemen and pensioners; by reforming the disgraceful venality of our boroughs, and affording us a real not an ideal representation; a House of Commons, where the members shall confine their grants of the public money to the necessary exigencies of the state; and not where one-third of the members are voting unnecessary salaries and pensions to *themselves* or their relatives. Let us, Sir, have but such a reformation as this, and we shall find in the hour of battle, every citizen rushing with resistless impetuosity on the enemy, imitating the renowned young warrior at the battle of Philippi, who died, gloriously, exclaiming,

I am the son of Marcus Cato,
A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend.

We want, Mr Cobbett, but this animation, to lose our enemy but the mere "shales and "husks of men." But whether, Sir, we shall ever have ministers endued with so much patriotism, as to afford us the hope of so desireable a change in our measures, or whether we are doomed to continue the prey of avarice and peculation, I shall still give my warmest, though feeble opposition to the raising of an additional standing force.

December, 9 1806. M. S.

ON THE MODERN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE.

LETTER II.

[For Letter the 1st see p. 279.]

Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta.

Sir;—Whatever may be your Yorkshire correspondent's opinion, (see p. 406) as to the motives which dictated the former Observations on the Modern System of Agriculture, I shall proceed to notice the arguments which he has adduced, in order to obviate any prejudice, which he does me the honour to suppose, that paper may have excited against the persons whose conduct it condemns. The gentleman, in a parenthetic sentence, objects to the phrase *agricultural mania*; he surely cannot mean to say that it is inapplicable; for view, in what light you will, the novel infatuation which induces our nobility and gentry to attempt the cultivation of the land, some such appellation as *mania, rage, or fashion*, must be given to it. In the infancy of a society every member must sustain some part of the toil, requisite to procure a supply of food and raiment; but, as it increases in population, and advances in civilization and wealth, a portion of its community is gradually, and through various circumstances, withdrawn from the mass of productive labourers, and become a distinct class of themselves. They assume a new character, essentially different from their former one; and in the progress of time and of increased prosperity, these again are divided into ranks, which, perhaps, have universally originated in superior military prowess or relative intellectual perfection. Certain distinctions and honours are attached to them, which, according to circumstances, descend with the titles to their posterity. They are entirely subsisted and maintained in the splendour of their respective ranks, by the labouring part of the population; who in return, expect, and indeed, have a right to demand that, they should take upon them the cares of government, and provide protection for their persons and property. This is, what I conceive to be, the outline of that great active principle which connects a society, and which influences the many, for the welfare of the whole, to submit to the domination of the elevated few. At no pe-

riod do we find examples of a statesman, a legislator, a general, or a divine, having attained to excellence, or even mediocrity in his profession, without having previously devoted many years time and attention, almost exclusively to the studies which tend to form the character; and, although some persons may not admit that this is a general rule, yet the exception can only refer to such occasional coruscations of genius, as have been displayed in a Crichton, &c. &c. At the present day, few men will be disposed to vote for the dispensation of previous initiation, since recent events fully evince that, the eminently characteristic qualities of their ancestry do not uniformly descend with the titles, honours, and wealth of an aristocracy. —It should be observed that, in an inquiry of this nature, the term *aristocracy* does not merely comprise a titled nobility, who, in many instances, hold only an adventitious rank in the state, but that it also refers to the whole body of great landed proprietors; men, whose territorial possessions afford a nett revenue, more than sufficient to purchase for themselves and their families, exemption from actual labour, personal ease and independence: these form the proper and real aristocracy of a nation, and they are the subject of these remarks.——I scarcely think that the disinterested portion of your readers will admit that turning a sod, handling a mutton, or stuffing an ox with oil cake, are occupations at all suitable to persons in that situation of life *; and more particularly so, at a time when our workhouses and other receptacles for the poor, are filled with labourers, in want of adequate employment. Such a mode of spending their time, is not the most beneficial to the country, nor the most creditable to whatever talents they may possess. With every facility of acquiring knowledge and information, with the power which is delegated to them, it is their duty to promote the country's welfare, and to improve its relative situation with other nations; and, in all their undertakings and endeavours to effect these objects, they should have regard to the character in which they stand; they are the *primum mobile* not the effecting machine; they are the actuating principle, and all their care and attention should be turned solely to the right direction of its impulse. Assuredly then, when they leave this higher sphere, in which, by the common consent of time and of their contemporaries, they are placed, when—sentiment has no longer influence sufficient to retain them, they recede from their duty, and certainly, at the best, debase themselves. In a man who has not wherewithal to maintain himself, industry, exerted in any shape to procure the means of subsistence, is commendable; and when directed to agricultural pursuits is most honourable and most worthy; but that such pursuits are either worthy of men of rank and independence, or honourable to them, I totally deny for the reasons already stated. The arguments which A. D. prefers, are very weak, and are clothed in the ambiguous dress of interrogatory. To the propositions which he proposes, every one will concede an affirmative; but, he does not tell us, by whom all these desirable circumstances have been effected, or whether those improvements have been carried to any extent. Indeed, I am led to believe, from the information which I possess, that, with a few exceptions, these modern agriculturists are now acting upon a plan, which, if persevered in, will soon put an end to all improvement, and must ultimately cause a further consolidation of farms; an event which will inevitably be attended with every species of bad management and a diminution of produce. It will be accompanied by a system of as complete monopoly of the essential articles of subsistence as has ever existed; and, consequently, terminate only in the direful changes of a revolution. A principal evil I shall notice, of the truth of which, it is in the power of every man, who resides near the estate of any of those pseudo self-sufficient agriculturists, to satisfy himself; and which A. D. will find difficult to controvert or defend. I allude to the form of leases on which they now lett their farms. In these will be found restrictive covenants, for the most part as absurd, as they will prove injurious to the country at large. We here see, in a most glaring light, the peculiar blessings to be derived "from their superior means of information, by travelling, &c. &c." Why did he omit,—by the edifying conversation and intercourse which they enjoy with men of the same stamp, at Christmas cattle shews and feasts, and at various provincial agricultural meetings? whence they derive a very imperfect knowledge of practices, which they immediately attempt to introduce into their own counties, with-

* Perhaps A. D. will say, that they do not condescend to employ themselves in actual labour, but that the benefits which we are to derive from the system, will be the consequence of NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN turning *their comprehensive minds to the* PURSUIT of agriculture; and of employing their *leisure hours in directing* the cultivation of farms! *O! vitiis, dinormes sapientes!*

out considering the dissimilarity of soil, local position, climate, and of other circumstances. In truth, our modern agriculturist does not stop here: he finds plausible language and earnest recommendation too weak and inefficient, when opposed to the stubborn prejudices of experience, and to the laughing ridicule of practical men. Therefore, not content with merely *attempting* to introduce, he calls coercion to his aid, and *obliges* his tenantry to conform to his ill considered mode of cultivating the land by these novel processes, and accordingly, inserts compulsory clauses to that effect in his leases, subjecting the tenants to heavy penalties for non-performance*. It may be asked, why do not the labouring or real farmers oppose themselves to these mischievous and arrogant dictates of the land-holders? And whence does it arise that land for occupation is nearly as much in request now as 15 or 20 years ago? To the former, I answer, that a man, the early part of whose life has been spent in farming concerns, is totally incompetent to any other calling. Men, educated to other professions or trades, may, in a greater or less degree, be capable of a different occupation; but, the ideas and habits of a farmer are incompatible with aught but his peculiar pursuit. And, whatever property he may have, he would chuse rather to employ in that line, although he should not be able to derive more than a bare subsistence from the joint operation of his personal efforts, and of his invested capital; because it would be more congenial to his mind and disposition than that which might, perhaps, be more profitable in its results.—To the latter interrogatory, it may be replied, that the extensive consolidation of farms that has taken place within these few years, has bereaved a numerous tenantry of their farms; and, agreeably to the foregoing reasoning, has alone induced a competition thitherto unknown. But, let no man suppose that this will continue to be the case; if any do, let him inquire of the remaining few real farmers, and he will learn that their sons are almost all destined to other callings; and that their conduct in this respect originates solely in the opinion that farming on a *moderate scale* (the most beneficial to the nation) is no longer profitable. Perhaps, it may be suggested that, when land is less in demand, its cultivation will soon after become an object of the most advantageous employment of capital, and that, therefore, farming will shortly find its level. I must oppose to such an opinion, that the education of a farmer is not to be completed in a day nor in a year; that the appropriation of a very large portion of a man's life is required, to make him an efficient husbandman; and that many years must elapse, before we should again possess, a hardy race of steady and industrious yeomanry. What evils the country must indure in the mean time, we may readily conceive, if we turn our eyes to the accounts which detail the vast importations of corn and grain that have been made since the introduction of the new system.—And again, it appears to me that, the extremely short period for which land is now let, must operate as a great obstacle to improvement: this practice is another offspring of the modern system; and in condemning it, I would not be understood as an advocate for leases of a long duration; or for the indefinite term of one or more lives; which, perhaps, are as injurious as very short ones. Is it, however, rational to suppose that a tenant will be inclined to invest any part of his capital in improvements, when it is uncertain whether he shall be allowed to continue in possession more than 8 or 10 years, a period too short even to reimburse his expenses, much more to reap any benefit from them? No; his whole attention will be directed towards making the most of the land which he occupies, without reference or care as to the state in which it will be at the expiration of his lease;—in plain language he will impoverish it as much as possible, because the deterioration of the land will be profit to him. And in this he will most assuredly succeed, notwithstanding all the numerous restrictive and prohibitive covenants which the ingenuity of a lawyer united to the sapiency of an agriculturist may devise. I conceive that it must be admitted on a due consideration of the subject in all its bear-

* A noble lord married to an illustrious lady, guardian to a minor duke, has prohibited two successive crops of white straw, in a county where the soil always insures a good crop of oats, when every other seed may have failed, as is very often the case; therefore, the chance is, that at least one-third of the arable land will remain uncultivated three years out of five. In other instances, the farmers are restrained from ploughing any land which has not been broken up during the last 6, 5 or 10 years, however worn out and exhausted the grass may be; and innumerable cases might be adduced, in which the prescribed course of crops tend to foul the ground with weeds, &c. Indeed, can any man of common sense conceive that an uniform mode of cultivation will succeed on such a diversity of soil, as is to be found on every farm?

ings, that this form of leases must prove far more injurious to the national prosperity and welfare of these kingdoms, than the ancient and now (Heaven be praised!) almost exploded custom of requiring the performance of a great number of services:—a custom which has been so ably reprobated and with so much success; that I heartily wish an equal portion of public spirit would display itself again in opposition to the resuscitated, short-sighted avarice which I have arraigned. It has indeed been proposed already by an author (Dr. Smith) as distinguished for accurate statement and practical observation, as for the acuteness and just perception of the true principles of Political Economy which he has displayed in his writings, that an additional tax should be imposed upon all land let upon such conditions in order to discourage the practice; I fear a law to that effect will never be enacted, whilst there shall continue to be so many agriculturists in the House of Commons as at present.—Having asserted in my former communication that the present extravagantly high rent of land originated in and proceeded from the *agricultural mania*, your correspondent has, by way of reply, had recourse to an argument at once fallacious and very superficial. The natural progressive increase in the nominal value of land, is influenced by so many concurring causes, that it would occupy much time to explain the principles on which it arises; and would be altogether unnecessary, as it is to be found amply discussed in various approved publications. Besides, it is foreign to the present inquiry, for my strictures apply not to the uniformly progressive increase in the nominal value of land, but to the extraordinary and unnatural rise which has taken place, since agriculture became a fashionable pursuit. At the present moment, when the press is teeming with dissertations upon the degeneracy of the British yeomanry; when the London caricature shops display to our view, the contrasting appearance of the simple farmer's daughter with a basket of eggs, &c. upon her arm, trudging to market, such as might be universally seen fifty years ago, with the nimini pimini country belle of today, dangling her parasol;—when we are continually hearing of the immense and rapid fortunes made and making by farmers; when an uninformed reader recollects all these, he will, no doubt, be surprised to find in the best writings on political economy published anterior to 1780 and even 1780, observations "on the moderate and inadequate profits of the most useful and most respectable class of producers, the farmers of Great Britain;" and he will be at a loss to account for the striking contradiction, and may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt the accuracy of his author. However paradoxical it may at first view appear, the mystery is easily to be developed, and the cause of this singular revolution made manifest to the most shallow understanding. When our nobility and gentry first turned their attention to agricultural pursuits, and undertook the cultivation of a large quantity of the land themselves, it may readily be conceived how incapable they must have been; to which, I dare say, many of my readers can testify. To obviate this impediment, the most forward, instituted and promoted meetings of the old stubble hat farmers and others, for the purpose of gleaning information for them; and thence, they procured men of some practical experience to superintend their new undertakings. They, however, soon discovered and felt, that the portion of their estates retained in their own hands, did not yield a proportionate revenue to the part occupied by their tenantry; that the capital employed scarcely produced a gross profit equal to the common rate of interest; and that, when the charges of management, &c. were defrayed, a considerable loss was evident. To whatever degree their cupidity may have been excited, in the course of the trafficking, trading and huckstering, necessarily connected with farming, they were convinced, that they could not derive any benefit from the course which they were then pursuing; they therefore betook themselves to such expedients as might tend to infatuate and enable *their* country to pay such increased rents, as might compensate them for the losses they had sustained. The first public manœuvre which they played off having this end in view, was to create funds, by promoting subscriptions from the public, intending the agricultural meetings, which were to be again distributed, in premiums or bounties, to such farmers as excelled in their respective branches of agriculture. This proceeding was, abstractedly, both commendable and likely to be productive of good effects; their *subsequent* conduct tended only to create the evils which are coming so fast upon us, and those which we are now experiencing. They took care to make such a parade, at the public adjudication, as might excite the curiosity,

and arrest the attention of land-owners in other parts of the country; and promulgated through the medium of the periodical prints, most exaggerated accounts of improvements, &c. &c. They availed themselves, at the same time, of every opportunity in public and private company, to extol one another's public spirit, and with lying baseness detailed to the credulous and inexperienced, the great advantages to be derived from farming. In this way, they encouraged a great number of the then independent and truly honourable landed interest to take upon themselves the cultivation of a large portion of the land. It was now too that they had so far established in public opinion, the superiority and wonderful excellence of a certain breed of cattle, of a particular breed of sheep, family of swine, &c. as to render it disgraceful to any of these wealthy agriculturists not to possess some of the fashionable stock. Prices, exceeding all bounds, were accordingly given to obtain it, and in a short time the fortunate tenantry of the projectors and some others, found that the more exorbitant their demands, the greater satisfaction they gave, and the more infatuating was the delusion; so that many who only ten years before were scarcely worth the stock on their farms, could now count thousands. But as the *argumentum ad marsupium* is generally the most powerful, and as that would in a short time have removed the deception, another incentive was devised to induce the noviciates to continue agriculturists,—that of honorary rewards. In voting medals and vases inscribed with fulsome adulatory effusions, they excited an ambition equally ridiculous as ill directed, and contributed to feed the vanity of conceited coxcombs; and, as in the progress of time they became initiated in all the projects of the new system, farming for immediate profit was no longer the object. By retaining land to a great extent, much less was left for the real farmers; and when the old leases of 20 and 30 years duration fell in, considerable competition took place; for, besides the addition which the gradual increase of population had made to the established yeomanry, there were many new applicants, tempted to sink great capitals in, what was esteemed, so profitable a speculation. Farms, at the instance of these latter, were consolidated; and in very many cases, three and even four times the old rent was immediately obtained. So far, success had attended their mischievous schemes, and every effort was engaged in maintaining it. A common centre of communication, however, was wanted, and government was at length prevailed upon to establish the Honourable Board of Agriculture; an institution which under proper and suitable regulations might be of the most essential service to the country, but which has hitherto been conducted upon a plan at least reprehensible. There are, I believe, but few persons who are not now truly convinced that the dearths of 1798 and 1799, were almost entirely artificial, and that they originated in and were caused by, extensive monopolies; *interdum populus recte videt.* We all know how much the notion of scarcity was circulated and strengthened by our modern agriculturists; the Duke of Portland's —*famous* letter is a specimen of what was done in that way. Even the Parliament Houses were not left unassailed, and their exaggerated and interested statements there, were reiterated with unexampled avaricious zeal throughout every corner of the nation. These atrocious proceedings have only tended to bring us nearer the crisis of the system, and I will venture to say, that they will not again reap a harvest from a similar delusion, however often they may make the attempt to deceive the public. It is curious to observe with what ardour they labour to impress on the public mind, when contending for a general Bill of Inclosure, the fact, that all the arable land in Great Britain scarcely yields a sufficiency of corn for the consumption of the country, even in plentiful years; and yet, they are, in a variety of instances, exerting every effort to diminish the quantity in tillage; because they imagine grass land can afford to pay a higher rent. That they at first derived benefit from the universal desire to farm which they had excited, I am well aware: but I do not suspect that they are now profiting by the change. Not, on the contrary; I conceive that they are the greatest losers, and did the mischievous evils resulting from the system affect them only, I should not have taken up the pen on the occasion. I should have contented myself with looking on and noticing the shallow brained eagerness with which they aggravate the calamitous effects arising from their impolitic and injurious interference. An observant mind needs no prompter to point out the connexion which subsists between the modern system of agriculture, and the highly alarming increase in the number of paupers, that has been made within these few years: nor does the land-owner require the assistance of an arithmetician, to shew how much more severely the income tax operates upon land than any other species of property; nor is much argument necessary

to convince him, notwithstanding the apparent augmentation, that the real and intrinsic revenue which he derives from his land, is much less than it was 30 or 40 years ago. The most injurious result of all is, that, in causing an extraordinary rise in the price of articles of home produce, and of general consumption, they have paved the way for the destruction of our commerce; already does the prime cost of the British manufacture, in many instances, notwithstanding the immense advantages which the extensive use of unrivalled machinery affords, exceed that of foreign production; and unless new channels open, we shall be deprived of, or rather lose, our most valuable export trade of home produce. Perfection of execution will not compensate for extraordinary dearness, as has been experienced in more than one branch of our commerce; the greatest demand being for inferior articles, and therefore, competition in price will successfully oppose competition in excellence.——Your correspondent seems to imagine that the residence of the landed interest on their respective demesnes is objected to. I am at a loss to find an expression in the essay which could lead to such a misapprehension. The object of that paper was merely to direct the public attention to an alarming and increasing evil, not to deprecate the observance of what is correctly conceived to be one of the great duties of a landed proprietor. But, in retiring to their estates for a season let it not be for the purpose of entering into machinations and plots like those I have detailed; rather, let them enjoy every rural amusement, every recreation in their power to obtain, that can yield pleasure; and, in particular, relaxation to those who may be engaged in the active performance of the duties which the present momentous crisis peculiarly demands from them. And let those who are not gratified with the chace, the gun, and a variety of other country amusements, occupy themselves in the embellishment of their houses, and in the improvement of their pleasure grounds. To such who possess minds of a superior cast, the sublime pursuit of acquiring a more intimate and a more elevated idea of the excellence and wisdom of the Supreme Power, by studying the sciences, will afford suitable and commendable employment; and a field for their genius to operate in, to the great advantage of themselves, and perhaps, to the essential benefit of their country. At all events, restrain them from proceeding in the course they are now pursuing, lest the land be filled with a herd of idle and profligate stewards and bailiffs, instead of an industrious and useful yeomanry. And, before you concede to them a general bill of inclosure of waste lands, so long a subject of their clamour, oblige them to desist from rendering that waste which was the best; for, with all their loudly reiterated cries of improvement, it is well known to efficient farmers, that the ground degraded by their cultivation, yields little more than half the quantity of produce it would in other more capable, and more experienced hands. Whether this be owing to the abusive management of agents, or to their own self-conceited directions and superintendance, certain it is, that the statement is correctly applicable to a majority of cases, and an inquirer will meet with testimony to its truth in almost every husbandman who has had the opportunity of observing the husbandry of these notable agriculturists. That some beneficial circumstances have accompanied the mass of evils which the system has engendered, is fully admitted; and it is most sincerely to be wished that the real improvements in British husbandry were sufficient to indemnify us for the calamities which have resulted from its adoption, and which we shall yet experience in a manifold degree, so long as it shall continue to be tolerated. The good which has been derived from it, has, however, been elicited by men of true public spirit, actuated by motives the most disinterested, and the most laudable; by men, animated by an innate love of agriculture; who have laboured with the ardour of genuine patriotism, and who have persevered, even at the expense of much wealth, and the sacrifice of many years, in their endeavours to improve the general cultivation of the country. To conclude; it may be truly asserted that the *agricultural mania* or *Modern System of Agriculture*, originated in the narrow views of a few interested individuals; that it has been encouraged, promoted, and adopted by almost the whole body of large landed proprietors; that it has given rise to a spirit of traffic incompatible, even in a commercial nation, with true nobility or genuine independence; that it has caused a numerous increase of paupers, by depriving them of the means of an adequately profitable employment of their labour; that it has tended to increase the intrinsic price of food of every kind, and of the raw material for manufacture; that it consequently counteracts the patriotic exertions which have been made, and are making to establish a permanent preference to British manufacturers, by precluding the possibility of a foreign market

being supplied by us, upon such good terms, as those rival countries can, where labour and subsistence are so much less expensive; that, therefore, we are in a fair way of rapidly losing great part of our commerce, as the evil which causes these unfortunate effects still exists; that it has induced an unusual emigration from the counties where it has most obtained, and thereby Great Britain has incurred a great loss of population,—perhaps of the very best and most useful class; and, lastly, that by depriving a most respectable body of yeomanry, (the middling and inferior farmers of Great Britain) of the land which had hitherto maintained them, their families, and their forefathers, and by enhancing to an extraordinary degree the prices of the more common, but most necessary articles of subsistence, it tends to give birth to and promote a spirit of disaffection, carelessness, and indifference among the people, inconsistent with the welfare, and destructive to the strength and prosperity of a nation.——AGRICULTURISTS, *videte etiam atque etiam quid agatis!*——*Norwich, Oct. 23, 1800.*

LOTTERY TAX.

SIR,—The attention of the nation has, in many instances, been directed to the pernicious effects arising out of that method by which a part of the annual supplies are raised by way of Lottery; but as those remarks have been very general as to its effects upon the public purse and morals, and not stating any one circumstance, by which the people might be enabled to form a judgment; it may not be unimportant to state, how the public welfare is affected by this measure, as it appears by the public prints, (for I have no pretensions to any thing that passes in the sable arcana of those who are concerned in this puffing-trade), that the good people of this country may see what they voluntarily pay for raising this part of the supplies, independent of the happiness that many poor and industrious families derive from this measure.—We are informed by the Newspapers, that the Lottery, which is to be drawn in January next, consists of 25,000 tickets, and was sold by government to Cope and Co. at 16l. 14s. per ticket, which will, when paid, produce to government the gross sum of 417,500l.; out of which the prizes are to be paid, amounting to 250,000l. leaving a balance in favour of government, of 167,500l., and this is what on the first view appears to be the profit. But I presume, before this can be called nett revenue, the charges of printing the tickets, the salaries of commissioners, and all the other appendages belonging to this mystic machine, must be deducted out of the sum of 167,500l. Without, then, entering too nicely into the expenses, because, perhaps, if they were minutely examined, it would be found that what was left to pay the real and necessary expenses of government, would be small indeed; I shall therefore take the sum as it stands above, and endeavour to shew how much the public pay to about 30 or 40 individuals for collecting this very small part of our national expenditure.—It will be found that the gross produce of the 25,000 tickets, at 16l. 14s. per ticket, is 417,500l., and the gross produce of them when sold again at the price at which they are now advertised, viz. 19l. 15s. by those who have purchased them of government, will be 493,750l., being 76,250l. more than the contractors gave for them; and this is the sum, that the people pay to about 30 or 40 individuals for puffing the brains out of their heads, and the sum of 243,750l. out of their pockets; and which will be found to be upwards of 45 per cent. for their trouble. Now I believe, that the charge of collection upon all our other taxes, if taken at five per cent., will be found to be a very ample provision; we are then, in the instance now before us, paying an additional 40 per cent. for raising this small part of our supplies.—And for what? Why, because, after the people have been made drunk with the hopes of success, it is quaintly enough called a voluntary tax, 'tis what we pay by choice; a very pretty recommendation, forsooth, while it is accompanied with such snares, traps, and extravagance.—It will be found by a reference to the scheme, that the chance of even getting one's money again in a speculation of this sort, is nearly five to one against the adventurer; but the chance of obtaining any one one of the first prizes, and which is the principal inducement to become a purchaser, is twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight to *one*. As to what may be said about the great risk the contractors run of selling the tickets, I am of opinion that nothing like sound argument can be advanced on that head; for whatever risk there may be, the eagerness shown to become purchasers, is in a great measure a sufficient answer to any assertions of that kind. But even if any thing can be advanced to prove that their risk is as great, as the very extravagant profit, they will, in all probability, derive from their speculation; it does not render the measure less prejudicial to the public, nor make it more efficient as a productive tax.—

Indeed, from the very little money that is by this measure brought into the Exchequer, it is, in my opinion, a convincing proof, that something more than a productive revenue, with as little inconvenience to the people as possible, must be in the view of those who support this mode of taxation. In stating the above facts, I have not been actuated by any motive to prejudice the sale of the tickets purchased under the late contract; but to direct the attention of the people to a subject, that is very prejudicial to their real interest in a variety of ways, and that the more speedily it is put an end to, the better for them; when, they may safely rejoice at the destruction of one enemy, out of a very numerous host.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

London, Nov. 27th, 1806. X. T.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR;—The angry Catholic, disappointed of his political spoils, has much exhausted himself in unprofitable rage, in the letter which he last addressed you upon this subject (see page 779) and I think I may venture to pronounce that he has in that letter, evinced a disposition, too much chequered with the blemishes of malignant enthusiasm, to afford any advantage, on the score of personal merit, to the cause he so zealously advocates. Candor and moderation, qualities so necessary to be observed in all discussions of a controversial nature, and which so naturally flow from every man on whom the liberal precepts of *unadulterated* Christianity have made any serious impression, seem quite foreign to the notions and sentiments of my opponent, and it cannot therefore excite much surprize, when we find him shrinking from manly contest, and substituting unbecoming scurrility for more honorable means of defence. I believe I shall not find many dissenting from me in the opinion, that the most unequivocal proof of the declining state of an adversary's argumentative powers, is the having recourse to ungentlemanly personality; and with this opinion, I viewed the last production of A. B. as the precursor of victory, and as rather containing the *dissonant mutterings* of a vanquished foe, than the *arguments* of a polemic writer, warmed with his subject, and confident in the justice of his cause. Should my conjecture prove true, and that A. B. does not again obtrude himfelf upon public notice, it may be some consolation to his literary friends to know, that I am not disposed to treat his memory with insult, but that, on the contrary, I will allow him the indulgence of *Christian-burial*, and am ready, if it be desired, to chaunt a *requiem* over his *departed genius*. As, however, I should feel reluctant, that anything bearing the semblance of an argument in A. B.'s letter should pass unanswered, I have anxiously perused it to discover as far as I am able, whatever assumes so *questionable a shape*, which it, however, must be admitted, occupies a very inconsidareble portion of the letter. I think I may say, without incurring the charge of presumption, that the opposition which has been given to my proposition, "that every "state has a right to a national religion, and "to point out of what persuasion that national religion shall be composed," has been particularly feeble; and when it is considered, that in aid of the proposition, intrinsically of argument, I quoted a passage conclusive upon the subject from the Political Philosophy of Dr. Paley, which remains entirely unanswered, any further illustration of the position must, I apprehend, be considered superfluous. The perverse spirit, however, of my antagonist, who would fain make us believe that there is a meaning conveyed by Dr. Paley in the passage quoted, far different from that which common-sense can collect, recalls to my memory the observation of the poet, who speaking of our actions in life, says, "*nulla est tam facilis "res, quin difficilis sit, quam invitas facias.*" —I must not here omit noticing, as connected with the question of right, a passage in A. B.'s lettter, which he intended (as will be seen by reference to page 782) should make a dull impression on his readers. I hope it will do so, though I feel strongly inclined to think that the inference to be drawn from it will be considered of less favorable import to the Catholic cause than the author intended. It will be recollected that it was asserted by me in page 696, "that if society were constituted of a number of persons, with the liberty of admitting other members such society could make a resolution that Catholics should be ineligible; and that *most clearly* no Catholic could have a right to *prevent* such a resolution from being carried into effect;" and A. B.'s answer to this is what I wish to notice, and which is in these words. "I do think on this view of the subject, that *paramount natural law* does "*most clearly* authorize the dissident, *not* "*only to complain* of the institutions of such "a society, *but does invest him with a* "*right to prevent their being carried* "*into effect*, if it can be done without injury to the public tranquillity." Now I feel, Sir, desirous of *candidly* considering the *evident* tendency of this passage, and

whether the sentiments avowed by it, are compatible with that obedience which every Subject owes to the Laws of his Country. If *a paramount natural* law can render nugatory such a resolution as I have mentioned, made by a society of five persons, and can justify an opposition to the carrying into effect such a resolution; upon the same principle can this *paramount natural law* render nugatory a similar resolution entered into by a society constituted of a million of persons, *and by necessary consequence of a state itself*; and the connection seems so evident, and the reasoning so clear, that I am unable to draw any other conclusion: the substance therefore of this *factious* proposition is, that what is called the paramount law of nature, gives to the *dissatisfied* Catholics, the *right* to *prevent*, or what in this case is the same thing, to *resist* the execution of any laws which they may think injurious to their welfare; and with regard to to that *insignificant* piece of sophistry tagged at the end of this dangerous proposition, namely, "if it can be done without injury "to the public tranquillity," it carries with it the air of such gross absurdity, that one's indignation is rather increased than diminished at the introduction of so paltry a subterfuge. *Now, Sir, let me ask, what we are to think of the unblushing effrontery of that Catholic, who, having encouraged disobedience to our laws, solicits to become our legislator?*—I beg however to be here understood, as not having the least intention of creating any *alarm* in respect of Catholic turbulence, as in addition to a most sovereign contempt for all pusillanimous alarmists, I feel the confident belief that we are far enough remote from any cause of apprehension from that class of society; and I only feel anxious that like old experienced warriors, we may preserve, not injudiciously surrender, the advantages we enjoy. The only point that now appears in A. B.'s letter deserving of consideration, is his assertion, that the discordant religious opinions which exist between Catholics and Protestants, can occasion no interruption in concerns of a temporal nature. This seems, I confess, to me at present, as it invariably has done, an assertion founded upon no one principle of reason or common sense, and I have no expectation of its ever receiving any rational support; however, A. B. *destitute of every argument, moral or philosophical,* brings forward in aid of his strange doctrine, those two political phenomena, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, who after a long union, separated, he says, at length upon a *political* question. Now before any thing could be made of this union or separation, and as an indispensible preliminary, it might have been expected, that A. B. would have stated what were the respective religious opinions of those gentlemen; but A. B. who prevaricates upon this point as he does upon every other, affects to be unacquainted with that necessary piece of information; and leaves us to collect it from the following most extraordinary, *mystic* combination of words,—"That Mr. Fox's "religious persuasion differed from that of "his colleague, more than Mr. Burke's did "from the Catholic religion:" but we have not yet done with this unintelligible jargon; "The genius of Burke's religion," (says A. B. in another passage,) "*was, though in a* "*less degree, the same* with that of the "Romish. He felt the same profound re- "spect to the sacerdotal character, the same "submission to the creeds, and decrees of "of synods and councils; he considered "pomp and ceremony as essential to public "worship, and paid no less regard than the "Catholic to days, postures, and vest- "ments." Now, I should feel much satisfaction on being informed, by what *logic*, the profound classic who penned this passage can demonstrate, *that a man is the same with a Catholic though in a less degree*; or in other words, how *identity* and *difference* are to be made synonimous? Mr. Burke's religion must have been of a strange contexture not to have fallen within the limits of any one of the numerous sects which have had existence in this country! But without unnecessarily wasting time, I think it will not be very difficult to see through the *flimsy mysteriousness*, with which A. B. has enveloped the religion of Mr. Burke. It is *evident* that A. B. felt the great, the almost insuperable desire, of denominating Mr. Burke a Catholic; but in complying with that, his inclination, there occurred to him this dilemma; that if Mr. Burke were a Catholic, it must be conceded, that his *patriotic* zeal was *greater* than his *religious*, when with purgatory before his eyes, he was induced to *leap* that invidious barrier to Catholic promotion, the *Test Act*, and to *subscribe to the oath against transubstantiation*; to avoid this dilemma, has produced that strange, inexplicable medley of words which we have already noticed, and which has had very nearly, if not entirely, the effect of placing Mr. Burke in that most disgusting of all situations, an apostate in his faith. I trust, however, there is yet enough virtue in the world, not to suffer with *impunity*, every graceless zealot to rake up the ashes of the

dead, and sully the reputation of departed worth, to answer a mere selfish party purpose; and in the few remaining lines I have to write, I shall adhere to *truth*, which will, as far as it relates to Mr. Burke, be the most effectual answer to the injudicious observations of A. B., and prove the most unexceptionable mode of paying, at least in some degree, the homage which is due to Mr. Burke's exalted character. It is certainly true that the difference which at length alienated Mr. Burke from Mr. Fox, was of a political nature; but to the indelible honour of the former be it spoken, that Mr. Fox's partiality for sentiments favourable to the abolition of the Test, was *one of the causes* which produced a separation, to which Mr. Burke inflexibly adhered through the remainder of his life: and when it is considered, that Mr. Burke was a man most feelingly alive to every emotion of friendship and affection, it is scarcely to be imagined in what a *destructive* point of view he must have beheld Catholic Emancipation, and what lamentable consequences he must have foreseen would necessarily pursue the adoption of such a measure. Having thus far, I trust, satisfactorily answered A. B., I shall make one remark upon his conduct; I observe that when he despairs of foiling his adversary in fair combat, he seeks by *artifice* to rob him of his weapons; and he tells us with his usual modesty, that of all *modes* of reasoning, reasoning from analogy is the most fallacious; But this remark is little worthy of notice, as it must be palpable to every man, that an analogy may be so close, that the reasoning to be deduced from it, must approach very nearly to a moral certainty; and I would ask, what is the great advantage to be derived from history, but that by looking into that vast mirror, we may view the occurrences of departed ages, and by comparing the past with the present, anticipate the future. But no wonder the Catholic claimant should wish to create in us a distaste for history; he felt full forcibly what sensations must succeed the *gloomy retrospect*, which wearies the charitable eye while it retraces the *sanguinary* anecdotes of Catholic power, which so frequently disfigure the historic page;—he saw even the flushed cheek of hardened insensibility grow pale, and deprecated the consequence. But let the disappointed A. B. rail against reasoning from analogy as he pleases, only let the guardians of the state remember, *that the records of the world bear testimony, that it is the Protestant, not the Catholic, who tempers justice with mercy.*

"Mercy that smooths the dreadful brow of power,
"And makes dominion light."

W. F. S.

Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 24, 1806.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR,—Several letters respecting Catholic Claims having appeared in your valuable Register, I trust you will permit me to offer a few observations in answer to your correspondent A. B. (p. 779) who has shewn so little moderation and so much zeal in their behalf.—In intruding myself on your notice, I am perfectly convinced, that every thing of this nature should be conducted without the smallest acrimony or personal allusions; but which I was sorry to observe, has shewn itself in the very unhandsome epithets of *flippant, inexperienced*, and *unworthy*, which A. B. has so *liberally* bestowed on his antagonist W.F.S.—In the discussion of this subject, A. B has traced it back to the first origin of the reformation in this country, which ended in the establishment of the protestant religion.—It shall be my business, therefore, to follow him over the same ground, and then consider how far the admission of the Catholic Claims would be inimical to that establishment; which is the point in dispute.—In referring back to the reign of Henry VIII, it will be found, that the opposition of interests between the clergy and laity had *long* prepared the nation for a breach with Rome, aided by the profound ignorance in which they then lived, and which not only gave rise to an easy acquiescence in received opinions, by preventing the possibility of theological altercations, but very clearly accounts for the rapid progress the reformers made during his reign, and the checques (which A. B. has noticed) they afterwards received.—The capacities of men did not enable them to enter into such disquisitions; and therefore as soon as any new opinion was introduced, supported by the smallest authority sufficient to command attention, they instantly wavered between the contending parties, and sacrificed their most sacred principles to present power.—Another and chief cause of the abolition of the papal power in England was the rapacious disposition of Henry, which made him look with a greedy eye, on the immense monastic revenues, whose sequestration would be a fruitful, easy, and well-timed supply to his government;—and though perhaps there never existed a more absolute or despotic Prince, his policy was very visible in submitting the new religious doctrines to private judgement which pleasing the multitude and giving them an ideal

triumph in religious disputations, (however they might be unqualified for them) and an opportunity of throwing off the restraints which characterised the old religion, gradually induced them with these combined and powerful motives to adopt with zeal the new principles, in opposition to the established religion of their ancestors.—I cannot altogether agree with A. B. that the establishment of the protestant religion was entirely owing to the divorce of Henry and Catherine, though it might materially assist (since Anne Boleyn not only used all her endeavours to foment a quarrel with the Pope, as the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, but Henry himself must have deeply resented the treatment he received from the Court of Rome) but some years previous to that event the public mind had been suitably alienated from the Romish doctrines by the ability and zeal of Luther, who proved himself a formidable opponent to the papal throne; and, by questioning the power of the Pope, proclaiming every new discovery of abuses in the church, and a quick promulgation of his rude but vehement productions, soon drew the attention of mankind, and not only gained him innumerable converts in this and every other country in Europe, but induced the Elector of Saxony to favor his doctrine, and the Republic of Zurich to reform her Church after the new model.—When the reformed Church was thus in its infancy, the propriety of enacting laws to secure it from innovation and danger cannot be questioned; it is *now* to be determined (when it is so completely engrafted in men's minds so closely allied to the constitution as Church and State, that any attack on the one must endanger the other,—when its stability *seems* so perfectly secure) to consider whether those acts may be repealed with safety; whether the Catholics may be permitted to enjoy (consistent with sound policy) the blessings of unlimited toleration; whether those acts should be repealed which our ancestors considered as the bulwarks of our constitution; or, in other words, whether it would be proper to grant them the extensive privilege to sit and vote in both houses of Parliament and fill the highest offices and most responsible situations, without taking those test oaths of supremacy and allegiance, which every protestant (before he can do either) is obliged to take. Not to occupy too much of your time, I shall reduce the reasons which might be urged against the admission of those claims to a simple question.—In a country, where the Church and State are so closely allied as in ours, can any religion be safely allowed unlimited toleration, when its principles completely militate against both? Certainly not; for I am convinced no one will consider men to be fit subjects for it who can at best give but a dubious security to the state for their behaviour as good citizens; who might fill high situations under government though not responsible to their country for the good management of the public expenditure with which they would be entrusted;* "who deny those fundamental principles "of morality necessary to the very exis- "tence of society, such for instance as bind "us to the performance of our engagements "or prohibit any external injury to others; "and who only wait for power and oppor- "tunity to tyrannize over and deprive others "of their most sacred liberties."—In this I do not mean to include the whole body, since there are *no doubt many who would do honor to the highest stations*; but the public safety must not be endangered for the gratification of a few.—I shall conclude this with the following extract from the writings of a good and able man. "May heaven manifest in "the event the fallibility of human fore- "sight, and pour down both on Papist and "Protestant such a measure of knowledge "and charity as *shall dispose them to lay* "*aside their mutual prejudices and animo-* "*sities with whatever is erroneous or cor-* "*rupt in faith or worship, and* unite them "in the bonds of truth and peace."—When such is the case A. B. shall find in me as zealous an advocate as I now confess myself their strenuous opponent. I shall then feel happy in extending to the Catholics the blessings of emancipation, but I cannot help considering that the toleration of such a religion (as it now is) *professedly intolerant*, may become dangerous if not fatal to the constitution both in Church and State.—W. N. *Pentowville, Nov.* 20, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIAN DECLARATION.

Dated from the Head Quarters at Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

His Majesty the King of Prussia having taken up arms for the defence of his people, considers it as necessary to lay before them and the whole of Europe the facts which have rendered it his duty to take this step.—The political state of France has, for 15 years, been the scourge of humanity. That the possession of uncertain power, that many of those, who, since the year 1792, have, in rapid succession, been at the head of France,

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* Christian Politics, by E. Bates.

should render their authority only the instrument of war, and seek their security only in the misery of the people, cannot excite great wonder. But the establishment of a firm government, not pressed by the same necessity, animated anew the hopes of the friends of peace; Napoleon, invested with sovereign authority, victorious, surrounded by weak states, friendly disposed governments, or conquered and exhausted rivals, had it in his power to choose a better part. Nothing more remained for him to do for the greatness of France; for her happiness, every thing was in his power. It is painful to be obliged to say that the French politics still continued the same; an insatiable ambition was still the ruling character of the French government; arms and treaties were employed to the same purpose. The treaty of Amiens was scarcely concluded when the signal for the first acts of violence followed: two independent states, Holland and Switzerland, were obliged to accept a constitution which changed them into French provinces.—The renewal of the war was the consequence.—In the mean time, peace still continued on the Continent. The German empire had purchased it with immense sacrifices. In the midst of this peace, the French troops made an irruption into the territory of Hanover, which had no relation to the war between France and England; they shut the ports of Germany to the British flag; and, that they might effect this, seized on Cuxhaven, and that possession of a free state still more unconnected with the war than even Hanover itself.——In the midst of this peace, likewise, was it that these troops, a few months afterwards, insulted the German empire in a manner which still more deeply wounded the honour of the nation. The Germans have not avenged the death of the Duke D'Enghien; but the remembrance can never be effaced from their memories.——The treaty of Luneville guaranteed the independence of the Italian republic. In defiance of the most solemn promise, Napoleon placed the iron crown upon his head. Genoa was incorporated with France; Lucca had nearly a similar fate. Only a few months before, the Emperor, on a solemn occasion, an occasion which imposed on him great duties, had declared before his people, and before Europe, that he wished not to extend further the boundaries of his empire. A treaty with Prussia likewise obliged him to provide an indemnification for the King of Sardinia in Italy; instead of fulfilling these engagements he seized on all those territories which could be appropriated to such indemnification. Portugal wished to preserve her neutrality; she was obliged to purchase with money some moments of deceitful security.—Thus there remained, with the exception of Turkey, which still remembered the attack on Egypt and Syria, no power in Europe which had not been the object of unprovoked attack.——With these acts of violence were combined a system of insult and contempt. A journal, which announced itself as the organ of the government, was chosen as the instrument of undisguised attacks on all crowned heads.—Not one of these general attacks and insults were foreign to Prussia; several were intimately connected with her dearest interest; and besides the wisdom of that system which considers all the states of Europe as members of one and the same family, which calls all to the defence of each, and points out the danger resulting to all from the aggrandisement of one, was by experience sufficiently confirmed.—But it is especially necessary to state what has been the conduct of France towards Prussia, in her immediate relations with that power.—It would be superfluous to enumerate all the good offices rendered to Napoleon by Prussia. Prussia was the first power which acknowledged him. No promises, no threats could shake her neutrality; for during six years she acted as a friendly neighbour; she esteemed a brave nation which had ever acted generously by her both in peace and war; and she did justice to the genius of her chief. The remembrance of these times is no longer retained by Napoleon. Prussia had suffered the attack on the electorate of Hanover. In this she had continued an act of injustice, therefore was it her first view to remedy it. She offered herself for it instead of England, and the condition that the latter should cede it. It must, however, at least be recollected that thus a boundary was prescribed to France, which she should not pass. Napoleon solemnly engaged not to invade the neutrality of the northern states, nor to offer violence to any of them, and especially not to augment his troops in the electorate. Scarcely had he entered into these engagements, when he broke them. Every one knows by what an act of violence Sir George Rumbold was seized; every one knows how the Hans Towns were forced to make contributions under the name of loans not to their own interest, but entirely as if France had been at war with them. For the first of these injuries, the king was contented with an imperfect satisfaction. Of the second he took no notice, the fears of the maritime

towns preventing him from making complaints. The king made unexampled sacrifices for peace, and the maintenance of this peace was ever the dearest wish of his heart.—The patience of other courts was sooner exhausted than his. War broke out on the continent. The situation of the king, with respect to his duty, was now more difficult than ever. To prevent France from augmenting the troops she had in Hanover, he promised to suffer no attack on that territory. From this moment, the whole burden of the relation between France and Prussia turned on this object, without the latter deriving the least advantage from it; and by an extraordinary chain of circumstances, Prussia, which only wished to act impartially, and remain neutral, appeared to take part against the allied powers. All the advantage arising from this position of Prussia was entirely for France, and the king was daily threatened with collisions as formidable to him as decisively favourable to the plans of Napoleon.——Who could have supposed that precisely the moment in which the king gave the French government the strongest proofs of his firmness, and a rare example of the faithful fulfilment of engagements into which he had once entered, should be chosen by Napoleon to inflict on Prussia the most sensible injury? Who does not recollect the violation of the Anspach territory, upon the 3d of October of the preceding year, notwithstanding the express remonstrance of the civil government and his majesty's minister.——The contest between that moderation which pardons every thing; that integrity which remains true to its engagement to the last, on the one part; and the abuse of power, the insolence inspired by deceitful fortune, and the habit of only reckoning on fortune, continued several years.—The king declared to the French government that he considered all his connexions with it as dissolved. He placed his armies on a footing suitable to circumstances. He was now fully convinced that no pledge of security remained for the neighbours of France but a peace, established on solid principles, and guaranteed by all the powers in common.—His majesty offered the allies to be the mediator in negotiations for such a peace, and to support them with all his force.——It is sufficient to know the conditions then proposed to be convinced of the moderation which at all times has governed the politics of his majesty in their whole extent. Prussia at this moment listened not to the voice of revenge; she passed over the events of the late war, however violent they might have been, since they had been sanctioned by existing treaties. He required nothing but the punctual fulfilment of those treaties; but this he required without limitation. Count Haugwitz repaired to Vienna, where the French Emperor then was.—Scarcely had this minister been there some days, when the whole face of affairs was changed. The misfortunes experienced by the court of Vienna, had compelled it to sign an armistice, which was immediately followed by a peace. The Emperor of Russia sacrificed his magnanimous views to the wish of his ally, and his troops returned home; Prussia stood now alone on the field of contest, he was obliged to limit his policy by his powers, and instead, as had been his wish, of embracing the interest of all Europe, make his own security and that of his neighbours his first object.——The French Emperor proposed to Count Haugwitz a treaty, in which was stipulated on the one side a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish territory, and the results of the treaty of Presburgh; and, on the other, the taking possession of Hanover by Prussia, in return for the cession of three provinces.—The first part of this treaty promised at least for the future an acknowledged guarantee, and, if Napoleon had so pleased, a firm political constitution. The results of the peace of Presburgh were a general misfortune for Europe, but Prussia sacrificed herself alone when she accepted of such terms; but to place a limit to the incessant usurpations of France, should the treaty be considered by the court of St. Cloud, as any thing more than words appeared an advantage; the king, therefore, ratified this article conditionally.—The second half of the treaty of Vienna, relative to an object, the importance of which had been manifested by serious experience, Prussia could not rely on security for a moment, so long as Hanover remained involved in a war, in which that country had, in fact, no concern. At whatever price it might be purchased, Prussia was resolved that the French should not return thither. She had her choice to obtain this end either by a treaty or a war.——The cession of three provinces, which had been faithful and happy for a long series of years, was a sacrifice not to be made for any plan of vain ambition; but these provinces, in case of war, would have been the first sufferers. All the calamities of that war would have fallen on the monarchy; while the acquisition of Hanover, could it have been made under less unhappy circumstances, would have been productive of the most

valuable advantages to Prussia. The king, therefore, conceived that he reconciled his wishes with his principles when he accepted the proposed exchange only under the condition, the fulfilment of the same should be deferred till a general peace, and that the consent of his Majesty the King of Great Britain should be obtained.—All the advantages of this treaty were for France. On one side she received guarantees which put the seal on her conquests; on the other, she gave what she did not possess, what might be again conquered by the chances of uncertain war, while in the cessions of Prussia she found the means of enriching her allies.—But between a policy which will do every thing in its power, and an integrity which regards its duties and especially its promises, the contest is ever unequal.—The king approached the moment when he was convinced of this by experience. This moment was the most painful of his reign.—It was the affair of France to reject the modifications under which the king had confirmed the treaty, if she did not approve them; but she avoided doing this, for the whole Prussian army was still under arms; she continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship; she fulfilled the treaty as far as it suited her; but when his majesty wished to reap the only advantage which he had proposed to himself from the late negotiations, and which lay nearest his heart, she suddenly altered her language. The modifications added to the treaty of Vienna, were now rejected at Paris; endeavours were made to force Prussia into the most injurious measures, and when count Haugwitz, who was at Paris, remonstrated against this, the unconditional fulfilment of the treaty was haughtily insisted on, as were the immediate cession of the three provinces, and the recal of the patent by which the occupation of Hanover was declared provisional. Prussia was required to resign a part of the advantages stipulated, and to shut the ports against the British flag, in the same manner as if the French had returned into the Electorate.—The king at length was perfectly convinced of the true character of the friendship of the Emperor of the French; a soporific draught for a power which still feels its own strength; an instrument of degradation; and finally of subjugation, to every power which no longer possesses strength.—In the mean time Napoleon was in possession of every advantage. The Russian army had returned; his own, after some movements of no consequence, at which deluded Germany rejoiced, on some frivolous pretences, established itself on this side the Rhine. The first conflict might produce misfortunes. War, which is not, under all circumstances, the greatest of evils, might become such under those then existing. The king determined to continue the part he had hitherto acted, for some time longer. Wishing to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe, and at least to secure the tranquillity of the North, he confirmed the new treaty. Confidence, however, was now utterly lost. Prussia was convinced that, on the first opportunity to weaken her, without danger she might expect an attack from her pretended ally; convinced that there is a degree of ambition which nothing can satisfy; which proceeds without intermission from usurpation to usurpation; sometimes without a plan, but ever intent on destruction, careless of the choice of means, and employing alike arms and the pen, violence and oaths. But even with this conviction, so great is the unfortunate superiority obtained by such policy over those who wish only to be just; the king fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty, with the punctuality of a faithful ally. It is known what the consequences were with respect to the connexions of his Majesty with England. France gained nothing by this, but she triumphed in secret at the thought of having disunited two courts, the union of which might have been dangerous to her; and what in the view of France gave the principal value to her alliance with the king was, that this alliance isolated his majesty, since it produced an opinion that Prussia was a participator in the cause of so many misfortunes.—But not content with this, we shall soon see in what manner the politics of France, assured that she now had no enemy to fear, believing that she had annihilated Austria, forming a judgment of Russia with equal ignorance and rashness, and blinded by the apparent tranquillity of Prussia, at length threw off the mask, and despising forms, which she had hitherto sometimes respected, openly trampled on all treaties and all rights. Three months after the signing of the treaty with Prussia all its articles were violated.—The treaty had for its basis the *status quo* of the moment in which it was concluded; also the guarantee of the German empire and its states, according to the constitution then established. This truth arises not only from the nature of things; the treaty had also expressly prescribed to the two powers their duties. The relations in which the peace of Presburgh had left his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, were guaranteed to him; consequently also the imperial crown of Germany

and the rights connected with it. The existence of Bavaria, and consequently the relations which had connected it for so many centuries to the empire, were likewise confirmed by the same common guarantee. Three months after the confederation of the Rhine overthrew the Germanic constitution, deprived the Emperor of the ancient ornament of his house, and placed Bavaria and thirty other princes under the tutelage of France.——But is it necessary to appeal to treaties to form a just judgment of this extraordinary event? Previous to all treaties nations have their rights; and had not France asserted, with the sanctity of an oath, this act of unexampled despotism would exasperate every mind. To deprive princes who had never offended France, and to render them the vassals of others, themselves the vassals of the French government; to abolish, with the stroke of a pen, a constitution of a thousand years duration, which long habit, the remembrance of so many illustrious periods, and so many various and mutual relations, had rendered dear to such a number of princes: which had so often been guaranteed by all the European powers, and even by France herself; to lay contributions on the cities and towns in the midst of profound peace, and leave the new possessions only an exhausted skeleton; to abolish this constitution without consulting the Emperor of Germany, from whom a crown was wrested, or Russia, so lately become the guarantee of the German league, or Prussia, intimately interested in that league, thus arbitrarily dissolved. No; wars and continued victories have sometimes produced great and remarkable catastrophes; but such an example in time of peace was never before given to the world.—The king commiserated the unfortunate princes who suffered by these transactions, but he pitied not less those who had suffered themselves to be lured by the hope of gain, and he would reproach himself should he increase their unhappiness by judging them with too great severity. Deluded by the reward of their compliance, probably forced to obey commands which admitted of no opposition, or if surprised into consent, sufficiently punished by their acquisitions, and by being reduced to a state of vassalage, as harsh and degrading, as their former relations were honourable, they deserve not to be treated by Germany with the utmost rigour. Perhaps when the magnanimous nation to which they formerly belonged, arises around them on every side to contend for their independence, they might listen to the voice of gratitude and honour, and at least abhor their chains when they find they must be stained with the blood of their brethren.——It was not enough that these despotic acts were immediately injurious to Prussia; the Emperor of France was intent on rendering them sensible to the person of the king in all his allied states. The existence of the Prince of Orange was under the common guarantee of the two powers; for the king had acknowledged the political changes in Holland only under this condition. For several years this prince had expected that his claims, secured by the mutual stipulations of Prussia and France, should be satisfied. The Bavarian republic had been willing to enter into an accommodation, but the Emperor Napoleon forbad it. Neither the recollection of this circumstance, nor the consideration of the ties of blood which united his majesty to the prince; nor the declaration, twenty times repeated, that the king could not desert the rights of his brother-in-law, could prevent his being added to the heap of victims. He was the first who was deprived of his paternal property. Eight days before, he had received from the Emperor a letter condoling with him, in the customary forms, on the death of his father, and wishing him joy on his undisturbed succession to the states of his house. None of these circumstances are unimportant: each throws a light on the whole.—Cleves had been allotted to Prince Murat. Scarcely become a sovereign he wished likewise to be a conqueror; his troops took possession of the Abbey of Essen, Werden, and Etten, under the pretext that they appertained to the Duchy of Cleve, though they were entirely territories newly acquired, and there was not the shadow of a connexion between them and the ceded provinces. Great labour was employed in vain to give even a colour to this outrage.——Wesel was to belong to the new duke, not to the Emperor Napoleon: the king had never resolved to give up the last fortress on the Rhine into the power of France. Without a word by way of explanation, Wesel was annexed to a French department.—The existing state of the Austrian monarchy, and of the Porte, had been mutually guaranteed. The Emperor Napoleon certainly wished that Prussia should be bound by this guarantee, for in his hands it was an instrument which he might employ as suited his politics; a pretext for demanding sacrifices, in a contest which his ambition might occasion. He himself, however, did not observe it longer than it contributed to his interest. Ragusa, though under the protection of the

Porrè, was taken possession of by his troops. Gradisla and Aquileia were wrested from Austria, under nearly the same pretexts which had been employed when the French seized the three Abbeys.——In all political proceedings, it was naturally taken for granted that the new states formed by France were states in the proper sense of the term, and not French provinces; but it cost the cabinet of St. Cloud only a word to deprive them of their independence. The appellation, "The Great Empire," was invented, and that empire was immediately only surrounded with vassals.—Thus there was no trace of the treaty left, yet Prussia proceeded to shut her ports against England; and still considered herself as having obligations to fulfil.—The emperor at length informed his majesty that it was his pleasure to dissolve the German empire, and form a confederation of the Rhine, and he recommended to the king to establish a similar confederation in the North of Germany. This was according to his customary policy, a policy which had long been crowned with success; at the moment of the birth of any new object to throw out a lure to those courts, which might occasion difficulties in the execution of such project. The king adopted the idea of such a confederation; not that the advice he received made the least impression on him, but because, in fact, it was rendered necessary by circumstances, and because, after the secession of the princes, who had acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, a close union between those of the north, became more than ever the condition of their safety. The king took measures to establish this league, but on other principles from those of the model presented to him. He made it his pride to collect the last of the Germans under his banners; but the rights of each he left unimpaired, and honour alone was the bond of the league.——But could France advise the king to any measure which should be productive of advantage to Prussia?—We shall soon see what is to be expected, when France makes professions of favour.—In the first place care had been taken to introduce into the fundamental statute of the confederation of the Rhine, an article which contained the germ of all future innovations. It provided, that other princes should be received into this confederation, should they desire it. In this manner, all relations in Germany were left indeterminate, and as the means were still reserved to detach and annex to this league the weaker states, either by promise or threats, it was but too probable, that in time this confederation would be extended into the heart of the Prussian monarchy.—And that this might no longer remain doubtful, but be manifest to every one, the first attempt was immediately made. Fortunately it was made on a prince who knows not fear, and who considers independence as the highest object of his ambition. The French minister at Cassel invited the elector to throw himself into the arms of his master. Prussia, it was alleged, did nothing for her allies! It is true Napoleon knows how to manage his better, and every one sees that Spain and Holland, the Kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, have to thank their alliance with him him for peace, independence, and honour. Prussia did nothing for her allies. Napoleon, on the contrary, would reward the accession of the elector by an enlargement of his territory.—And this was exercised towards an ally, and at the very moment when the king was advised to form an alliance, of which Hesse was to be the first bulwark; endeavours were made to detach from him a prince whom family connexions, alliances, and relations of every kind, united in the closest manner to his majesty's person.—— But even these hostile steps were not sufficient. Does any one wish to know what was the line by which it was hoped to gain the Elector of Hesse, and what was the augmentation of territory, with the expectation of which he was flattered? It was the Prince of Orange, the brother-in-law of the king, that prince who had been twice deceived in the most shameless manner, who was now to be robbed the third time. He still possessed the territory of Fulda. This was promised to the elector, and it would have been given, had the elector consented to accept it, and had not Prussia taken up arms.——His majesty saw the system of usurpation advance every day. He saw a circle, continually becoming much narrower, drawn round him, and even the right of moving within it, beginning to be disputed with him; for a sweeping resolution forbade a passage to any foreign troops, armed or not armed, through the gates of the confederation. This was to cut off, contrary to the rights of nations, the connection between the detached Hessian provinces. This was to prepare a pretext on which to act. This was the first threat of punishment aimed at a magnanimous prince who had preferred a defender to a master.——But even after this —his majesty cannot reflect on it without admiration—the king considered whether a combination might not be found which should render this state of things compatible

with the maintenance of peace.——The emperor Napoleon appeared to be solicitous to remove this doubt. Two negotiations were then carrying on at Paris, one with Russia, the other with the English ministry. In both these negotiations the intentions of France against Prussia were evidently manifested.——By the treaty which the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify, France offered, in conjunction with Russia, to prevent Prussia from depriving the king of Sweden of his German territories.—Yet for many months the cabinet of St. Cloud had continually pressed the king to seize those states, with the threefold view—first, to revenge himself on the king of Sweden; secondly, to embroil Prussia with all other powers; and thirdly, to purchase her silence with respect to the subversion of Southern Germany. But the king had long been aware that such were the views of France, and his unfortunate dispute with Sweden was painful to him. He had therefore been careful to provide against every suspicion of self-interested motives, and he confided his explanations to the emperor Alexander. The scene now again changed, and Napoleon, who had so long been the enemy of the king of Sweden, was suddenly transformed into his protector. It is not superfluous to remark that, in this insidious treaty of the French Emperor, in order to satisfy the honourable interest which the court of St. Petersburgh took in the maintenance of the rights of the King of Naples, he promised the latter an indemnification, engaging to prevail on the King of Spain to cede to him the Balcaric islands. He will act in the same manner with respect to the augmentations of territory he pretends to bestow on his allies. *To be continued.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-first Bulletin of th Grand French Army. Concluded from p.* 896.

On the 28th, at nine in the forenoon, the Envoys of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Porte, resident at Berlin, were admitted to an audience of His Majesty. His Majesty ordered the Turkish Envoy to send a courier to Constantinople to inform his Court of what had taken place, and to declare that now the Russians should not enter Moldavia, nor undertake any thing against the Turkish Empire.—Afterwards His Majesty received the whole of the Lutheran and Reformed Consistories. There are upwards of twelve thousand French at Berlin, whose predecessors took refuge there in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His Majesty conversed with the principal persons among these Protestants, and told them that they had a just claim upon his protection, and that their privileges and the exercise of their worship should be secured to them. His Majesty advised them to concern themselves with their own affairs, to remain peaceable, and pay obedience and respect to the sovereign.—The Courts of Justice were presented. His Majesty conversed with the Members of the Courts of Appeal, and gave them some instruction as to the manner in which justice should be administered.—Count Van Neale coming into the Hall of Audience, the Emperor said to him, "Well, Sir, your ladies wished for war, and they have been gratified; it becomes you to manage your household better." (Letters had been intercepted from the Count's daughter). "Napoleon (reading these letters) will not continue the war; let others carry on the war against him." His Majesty said to Count Van Neale, "No: I will carry on no war. Not that I doubt of my prowess, as you have suggested; but in order to spare the blood of my subjects, which is dear to me; and because it is prescribed to me by my first duty, only to shed the same for their honour and safety. But the good people of Berlin have been the sacrifice of the war; while those who excited it have left them and are become fugitives. I shall reduce those noble courtiers to such extremities that they shall be compelled to beg their bread. The Emperor ordered that twenty-four the best Burghers should be assembled in the Town-house, in order to select a third of their number to take upon them the civil government of the place. Each of the twenty wards is to furnish a guard of 60 men; so that 1200 of the best Burghers will be entrusted with the care of the city and the management of the police.—The Emperor said to Prince Hatzfeldt, 'Do not appear in my presence; I have no need of your vices: retire to your estates.'—The Emperor gave audience to the chancellor and the ministers of the King of Prussia.—In giving instructions to the civil administration of the city, the Emperor said, 'I will not suffer any windows to be broken. My brother the King of Prussia ceased to be a king, from the day when Prince Louis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his Majesty's ministers. His Majesty should have ordered him to be hanged.'——This day, the 38th, his Majesty mounted his horse to review Marshal Davoust's corps. To-morrow that under Marshal Augereau will pass in review before him.—The Grand

Duke of Berg, Marshal Lannes, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, are pursuing Prince Hohenlohe. After the gallant affair with the cavalry at Zehdenick, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced to Templin, where he found a great quantity of provisions, and the dinners for the Prussian generals and their troops ready dressed. At Granzee, Prince Hohenlohe changed his route, and took the road to Furstenberg. It is probable, that, being cut off from the Oder, he will be surrounded and made prisoner.—The Duke of Weimar is in a similar situation with respect to Marshal Soult. The Duke seemed to wish to cross the Elbe at Tangermunde, in order to approach the Oder. On the 25th, Marshal Soult anticipated him. If we come up with him, not a man will escape: if he succeeds in crossing the Oder, he will fall into the hands of the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshal Lannes, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo. A part of our troops are upon the Oder. The King of Prussia has passed the Vistula.—Count Zastrow was presented to the Emperor on the 27th, at Charlottenburg, and delivered a letter from the King of Prussia.—At this moment an aide-de-camp from Prince Eugene has announced a victory obtained over the Russians in Albania.

Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Oct. 29.——Events succeed each other with rapidity. The Grand Duke of Berg arrived, on the 27th, at Hasleben, with a division of dragoons. He had sent to Boitzenburg General Milhaud, with the 13th regiment of light horse, and the brigade of light cavalry under General Lasalle, to Prentzlow. Informed that the enemy was in force at Boitzenburg, he struck off Wigmansdorff. He had scarcely arrived there when he perceived that a brigade of the enemy's cavalry had struck to the left, with the intention of cutting off General Milhaud. To see, charge, and drive the king's gens-d'armes into the lake, was the affair of a moment. This regiment, seeing that all was over with it, asked to capitulate. The prince, at all times generous, granted their wish. Five hundred men alighted and delivered up their horses. The officers returned home on their parole. Four stand of colours belonging to the guards, all of gold, were the trophies of the petty engagements of Wigmansdorff, which was only the prelude to the splendid one of Prentzlow.—— These celebrated gens-d'armes, who experienced such great commiseration after their defeat, were the same who, for three months excited riots in the city of Berlin, by every sort of provocation. They went under the windows of M. Laforet, the French minister to whet their sabres: sensible people shrugged up their shoulders; but the inexperienced youth, and passionate women, like the Queen, saw in this ridiculous swaggering, a sure prognostic of the grand destinies which await the Prussian army.——Prince Hohenlohe, with the wrecks of the battle of Jena, attempted to reach Stettin. He had been obliged to change his route, because the Grand Duke of Berg was at Templin before him. He wished to open out from Boitzenburg to Hasleben, but he was deceived in his movement. The Grand Duke of Berg imagined that the enemy would endeavour to reach Prentzlow; the conjecture was well founded. The Prince marched all night with the division of dragoons under Generals Beaumont and Grouchy, which was preceded by the light cavalry under the command of General Lasalle. The first posts of our hussars arrived at Prentzlow at the same time as the enemy, but were under the necessity of falling back, on the 20th in the morning, before the superior force under Prince Hohenlohe. At nine the Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Prentzlow, and at ten saw the enemy's army in full march. Without losing time in vain motions, the Prince ordered General Lasalle to charge in the suburbs of Prentzlow, and sent to support him Generals Grouchy and Beaumont, with their six pieces of light artillery. He gave orders for three regiments of dragoons to cross over the small river at Golnitz, which leads to Prentzlow, to attack the enemy's flank, and gave directions to his other brigade of dragoons to turn the town. Our brave cannoneers on horseback placed their pieces so well, and fired with such assurance, that they rendered uncertain the enemy's motions. At this moment General Grouchy received orders to charge, and his brave dragoons did so with the greatest intrepidity.—Cavalry, infantry, artillery, all were overthrown in the suburbs of Prentzlow. Our troops might have entered the town pell-mell with the enemy, but the Prince preferred sending him a summons by General Bellard. The gates of the town were already burst open. Deprived of all hope, Prince Hohenlohe, one of the principal firebrands of this impious war, capitulated, and defiled before the French army with 16,000 infantry, almost all guards or grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, 45 stands of colours, and 64 pieces of harnessed artillery. All the King of Prussia's guards who had escaped

from the battle of Jena, have fallen into our power. We are in possession of all the stands of colours of the king's horse and foot guards. Prince Hohenlohe, Commander-in-Chief, after the wound of the Duke of Brunswick, a Prince of Mecklenburgh, Schwerin, and several generals, are our prisoners.—"But nothing is done, whilst there remains any thing to be done," wrote the Emperor to the Grand Duke of Berg. "You have outstripped a column of 8,000 men commanded by Gen. Blucher; let me soon learn that they have experienced the same lot."—Another of 10,000 men has passed the Elbe, commanded by the Duke of Weimar. According to all appearance, both he and his whole column will be surrounded.—Prince Augustus Ferdinand, brother to Prince Louis, killed at Saalfeldt, and son of Prince Ferdinand, brother of the Great Frederick, has been taken in arms by our dragoons.—Thus this grand and fine Prussian army has disappeared like an autumnal fog at sun-rise. Generals commanding the separate corps of the army, Princes, infantry, cavalry, artillery none remain. Our posts have entered Frankfort on the Oder, the King of Prussia has gone further. He has not 15,000 men left; and for such a result we have scarcely met with any loss.—General Clarke, Governor of Erfurth, has made a Saxon battalion capitulate, which was wandering without direction. On the 28th, the Emperor reviewed the corps of Marshal Davoust, under the walls of Berlin. He filled up the vacancies, and rewarded the brave. He then assembled the officers and petty officers in a circle, and thus addressed them:

"Officers and petty officers of the 3d "corps of the army, you covered yourselves "with glory at the battle of Jena: I shall "preserve the eternal recollection of it. "The brave fellows who were killed, died "with glory. We ought to wish to die un-"der such glorious circumstances."—In reviewing the 12th and 85th regiments of the line, who felt the greatest loss in this battle, as it fell on them to make the greatest efforts, the Emperor was affected at seeing killed, or grievously wounded, several of his old soldiers, whose devotion and bravery he was acquainted with for fourteen years past. The 12th regiment, above all, has shown an intrepidity worthy of the highest praise.—To-day, at twelve o'clock, the Emperor reviewed the seventh corps, commanded by Marshal Augereau. This corps has suffered very little. One half of the soldiers have not had an occasion to fire a shot, but they all had the same intrepidity. The appearance of this corps was magnificent. "Your corps alone," said the Emperor, "is stronger than all that remains to the King of Prussia, and you do not form the tenth part of my army." All the unmounted dragoons whom the Emperor had caused to come to the grand army, are now mounted; and there are, at the grand depôt at Spandau, 4000 horses saddled and bridled, which we do not know what to do with, because there are no horsemen in want of any. We wait with impatience for the arrival of the depôts.—Prince Augustus was presented to the Emperor at the Palace of Berlin, after the review of the seventh corps of the army. The prince was sent home to his father's, to rest himself, and get his wounds dressed.——Yesterday, before going to review the corps of Marshal Davoust, the Emperor paid a visit to the Dowager Princess Henry, and Prince and Princess Ferdinand, who have always been remarked for the distinguished manner in which they have received the French.——In the palace which the Emperor inhabits at Berlin, lodges the King of Prussia's sister, the Electoral Princess of Hesse-Cassel. This Princess is in childbed. The Emperor has ordered his Grand Marshal of the Palace to take care she be not disturbed with the noise and bustle of the head-quarters.—The last Bulletin relates the manner in which the Emperor received the Prince of Hatzfeld at his audience. A few moments after the Prince was arrested. He would have been sent before a military commission, and inevitably condemned to death. Some letters from this Prince to Prince Hohenlohe, intercepted at the advanced posts, had given information, that, although he said he was charged with the civil government of the town, he informed the enemy of the movements of the French. His wife, the daughter of the Minister Schulenburgh, came to throw herself at the feet of the Emperor; she thought her husband was arrested on account of the hatred which the Minister Schulenburgh bore to France. The Emperor soon undeceived her, and made known to her that papers had been intercepted which proved that her husband was acting a double part, and had committed a great crime.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"There seems, with some, Sir, to be a hope, that, from some cause or other; 'from some combination of 'passions and events, such as no philosophy can explain, and no history furnish an example of, that 'Buonaparté, instead of proceeding to new conquests, will be willing to sit down contented with those 'which he has already. Sir, the great objection of this hope, to say nothing of its baseness, is its utter 'extravagance. On what possible ground do we believe this? Is it in the general nature of ambition? 'Is it in the nature of French ambition? Does it happen commonly to those, whether nations, or individuals, who are seized with the spirit of aggrandizement and acquisition, that they are inclined rather to 'count what they possess, than to look forward to what yet remains to be acquired? When there is but 'one country that remains between France and the empire of the world, just then is the moment when we 'choose to suppose, that her ambition will stop of its own accord! It is impossible not to see, in these 'feeble and sickly imaginations, that fatal temper of mind, which leads men to look for help and comfort 'from any source rather than from their own exertions."——MR. WINDHAM'S Speech, in the House of Commons, 4th Nov. 1801.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE.——The Papers relative to this negotiation are before the public, and they will, of course, be duly recorded in the Register.——The worst possible tendency that the publication of these papers can have, is, to *amuse* us, and, accordingly, that is, I dare say, the tendency, which the French intended they should have.——When we take a view of the real state of things at the times when the several papers were written; when we consider, that the only object France had in view was to complete her conquest of Europe, while the hopes of the other powers, England *not* excepted, extended no farther than to obtain permission to live in peace without being absolutely subjugated; when, with such a view of the relative state of the negociating parties, we read the Papers now before us, who is not astonished, that the Prince of Benevento could have had the face to talk of the *ambitious* and *domineering* projects of Russia and England, and that he could seriously have argued upon such an idea? Seeing, as he did, the peace-seekers before him; seeing the Continent almost wholly subdued; seeing so many kings and princes dethroned; seeing one Buonaparté king of Holland, another king of Naples, seeing the rest of Italy united to France, seeing Spain under the absolute controul of a French envoy; in short, seeing *himself a prince*, how could Talleyrand have the face to talk, as it were in good earnest, of the necessity of terms calculated to insure the safety of France; calculated, Good God! to prevent France from being conquered by England; or, at least, to prevent England from being the dictator of Europe! Yet, one cannot very well blame him. The peace-seeking envoys still spoke in the name of their high and mighty sovereigns; they still talked of the inexhaustible resources of their several states; they "made believe," as the children say, that they were not afraid; they assumed an air of unconcern from the same sort of motive that the plough-boy whistles or sings through the church-yard at midnight; and, therefore, Talleyrand appears to have fixed upon the above-mentioned mode of treating them; as if, perceiving the object of their big talk, he had said: "I know "very well you are the envoys of great and "mighty and valiant nations, who are not "at all oppressed by taxes, and who are well "able to carry on the war for any length of "time; all this I know, and, therefore, I "am for making such terms with you, and "for treating with you in such a manner, "as shall be likely to tend towards prevent-"ing you from domineering over us."——The object of France being to complete the subjugation of Europe, England inclusive, it is quite natural that she should not openly avow that object, but that she should disguise, as much as possible, her real intentions; and, though it is scarcely credible; though, in no former time, it would have been looked upon as possible; yet, the fact is, that papers such as Talleyrand has written relative to the late overtures for peace, and which papers are now published, have actually served, and do still serve, to disguise this great ultimate object, in this country, at least, where, more than in all the world besides, he must be desirous to see his papers answer their intended purpose. This success of his endeavours, however, arises more from our want of will than our want of capacity to discover the truth. Men are never very quick in descrying that which they wish not to see; they are never very ready to lend an ear to that which they wish not to believe.

That we do not wish to see our country conquered, Talleyrand knows; and, he knows, too, that we shall be very well contented without having to fight any battles, especially by land, to prevent so dreadful a termination of the contest; and hence he, who, though a prince, is a great political philosopher, concludes, that we shall be ready to give ear to any thing the tendency of which is to comfort us with the notion that we have nothing to apprehend from the future projects of France. For this reason it is, that he amuses us with arguments about the rights of France and of neutrals upon the seas; with observations calculated to flatter the empty vanity of those amongst us, who set no value upon a predominance in any thing but trade and commercial riches, which he well knows to be the most numerous class in the parliament as well as out of it; with affected complaints of *our* encroachments; and with representations and distinctions calculated to excite a contest for the favour of Napoleon amongst those, whose only object of rivalship ought to be, that of being worthy of the greatest portion of his dread. In short, the use and the end of papers, such as have now been published, is, to amuse us, to set us to disputing with one another, and thereby to draw our minds from contemplating our danger such as it really is, and, as the final purpose, to prevent us from providing against that danger by those new and great measures, which alone can afford us even a chance of deliverance. We shall see, accordingly, that the parliament, instead of immediately resorting to such measures; instead of restoring that independence in its members, which, when the crown was settled upon the present family, was declared to be essential to the security of the liberties of the subject; instead of cutting off the useless allowances which now make so considerable a portion of the burdens of the people, and which, together with the other enormous sums paid for purposes other than for the defence of the state, are daily diminishing the number of those who have any thing to lose by a conquest of the country; instead of seriously setting about such a system of retrenchment as would be at once an encouragement and an example to the people; instead of putting down that system of petty tyranny, of which Mr. Windham spoke in his address to the Freeholders of Norfolk, which system has grown up within these late years, and which is most vexatious and tormenting to the people; instead of doing away that mode of distributing the preferment in the church, by which several benefices are heaped upon one man, for reasons too notorious to mention, and in consequence of which and of the neglect of duty therefrom arising, the people are, in all parts of the kingdom, leaving the established worship and flocking to conventicles, which are every where seen rising formidable rivals to the church, nay, which are seen crowded while the churches are nearly empty, and all this principally because the present mode of bestowing benefices and of dispensing with residence, have taken from the clergy, as such, that importance, which they would naturally have in their parishes, and the want of which they endeavour to supply by becoming magistrates and commissioners of taxes, thus resorting to the power of fear in place of that of love; instead of such measures as these; instead of a bold and resolute measure with respect to the army, by which the military force would be made to strengthen, in place of endangering civil liberty; instead of such measures as these, accompanied with a serious recommendation to every person of high rank so to act, in all respects, as to command the love and esteem of good men; instead of these measures and this recommendation, what shall we see? Disputes about the dispatches of Mr. Fox, as compared with those of Lord Mulgrave; and about the management of the Third Coalition as compared to that of the Fourth Coalition. Debates, regularly fixed debates, day and hour named, about Mr. Windham's *Training* bill, as compared to Mr. Pitt's *Parish* bills. We shall hear set speeches of two or three hours long; we shall hear joke against joke; we shall sometimes see the combatants foaming with rage at one another and giving loose to the most violent language and most bitter accusations, and we shall afterwards see them walking arm in arm together, laughing at what has passed, and this we shall be told is *gentleman-like*. Shall we see any man rising in his place and saying: "We call upon the people for unanimity, let us set them the example, and "give them *proof* that we are unanimous "in having for our first object, the preservation of the country. We call upon the "people for sacrifices, and one of us, the "moment after he was returned, expressed "his willingness to "share in any odium "that might be incurred by imposing new "burthens upon them, even to the taking "away part, at least, of the necessaries of "life;" but, let us set the people an example in the way of making sacrifices, at "any rate, let no member retain any thing "that makes a part of those burthens." Shall we see any one instance of this sort? The tendency of all the disputes and debates

that we shall hear, will be to prevent us from viewing the situation of the country in its true light; for, the general impression naturally proceeding from such disputes and debates must be, that the persons at the head of things do not seriously apprehend any danger; and the consequence of this impression must be not only to prevent any additional zeal in the people, but to make them less willing than they even now are to support the burthens of taxation. How different would be the effect, if it were at once declared from authority, that the evident intention of the enemy was not to cease from his labours, until he had conquered England; and, if this declaration were accompanied with an enunciation of the great measures necessary to enable England to carry on the war, without distress, for twenty years to come! We have talked much about *defence*; we have adopted many "measures of defence;" but, it has all along been a favourite mode of viewing the matter, to look upon the danger as temporary, and to conclude, that Napoleon would, when he had obtained such or such an object, rest contented, and leave us in the enjoyment of peace and riches. Mr. Windham, indeed, in the passage which I have taken for my motto, saw the enemy in a different light; but, there were only twenty-one members, whom Mr. Windham found to vote with him upon that occasion. The Addingtons, the Castlereaghs, the Pitts, and the Hawkesburies, saw nothing but golden and halcyon days approaching. Mr. Addington said, we might now husband our resources against another day of trial; Lord Castlereagh proved from the Custom-house and Excise-office books, that we had acquired more power than France had during the preceding war; Mr. Pitt (the famous wiseacre) asserted, that, by the overthrow of Tippoo Sultaun and by the legislative Union with Ireland, we had gained more power than our enemy had by all his extension of dominion and of influence; Lord Hawkesbury pledged himself, not to march to Paris indeed, but to shew, that, upon the breaking out of a new war, England would be more a match for France than upon the breaking out of any former war; and, they all said, that the giving up of colonies to Buonaparte was the very height of wisdom, because, being thereby gratified to the extent of his wishes, he would thereafter have no temptation to disturb the stream of our prosperity and happiness. This was one of the instances, one of the ten thousand instances of the shallowness of the mind of Pitt. So far from thinking that compliances with the wishes of an ambitious man, would put a stop to the cravings of his ambition, ought not the contrary conclusion to have been drawn, and acted upon? And, besides this general reasoning, applicable to the case then before us, there were several particular reasons against the conclusion drawn by Pitt and his supporters. The passion of the people of France for military glory; the then yet existing hopes of the Bourbon family; the very nature of Buonaparte's power; and, above all, the certainty, which could not have escaped his councils, that, while England remained untouched, there was nothing completely finished. It was clear, that an authority, acquired by deeds merely military, resting entirely upon fame in arms, could not, amongst a people like the French, and with many branches of the House of Bourbon still in existence, long be maintained in peace, while there were yet remaining, in great power, several of those states who had twice leagued against the new order of things in France, and who only waited to recruit their strength, or, to use Mr. Addington's phrase, "to husband "their resources against another *day of* "*trial*." War, therefore, against some body or other, was absolutely necessary to the preservation of his authority; and, in the case of the German indemnities, as the arbitrary parcelling out of territory was called, it became evident that he had resolved upon the destruction of every state that might, even in time, have the power to annoy him. Such being, almost necessarily, his views with regard to the continent, was it not obvious, that the overthrow of England must form part of his design? No conquest that he could make upon the Continent was secure and permanent while England remained independent of his power. England remaining unsubdued, every other achievement was incomplete, because she always would have the power in the course of a few years, of finding the means, in almost any country, that he could conquer, of stirring up resistance to his authority; and, if once successful resistance began, history taught how rapid his reverses might be. The same reasoning applies to the present moment when, for instance, his conquest of Holland can not be regarded as secure while England remains independent. I say independent, because her maritime power and independence are inseparable. Nothing short, therefore, of the destruction of that independence, nothing short of the actual conquest and subjugation of England can give security to his other conquests, not excepting that of the sovereign authority in France itself; it is the last labour; it is the blinding ensnared

and unless it be tied, all the rest may, at any time, unravel in a moment. Of this he and his new-created nobility, who are equally ambitious with himself, must be somewhat approaching to ideots not to be fully aware. That they are not ideots we know to our cost; and, taught as we have been by woeful experience, we must be worse than ideots, not to conclude, that the conquest of England is an enterprize as firmly resolved upon by them as the conquest of Naples was. ——It is unjust to reproach them and to curse them, as the sons of 'Change Alley do, for having formed this resolution; because the right, the indisputable right, of making conquests, exists, at all times, in all nations, and in all cases, except forbidden by some positive compact, into which the conquering nation has previously entered. We may say, that the passion for making conquests produces misery and bloodshed; but, we may be answered, that all wars produce misery and bloodshed; and Napoleon may tell us, that, if his conquests were all completed, there would, as a matter of course, be an end of wars. In fact, arms are, after all, the reasons of nations; and, it is besides, very amusing to hear the nation, who has boasted of, and who has celebrated in all manner of ways, the conquests atchieved by Cornwallis and Wellesley, railing against those who have projected the conquest of England. If, however, it should not be thought unjust to reproach and to curse Napoleon and his councillors, it is, at any rate, useless, and, therefore, childish. The Baalams of the city have cursed and cried alternately, any time these ten years, except during the short intervals when they were exulting in their triumph over the people in the elections of the Mainwarings and the Mellishes; but, of what avail have been their cursing and their crying? The conqueror goes on; he comes nearer and nearer to their doors; and their curses and their cries he gives to the wind. It is the business, nay, it is the nature of nations to desire to conquer, as much as it is that of individuals to aim at the acquisition of property and of renown; if the former observe the laws of war, and the latter the laws of the land, their pursuits are equally justifiable; nor is there, that I ever heard of, any principle upon which a conquering nation can be condemned by other nations, any more than an enterprising individual can be condemned by other individuals; for, in both cases, the gain of one is the loss of others. It argues, therefore, a childish disposition, to say the least of it, to revile a nation or a ruler, who [illegible] to conquer you. The feeling here, as in the case of individuals, ought to be that of rivalship; the more daring the plans and the enterprizes of your antagonist the greater ought to be your spirit of emulation. "Give me peace in my day," is, if applied generally, an absurd sentiment; if particularly a most base one. In the former it is absurd, because, ever since the world has existed, there have been wars; because wars are absolutely necessary to the existence of what are called nations; because if there were no wars there would be no rivalships, no separate interests, and without separate interests, how could communities of men be kept distinct, and what would become of the distinction of languages, and where should we look for that source of all those qualities and deeds that enoble mankind and that are the foundation of fame of every sort? If the sentiment be applied in a particular sense, then is it most detestably base, because it argues selfishness in its highest and worst degree; because it expresses a total disregard for the sufferings and disgrace of posterity; a total disregard for king, country, friends, brethren, and children, upon all of whom the wretch who says, "give me peace in "my day," would entail misery and infamy without end, upon the sole condition, that he might be allowed quietly to eat and drink his way to the grave.——Yet, odious as this sentiment is, I greatly fear, that it prevails in England to a very considerable extent. Did it not so prevail, and had it not crept into those minds from which it ought ever to be most distant, it would be impossible that there should exist so little inclination as evidently does exist to make those sacrifices, and to adopt those measures, without which no man can point out to you a way in which he thinks the nation can be saved. The disguise of this sentiment, is, a pretended belief, that the danger is not so very imminent. "Why should I give up my place or my "pension? The case is not so desperate "yet." This is the language; and hence the affected opinion, that the conqueror will be pacified without subduing us. The same feeling, the same desire to live upon the labour of the people, and to domineer over them by the means of wealth so derived, will, I am afraid, induce men to sanction a surrender of our maritime rights and power, if ever it be brought to the point, whether those rights shall be surrendered, or whether we shall face the consequences of invasion. With the Continent, for the present, we have done. Every guinea now expended there will at once weaken us and strengthen our enemy. To preserve a decided superiority at sea is our only means of keeping

the war from our shores. This the enemy well knows; and, therefore it is, that he has constantly in view the cramping and crippling of our maritime force, which he would completely effect by obtaining a surrender of *the right of search*. In the effecting of this his darling object, I shall not, for my part, be at all surprized to see him joined by some of those who are now our friends; but, the minister who should dare to accede to the measure, would, whatever might be the fate of the country, certainly suffer the punishment due to the worst of treasons. Nevertheless, I am well satisfied, that no negociator, who is not authorized to make some such surrender, will succeed in any discussions that may take place with the government of France.——As to the manner, and the circumstances of the negociation, which has just terminated, there is nothing very striking in them; nothing, that I can perceive, worthy of very high encomium, and nothing at all calling for censure. Mr. Fox's dispatches are, from the first to the last, characterized by that simplicity and frankness, which always should, and which so seldom do, characterize writings of that kind. At the same time they are not deficient in point of either dignity or elegance. Lord Lauderdale has shewn himself, as every well-informed man expected he would, fully qualified for the task imposed upon him. His papers discover a mind stored with statesman-like knowledge, and the sentiments he has expressed, afford an ample refutation of all the base anticipations of the muck-worms and blood-suckers, who hated him only because they had good reason to regard him as the enemy of public-robbery, under whatever guise it might assume. To estimate the talents, as exhibited in these papers, on the part of England, the reader has only to compare them with the dispatches of Lords Hawkesbury and Whitworth; and were he not, by sad experience, convinced of the contrary, he would surely declare it to be impossible that the latter should have been the production of the same country as the former.——The length of these remarks does, I am aware, call for some apology; I cannot, however, refrain from adding a little to it, by a remark or two upon a pamphlet, which, within these ten days, has appeared, respecting the late negociation. Not, indeed, upon the pamphlet itself, which contains nothing but a few loose and commonplace observations, and which but for one circumstance, I should be disposed to ascribe to the pen of Mr. Bentley, author of the "Near Observer." It is the advertisement only of this pamphlet, that I think worthy of notice. It begins by saying, that the war without-doors has now begun; it then tells us, in almost the words of Mr. Sheridan, over his wine and surrounded by his jolly companions, that we must prepare "for sacrificing even the necessaries of life;" that we have excellent ministers, and that we must not embarrass them by representations as to the portion of our property that they take away; that we must repose an implicit confidence in them; and, that we must be content to have the constitution suspended; but that, *when the war is over*, all will come back to us again! I should have taken this for broad irony, but, alas! I have, within these six years, heard so much said, and seen so much done, upon principles, if they could be so called, nearly resembling these, that I am become very cautious of understanding such writers to be in jest. Time was, when a proposition to *suspend the constitution* would have exposed the proposer to the animadversions of the law, aided by the laudable vigilance of the government; and, we can all recollect, how perseveringly that candid and good-humoured gentleman, Mr. Sheridan, prosecuted Mr. Reeves for having given, in a speculating pamphlet, too great a share of authority to the king; but, now, thanks to that man, whose debts we have paid, and to whose fame we are to raise a monument, thanks to the slavish principles, which, for the preservation of his power, became sanctioned, no man need fear to say, to preach, to write, or to publish, any thing hostile to the rights and liberties of the people.——To return, for one moment to my subject, the chief object, which I had in view, was, to turn the attention of my readers from the mere diplomatic part of the late negociation, from the confusion of ideas inseparable from the reading of the controversy as exhibited in the voluminous papers now before them, to the real situation of affairs between us and our enemy, to the ultimate views and determinations of that enemy with respect to England, to the means which we possess for frustrating those intentions, and to the feelings and the measures necessary for bringing those means into action. I fear I shall be thought a gloomy prophet, that I preach to unwilling hearers; but I fear still more, that my forebodings will prove true, and that my suggestions will never be listened to until it be too late.

AMERICAN STATES.——We have, from time to time, been informed, that there is *a dispute* existing between this country and the United States of America, and further, that Lords Holland and Auckland have, on

our part, been appointed commissioners for negociating, with certain commissioners from America, an adjustment of that dispute. What the grounds of the dispute may be, we cannot as yet precisely say; but, from what has been thrown out in the Morning Chronicle, now the trumpet of the Treasury, there can be little doubt, that it relates to our measures for interrupting and preventing that contraband commerce, which the Americans have always been carrying on, to the great benefit of themselves and of our enemy, and to our very serious injury, and a right to carry on which commerce has always been contended for by Mr. Jefferson, the present President of the United States.——Seeing that such is the subject of discussion, I, for my part, cannot help feeling some degree of apprehension from the circumstance of the negociation having continued so long. I cannot help fearing, especially when I take the half-official paragraphs of the Morning Chronicle into view, that we have gone, or shall go, too far in the way of concession; indeed to go one step in that road must and will be attended with mighty mischief; for, whatever is obtained from us by America must and will be obtained for France, and will pave the way for the accomplishment of the worst of her immediate views with respect to England. At no time, under no circumstances that the imagination can form to itself, would it be prudent, or safe for us to concede any point connected with the maintenance of our power at sea; but, at the present time, and under circumstances that I have endeavoured to describe in the foregoing article, concession would be the beginning of annihilation to the only force, on which we have now to rely for keeping the enemy from our doors. Give up the right of search, and to give up a part expressly will be giving up the whole by implication, or, at least by interpretation; give up that, and, in the space of two years, France will beat us in that which has hitherto been called the English Channel.——Refuse, and what is the consequence? The execution of a *non importation act*, passed in America, suspended now, perhaps, but ready to be put in rigid execution the moment the final refusal is made known. And what will be the effect of this terrible act, which is to awe England into compliance? Into a surrender of rights, undisputed by the public law of Europe, and exercised by all nations, except those who *interest* it has been not to exercise them, or who had not the *power* to exercise them? What will be the effect of this act, supposing the American government to have passed it with any other view than that of exciting the fears of timid commercial avarice? The effect would be, if it were *possible* to execute the act, to prevent large quantities of goods from being carried to America from this kingdom, which, as the phrase usually is, would *greatly injure our commerce and manufactures*; for, as to our *navigation*, it would not injure that at all, it being very material to observe, that not one English ship would thereby be thrown out of employment, because not one English ship nor one English sailor (except, perhaps, some deserters from our colliers or our fleet) is ever employed in the transport of English goods to the American States. But, what is the meaning of this phrase, "injury to our commerce and "manufactures?" It is beautifully figurative. It would say, that by injuring our merchants and manufacturers, the measure would injure our country. But, those merchants and manufacturers must excuse me if I regard not this as a legitimate conclusion; for, numerous are the cases, real as well as supposed, in which a measure, which is injurious to particular classes of men, may be, and are, not only not injurious, but beneficial to the community in general; and, though this may not be a measure of that description, I am fully persuaded, that, if it *could* be strictly executed, the injury to the general interests of the nation, the injury to her power, to the means of defending herself, to the means of her maintaining her consequence amongst nations, would, if any at all, be very small indeed.——I made, in my second letter to Mr. Windham, (see p. 867) when touching upon the consequences of the seizure at Hamburgh, some observations respecting the effect, in a national point of view, of excluding our manufactures from foreign countries, to which observations I beg leave to refer the reader, as applicable to this case; and, let me add here, that no abusive paragraph from a Treasury scribe, such as John Bowles or Redhead Yorke, will, either by me or my readers, be taken as conclusive proof, that those observations were erroneous.——But, would the injury, supposing it to be an injury, be all on one side? Would the Americans themselves experience no injury from this same measure? To hear some men talk upon this subject, one would imagine, that to *get rid* of goods, the produce of sheep's backs and of our mines and of the work of our hands was a positive good that nothing could counterbalance. If this be the case, why not throw them into the sea, instead of putting them on board of American ships; for the

privilege of doing which we are to pay so dear? To hear some men talk upon this subject, one would really imagine, that it was purely to oblige us, out of mere compassion and Christian charity to us, that the Americans wore our cloth, and cut their meat with our knives. It may be the opinion of some, that they have proved themselves to be affectionate children; but, God preserve, I say, the parent from being reduced to a reliance upon their affection or compassion! God preserve the country I love from a dependence upon American generosity, charity, or even American justice! The fact is, that the Americans purchase our goods because they want them, and cannot do without them. Their whole dress, from the chin to the ancle, goes from England, Ireland, or Scotland. From the swaddling clothes of the baby to the shroud of the grandsire, all is supplied by us; and, it is in my power, at any time, to show, that, in return for English materials and English labour, England receives but, comparatively, a small portion of food or of raiment, the far greater part being a mere vehicle for enriching the few who profit from the trade. Can the Americans do without our goods? This is to ask: can they go naked; for, in the whole world, this kingdom excepted, there exist not the means of covering their backs; of keeping them from the inclemency of the weather, either by day or by night. To say nothing, therefore, of the numerous useful and necessary articles of hardware, and goods, indeed, of all descriptions, how are they to supply the place of English goods? "Other countries." What other country is there upon earth? Even before the French revolution commenced its havoc upon the manufactories of the continent, all the other countries in the world did not supply them with as much of the articles of indispensable necessity as Gloucestershire did; and, it will, I hope, not be forgotten by Lords Holland and Auckland, that, Napoleon, in his Northern conquests, must have broken up the small source of supply there afforded to America. But, "shall we not drive the Americans to manufacture for themselves?" This is a horrid possibility to be sure; but, we must first drive two other things amongst them, namely, *sheep*, and *downs* for the sheep to feed upon, and (I had like to have forgotten a third) a *sun* under which sheep can live and thrive. These are physical obstacles, which are not to be overcome, believe me, by a petulant act of Congress, though preceded by six weeks or two months of dull debate, in which, perhaps, fifty lawyers were exercising their lungs for the bar, to the great annoyance of a hundred honest farmers, who had, at last, not a more correct notion of the consequences of the act, than Mr. Spankie (the Editor of the Morning Chronicle) now seems to have. It may seem incredible to some persons that there should be *no sheep* in America; and, there are many superficial observers, who will be inclined to dispute my opinions upon the fact of their having frequently eaten lamb and mutton there. But, it will be quite sufficient, in answer to all such, to state, that for *every man* in the United States, *five pounds* sterling's worth of woollens is annually imported from England. What, then, do they do with their own wool? The truth is, that they grow scarcely enough to answer the demand for stuffing saddles and such like uses; and they never can; both soil and climate being hostile to the breeding and the keeping of sheep. Supposing, therefore, that the people, almost all of them bred to agricultural pursuits, could, before their present stock of cloths is worn to rags, be collected together from their thinly scattered plantations, and moulded into manufacturers; supposing persons there ready to teach them the art of manufacturing; and supposing that unsupposable event, the transmutation of some of their lands into workshops, still the materials whereon to work, are wanting; and, if ever they are obtained, from England, dear England, however they may hate her, and affect to despise her, those materials must come.—"But, our West Indian Islands. Cannot the Americans starve them?" I have answered this question in Volume VIII., page 660, and the following ones, to which answer I beg leave to refer the reader, where, I am convinced he will see reason to believe, that we have nothing to apprehend upon the subject of our West India Islands, the cutting off all connection with which would, as I have shewn in the article referred to, spread instant inconvenience and distress over any part of the United States.—Indeed, so far from the measures above spoken of being solely injurious to England, they would, in the end, be solely injurious to America; and, if I were an English minister, resolved upon breaking up of their Federal Government (a resolution which nothing short of determined and inveterate hostility on their part would lead me to form), I would ask no better means than the cutting off, upon justifiable cause, of all communication between this kingdom and those States. It may be asked, why this means was not

resorted to during the American rebellion; because we entertained the foolish notion, that the more goods we sold the better it was for us; and, if I am asked how the Americans were able to do without our goods then, my answer is, that they *did not* do without them; and that though there were the manufactories of France and of Holland to supply them, and French and Dutch fleets to protect the cargoes, four-fifths of the people must have perished had they not been supplied with English goods, of which their shops, in country as well as in the towns, were constantly full, notwithstanding prohibitions and seizures without end, and notwithstanding the goods, bulky as they were, were to be obtained, in the places not possessed by the English, by smuggling only. If such was the case in the time referred to, what must it be now? The war in Europe, though perilous to us here, has, in fact, if we manage wisely, disabled America from doing us harm, and has rendered the threats she now holds forth, dangerous to no one but herself. To us they might produce immediate inconvenience of small, comparative, magnitude; but, to the United States, or rather to the Federal Government, they would produce complete destruction. —— But, says the Morning Chronicle, "do you find consolation in a "measure because it will do harm to ano- "ther as well as to yourself?" I have not the paper before me, and, therefore, I do not know that these are Mr. Spankie's exact words, but the sense I have retained; and very much was I shocked at it; very much was I shocked to see a writer, under the immediate influence of the Treasury, have recourse to such a sophism, or rather untruth of statement, in order, as it appeared to me, to prepare the public mind for an abandonment of our most valuable rights. To hear Mr. Spankie one would imagine, that it was some new measure of *ours* that was about to be adopted, and that we were not engaged in a dispute for the maintenance of a right that has been exercised by England ever since England had a ship at sea. No, Mr. Spankie, if we voluntarily adopt a measure, especially of the sort we are now speaking of, injurious to ourselves, it is no consolation to us that it is also injurious to others; but, if it be that other who adopts the measure, or who forces it upon us, are we to find no consolation that his injustice towards us has produced mischief to himself? Are we to find no consolation "that "the wicked hath tumbled into his own "pit, and that the evil which he intended "hath fallen upon his own pate?" Or, are we, Mr. Spankie, to pray that he may prosper in his injustice? Are we to give up our right quietly, lest he should suffer from our resistance? Be consistent, then, Sir, and hold the same doctrine with regard to Napoleon. If he should land in England, I hope it would prove the destruction of both him and his host; and, would you, Mr. Spankie, not feel some consolation that it had so proved, though there is no doubt that the *measure*, as you would call it, would also be, in some way or other, injurious to ourselves. It is not, however, of a measure actually adopted that we are talking; it is of a measure which the opposite power (I will not yet say, *enemy*) threatens to adopt, unless we give up something to her: and, are we not, before we make the surrender, to inquire whether it be likely that she will, if we do not make it, put her threat into execution? And, in the making of this inquiry, are we to throw aside, as unworthy of our consideration, so material a circumstance as that of its being injurious to our opponent to adopt the threatened measure? For my part, I feel great satisfaction that it would be highly injurious to the American States; I rejoice that it would prove the cause of great misery and ruin amongst their inhabitants; I feel great consolation, that it would, in all human probability, cause the complete overthrow of their Federal Government, if that government, upon grounds so unjustifiable, were to act agreeably to their threats.——After all, however, the truth is, that the threat *cannot* be put in execution. The thing is impossible; and, when the reader has duly considered what has been said above, together with what he will find in page 660 of Volume VIII., he will, I am persuaded, be convinced, that our only danger, at present, with respect to America, is, that, from not well understanding all the matters connected with the subject, our negociators may be induced to go too far in the way of concession. I wish, as much as any man can, to see the two countries always upon good terms; I wish to see harmony constantly prevail between them; but, I think that man must be blind indeed, who does not perceive, that that object is not to be secured by concession. It is a very great error to suppose, that *all* the people of America approve of measures such as that which their goverment now threatens to put in execution; it is a very gross error to suppose, that they are foolish enough to hate England and to entertain an attachment for France, let her government or governors be what they may; and the truth is, that all

considerate men in America are now condemning these measures of injustice, well knowing that the party, from whom they have proceeded, have in view some further acts that would prove very convenient to the private circumstances of many of them. —— The party, to which I now allude, used, during the debates upon the treaty of 1794, to represent America as a *country gentleman*, and England as *a mechanic* that worked for him; "the former," say they, "may do without the latter; but the latter cannot exist without the former." And then, in the fullness of their arrogance (wherein they surpass all the world) they would tell you, that their exported goods were *necessaries of life*, while what they imported might be dispensed with. Just as if the shirt and the coat were not as much "necessaries of life" as bread or pork, particularly *American pork*? Their wheat and Indian corn are the produce of their land and their labour, and of unparalleled excellence they are. But, are not our woollen and iron and steel and tin and copper goods the produce of our land and our labour? And, if our labour were not employed in this way, would it not be employed in some other way thereby adding to another sort of produce from our land? Where, then, is the sense of their comparison about the *country gentleman* and the *mechanic*? And whence can that comparison have sprung but from their own vanity, which had been puffed up by the encomiums of so many well-meaning but ill-informed men in Europe, particularly in England, added to the circumstance, that the persons, who made the comparison, had never in their lives had an opportunity of seeing any thing resembling, in the most distant degree, that sort of person, which we call a *country gentleman*, and which term, had they not borrowed it from us, could never have been in use in their country, except as descriptive of some character in a romance! —— The fear is, that we shall go too far in the way of concession, which, I repeat it again and again, is not the way to live upon friendly terms with the United States of America; and this is the opinion, too, of every man in America, who really wishes well to both countries. Why, indeed, should we talk of *opinions* upon the subject? Have we not the *proof*, ample proof, proof much more than sufficient, before us? From the close of the American rebellion to the present hour, there have been, at the beginning of every discussion, encroachments on their part, and, at the end of every discussion, concession on our part. The treaty of 1794 contained a stipulation, which, as the compensation for concessions which we made, was to have brought about 3 millions of money in payments from America to us. *That* stipulation they refused to fulfil, while we honestly fulfilled all the stipulations weighing upon us; and, we finally accepted, by way of lumping compromise, the sum of 600 thousand pounds, while we paid them to the last farthing of their exorbitant demands, amounting, I believe, to about 3 millions! Has this infused moderation into them? No: and, what we should constantly bear in mind, while those who are privately interested in keeping well with America at the expence of any national sacrifices, are telling us of the importance of the *friendship* of the American States, that country, or its government, at least, has always the generosity to make these its attempts to encroach upon us, at those times when it sees us most closely pressed by our enemy in Europe, to whom they are, in this way, a most faithful ally; but to whom they would be perfectly useless, and will be perfectly useless, if our ministers have the wisdom and the firmness to set their faces against every demand for further concession. —— That these ministers *will* so act, I am, however, so far from being certain, that I really fear the contrary; and, my fears are grounded, 1st, upon the half-official paragraph in the Morning Chronicle, before noticed, which appears, as I said above, to have been intended to prepare the minds of the public for some new concession to the American States: 2ndly, though I have not the most distant notion, that Lord Holland would, intentionally, do any thing wrong, yet, when the mind has contracted an habitual propensity towards peace, friendly intercourse, and conciliation, without being quite enough alive to the consequences, the chances are, that cunning men, may, under the garb of great frankness and kindness, lead it to the effecting of their purposes: 3rdly, I well know, that, though there are many merchants in England, who would sooner lose their trade for ever, than ask the ministers to do any act injurious to the general welfare of their country, yet, there are some merchants of another description; and, it is to be observed, that those who will prefer their own interests to that of their country will clamour, while those of the other description will, of course, have no pretext for making any application to the ministry: 4thly, I am still more afraid of another class of interested persons, and that is, of those who have had the precaution to lodge their money in *American funds*, or to vest it in *American lands*. Of the *patriotism* of such

men an estimate may easily be formed; and, if the liberty of the press, that "Palladium "of freemen," as every hired journalist calls it, while he is writing with a view of getting a portion of the taxes into his pocket; if this precious Palladium would permit me, I could, in a very few moments, and only by mentioning the names and situation of a few of these prudent fund and land-holders, convince the reader, that my apprehensions, in this respect, are founded on reasons but too solid: 5thly, I am afraid of the weight of another consideration connected with the 3rd, namely, that the ministers will dread, in a rupture with America, a diminution of the source of taxation. It will be erroneous to proceed upon the notion that such a diminution would take place; because, there is not the least probability, that the act of non-importation could be executed at all; because, if at all, and until the present stock of English goods in America be exhausted, it could not *possibly* be executed any longer; and because, whenever the channel was opened again, the English merchants and manufactures would find their profits, upon the whole, equal to what they would have been, if the channel had never been interrupted. But it is, nevertheless, to be feared, that the *immediate* wants of the ministers, the immediate pressure of the times, may induce them to concede now, with the hope, perhaps, of undoing their concession hereafter, upon the ground of its having been extorted from them. A vain hope, indeed! for the very effect of the concession will be to prevent them from ever undoing the deed; and, moreover, as long as the present system remains, the country would, *by such concession* (supposing it to extend to a relinquishment of any part of our right of search), be disabled for the resisting of further encroachment. This, one would think, they must plainly perceive; yet, if they should be persuaded, that a refusal to concede will produce a diminution in the source of the taxes, I am greatly afraid, that, acting here, as they have done every where else, upon the Pitt system of temporary expediency, they will concede.——Such are my fears. If the event shall prove them groundless, no one will more heartily rejoice than myself, and no one will be more ready to give praise unto those by whom the unjust demands of the American States may have been resisted; but, in case of the realizing of these my fears, I shall not be backward in saying all that I dare, under our present laws, to say, against every one, who may have participated in plucking this other, and almost the last, feather from the wings of my country.

Under any circumstances, however, under any laws, that do, or that may exist, I shall still have the power, and I am sure I shall have the will, to bestow on them my hatred, and to treasure up in my heart the hope of seeing the day, when the rest of my countrymen will think upon the subject as I do, and will have the power as well as the inclination to act accordingly. The man who makes any part of his happiness to consist in promoting the welfare of his country, should never give way to feelings of despair or of disgust; or, at any rate, he should never permit those feelings so far to prevail as to deprive him of hope, or to check the operations of his zeal. The man whose mind is fashioned for taking a share in those enterprizes, no matter of what sort, that are connected with the fate of his country, will suffer no disappointments, no rebuffs, no acts of folly or of wickedness, whether in the rulers or the people, to turn him aside from his pursuits. Such a man, if, with all his exertions, he be unable to prevent evil from being done, instead of despairing, will see new hope of good even from the excess of evil; and, applying these observations to the case before us, if, unhappily, our ministers, acting from the influence before described, were now to yield the most valuable of our rights to the American States, we ought still not to despair, but to labour with more assiduity than ever in the producing of a state of things, which would enable our country to recover those rights, and to hold them without the chance of their being again surrendered by such men and from such motives; we should labour with more eagerness and resolution than ever in the producing of a state of things, which would, for a long time, at least, prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such a surrender.——Here I should naturally stop, but there is a recent appointment more intimately connected with the subject than some persons will, at first, perceive, upon which I shall beg leave to add a remark or two. The reader will, at once, anticipate, that I allude to the appointment of Mr. ERSKINE to be our *Minister*, our *Ambassador*, at the court of the United States. This young man went to Philadelphia in, or about the year 1798. What he went there *for*, at that time, the reader may probably know, or he may guess, at any rate. Suffice it to say, that, after remaining there some time, he married an American, who, I speak it to her commendation, is of what is called in that country, of a *Tory* family. This gentleman came home in 1800 or 1801. He began, I believe, to practise at the bar. Upon his father being made a Lord, he be-

canbe one of England's senators, and one of the representatives of the borough of Portsmouth. He has since been appointed to the office above-mentioned; and the Morning Chronicle, in its newly-acquired courtly style, is "extremely happy to have to announce, that *His Excellency* the Honourable Mr. Erskine, his Lady, and his *suite*" (Good God! his *suite!*) "are safely arrived in the "United States, and have met with most "marked attention from His Excellency the "President."——I have often thought it proper to offer some remarks upon our system with respect to the United States; and I have as often endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my readers the necessity of treating the American government and nation with respect full as great as that with which we treat the first powers upon the continent of Europe. I would, especially at a moment like the present, have sent a nobleman, and a man too, uniting some degree of diplomatic reputation with his title; such a man, for instance, as Lord Minto, who would have commanded from the weight of his character, as well as from the proof which his appointment would have given, of our respect for the American government and nation.——But, besides the want of weight in point of public character, there are, in my opinion, three objections to the appointment of Mr. Erskine: 1st, when he went to America before, not dreaming, doubtless, that the time would ever come when he should be Ambassador there, and nobody there dreaming it any more than he, he, from his age and from other circumstances connected with his then situation, naturally fell into the society of young lawyers and doctors and merchants; and, the reader is well aware, that long familiarity of this sort has a tendency contrary to that of producing ideas of great personal consequence. Supposing him, therefore, to be one of the wisest men upon earth, and I really *know* nothing positively against the supposition; and, supposing him to have learnt, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, the whole art of diplomacy, he should, I humbly presume to believe, have been sent to some other court than that of America.——2ndly, It was, by many persons, in America, objected to Mr. Hammond, that he had married an American lady, especially as that lady also was of what they call a *Tory* family. Mr. Hammond, however, did not marry until after he arrived in the country. Nothing could be better calculated than this connection was to inspire private respect (and the same may, for aught I know, be said of the matrimonial connection of Mr. Erskine); yet, I had opportunities of knowing, that, notwithstanding the perfect propriety of conduct and the distinguished talents of Mr. Hammond, that connection did operate, upon the minds of the people (and there the minds of the people are so politically important as to be worth conciliating), not advantageously to Mr. Hammond, and, of course, not advantageously to his country. This, as several persons in, and connected with the present ministry, can bear me witness is no *new* observation; and, when I made it before, it was, as my present observations are, intended to shew the importance of being very careful in selecting men to fill the station of minister to the American States. That Mrs. Erskine should feel a strong desire to see her country again is not at all surprizing. All women are patriots. I never saw the wife or daughter of an English emigrant, who did not wish to come home again, however successful the husband or father might have been. Women do not, like men, enter into political distinctions; and, therefore it is that, leaving all such distinctions aside, they are attached to their country more than men, as much as they are attached to their domestic homes more than men are. But, besides this general and most amiable propensity of the female mind, Mrs. Erskine had the additional inducement of appearing again amongst her countrywomen with the fair prospect of being, at no very distant day, a *peeress* of England. Nothing could be stronger; nothing that the husband could be more desirous to see gratified, especially when it is easy to conceive therein more than one source of gratification to himself. But, though I were disposed to applaud, in terms however high, these desires, I must still confess, that I could have wished to see them gratified, without the appointment in question, and without exposing my country to the chance of suffering from the envy and from the other feeling, which, in different minds, such gratification may possibly excite.——It was an invariable rule in French diplomacy, to prohibit a minister from marrying in any country where he was stationed, as also, not to send as minister to any country, a person married to a wife of such country; and, when the reader has duly considered all the possible, and even probable, cases, in which such connection may prove injurious to the transactions of an embassy, he will, I think, be inclined to agree in the objection, which I have now stated to the appointment of Mr. Erskine to the American States.——But, until it be proved to me, which, perhaps, would be no easy

task, that Mr. Erskine possesses either greater talents, or greater integrity, than Mr. LISTON, or any other of those gentlemen, who are now upon the two-thousand-pounds-a-year pension-list, as "late ministers at foreign courts," and who are able and perfectly willing to continue on actual service, I have a 3d additional objection to his appointment; for, not only might two thousand pounds a year be saved to the public during the continuance of the Embassy of Mr. Erskine; but, that sum, for each year of the remainder of *his life*, might be saved to us, seeing that, as the regular course now is to fix a pension to that amount upon every recalled minister, it will doubtless be fixed upon him, at his return, which, according to the present custom, will be in three years *from the day of his appointment*, and which is, in my way of estimating, a tolerably easy way of obtaining a life settlement, out of the national revenue, of two thousand pounds a year.——Such are my objections to the appointment of Mr. Erskine; and, if the Whigs urge, as they doubtless will, that the same sort of things were frequently done during the administration of Mr. Pitt; during the twenty years' administration of that man, whom they represented, and justly represented, as the ruiner of his country, and to make us pay the debts of, and to raise a monument to the fame of whom, they have since most cordially agreed with his former supporters; if these Whigs; if this patriotic and modest set of men, urge, in this instance, the example of Mr. Pitt, all that I have to say, in reply, is, that I believe, from the bottom of my soul, that they will rigidly follow all his examples, as long as there is one six-pence of means remaining within their reach.

PARTIES.——At the very sound of this word upon our ears, after all that we have witnessed within these ten months, there arises a feeling of disgust so powerful as to demand no small share of fortitude and of public spirit to bear up against it, and to enable one to proceed in the useful work of detection and exposure. But, we must not only keep up our spirit; we must also preserve our temper. It is foolish to rail at the torrent; to yield to it is base.——That the Huskissons and the Roses and the Cannings and [illegible], but I forget the rest of them; that they should endeavour to persuade us, that they are a *party*, is quite natural; but, that the Morning Chronicle should have taken such pains to establish the same fact, is, to common observers, truly wonderful. It is, however, perfectly notorious, that this paper, the mere slave of the offices, has, ever since the change of ministry took place, worked day and night, in order to convince us, that there was "AN OPPOSITION." The public thought, that opposition, long so called, was at an end, at least for a time; but, every day of our lives, were we told of the Opposition; the Opposition said this, in one paragraph; the Opposition did that, in another paragraph; and then "His Majesty's ministers" said so and so to the Opposition; and the Opposition did so and so "to embarrass his Majesty's confidential servants;" insomuch, that, before the end of the session, the persons above-named really began to think themselves at the head of an important political party.—Some persons have professed themselves to be at a loss to discover the motive of the Morning Chronicle for raising the Huskissons and Cannings into an Opposition; and some of them have been rash enough to conclude, that the editors (Messrs. Perry and Spankey) did not know what they were about. But, when a couple of news-writers have formed a settled resolution to write themselves into a comfortable maintenance out of the public money, that is to say, out of the taxes, that man must be rash indeed, who will hazard the assertion, that they know not what they are about! In such a case, they are handed like Briarius, they are eyed like Argus, they have the watchfulness of Jupiter himself. They lose not a nod or a wink, not a frown or a smile, of their patrons, whose every wish and thought they anticipate. Not know what they are about! Would to God that their patrons knew as well what they were about for the good of the country, as Messrs. Perry and Spankey know what they are about for the good of themselves!——The truth is, that, as long as this Pitt system lasts, there must be an Opposition. There is no doing without it. It is a thousand times more necessary than the tub to the whale. In short, were there no Opposition, the game would be up, in a short time, with the speechifiers of the major class as completely as it, for some time past, has been with John Bowles and Red-head Yorke and the rest of the small fry, who existed solely upon anti-jacobinism, and who are now in a situation resembling that of the buckle-makers after shoe-strings came in fashion; and, for my part, I have heard of things much more astonishing than would be a petition to parliament from them for an act to make it libellous to say, that there are no jacobins in the country. All manner of tricks have they tried to keep their trade going. The Middlesex election, in 1804, gave a little revival to it, but it soon fell off

again. It was too abominable to set up a cry against Jacobinism, in England, at the very moment when Buonaparte was setting up the same cry in France. Now, indeed, Bowles and Redhead, if one may judge from their recent language, seem to think the Emperor and King a good sort of a man; and, I hope I am not uncharitable in my surmises, but I really could not help remarking, that the language of the most famous anti-jacobins, that their asperity against Buonaparte, began to soften after it had appeared in the newspapers, that *he had left the placemen and pensioners at Berlin in quiet possession of their allowances, of which he had ordered regular payment to be continued!* He is a cunning fellow. And, remember that I say, that, whenever he is going to make war upon us in earnest, he will take care to cause it to be understood, that he means to pursue the same liberal line of conduct here also.—— To return to "the Opposition," since the Morning Chronicle will insist upon having one; what head is there in the country, that has any brains in it, that expects any good, any public advantage, from such an Opposition? Can those men, who have nothing to talk about but the great financial talents of the author of the Income Tax; of the enlightened mind of the man, who began and conducted that series of negociations and of wars, which has carried Napoleon to the confines of Russia; of the great and unparalleled integrity and purity of that man, who, being first Lord of the Treasury and first Minister of the Crown, lent forty thousand pounds of the public money to two members of the House of Commons, without interest, without making any record of the transaction, and without communicating any knowledge of it to his colleagues? Can such men, I ask, be expected to oppose any foolish or any wicked act of the present ministers?——No, let us not be amused with such a silly expectation; let us not waste our time in reading, or in talking about, their *speeches* on either side; let us, while they are assembled together, watch their *actions*; let us read and remark upon the acts they pass; let us look well to what they do with the public money; and, when any valuable information leaks out, let us note it down: in short, let us well observe all they do, and let us judge for ourselves.——This is, I am aware, most heretical doctrine; and, I dare say the orthodox politicians would make a bonfire for me as cheerfully as the orthodox catholics formerly made the bonfires in Smithfield. This doctrine of mine strikes at the very root of the system by which they thrive, and which never could have existed, had there not always been an Opposition; a good, steady, legitimate, fair-fighting Opposition; that is to say, an Opposition, having in view to oust their opponents, and to get into the enjoyment of all that those opponents enjoyed. An Opposition, though consisting but of twenty men, who should have resolved to have lived upon bread-and-cheese and small beer all their lives, would have put an end to the system long and long ago, and would have caused the affairs of the nation to be conducted in such a way as would have made her present situation, in every respect, the reverse of what it is.——As to the subjects, upon which "the Opposition" intend to figure, the *Finances* are, I should suppose one. The Morning Chronicle has already told its readers, that it is "uncommonly happy to have "to announce to them, that our financial "affairs are in a most flourishing state." The same will be announced, doubtless, from other, though I have too much manners to say *better* authority, before these my speculations reach the press. "Well," will say the Opposition, "and did not we tell "you so? Did we not tell you, that that "great man, that ever-to-be-lamented "statesman, Mr. Pitt, had left you upon a "bed of roses; and that you had nothing to "do but to follow the measures he had be-"gun?" This the COURIER, which is "the "Opposition" paper (there being evidently a perfect understanding between that and the Morning Chronicle), has, in fact, already told them; and, though it is outrageously insulting to the feelings of the nation, yet, with regard to the place-hunting, the turn-coat, Whigs, it is no more than just. They have done no good. They have made no alteration in the system. They have performed no one of the things that they stood pledged to perform. They are now supporting the Pitt system, without any even the least softening. They have adopted it. They have made it their own. And they will justly be made responsible, I hope, *really responsible*, for all the consequences of it.——Another subject, upon which "the Opposition" will figure, will be the Army and Volunteer bills; and there they will be backed by all the fools in the country, a countless host! Here will the sprightly Canning crack his jokes one moment, and weep and sob, the next moment, at the mention of the name of his dear departed Right Honourable friend, the author of the Parish Bill and of the loan to Boyd and Benfield, without interest, while he was paying them interest for their loan to us.——This stormy subject will be endless. There will be six or seven set days for it

They will *divide* upon it! It will be all in vain. Never; no never, will the people of England be again amused as they have been, thanks to the Whigs, who, if they have done no other good, have, at least, done this, to strip all party haranguers of the power of deceiving the people.——During every debate that will now take place, the Whigs will cut a most contemptible figure. To throw any blame upon the former principles and conduct of the present Opposition, they dare not; because, that would be to throw blame upon the principles and measures of Mr. Pitt, to do which would expose them to the displeasure of the Grenvilles. If they should be goaded into any thing of that sort, George Rose will exclaim, "Oh, my dear lamented Right Honourable friend!" And the petulant Whig will be reproved in a manner that will prevent a repetition of his offence. Not one of Pitt's measures; not one of the measures, which he adopted, or caused to be adopted, previously to his last coming into power, will any one of the Whigs ever dare to mention with disapprobation; and, really, those were measures, which, with the exception of what related to Lord Melville, were subjects of laughter, rather than of serious animadversion. It was his measures relative to Ireland; relative to India; relative to the regency; relative to the distribution of office, of tithes, of emoluments; relative to the increase of taxes, to the abridging of the people's liberties; relative to his wasteful and foolish wars, and his still more foolish negociations. These are the measures, for having been the promoters and supporters and instruments of which the Whigs might accuse "the Opposition;" but, they dare not; for, even if they could make us forget that they have taxed us to pay Mr. Pitt's debts, they will not themselves forget, that, even since Lord Grenville came into power with them, he has called Mr. Pitt the greatest and wisest and most upright minister that the world ever saw! This has served as a hint for them; and, never, since that day, have they dared to reproach the Huskissons and the Longs of having been the supporters of the measures of Mr. Pitt.——Mr. Whitbread did, at one of Mr. Sheridan's dinners, give a sort of pledge, that the proceedings against Lord Wellesley should *suffer nothing* from Mr. Paull's not being returned to parliament. Now, whether this was intended as a counter hint to Lord Grenville, or merely as an electioneering promise, I shall not pretend to say; but, I am pretty certain, that it will never be fulfilled. If it should, however, be attempted, we shall then see how little power the Whigs have left. "The Opposition" would join with the Grenvilles and the Addingtons; and, I verily believe, that the whole Whig party would be found to consist of less than *ten* men that would *vote* upon the occasion. This party is, therefore, extinguished, for which, at any rate, I am grateful; for, since they came into power, they have, some actively and some passively, proved themselves to be utterly destitute of principle. This party is gone. The others are not parties. There is no difference between them as to any one *professed* principle even. It is now, without any attempt at disguise, a mere wrangling for place and emolument; and as such, thank God, it is, at last, seen by a great majority of the people.

The New Parliament.——Little good, as to measures, as most people are inclined to hope for, from the dissolution of the parliament, I am one of those who approved of the dissolution, without troubling myself at all about the motive from which the ministers acted in resolving upon the step. It is, to be sure, ridiculous enough to hear their partizans justify it upon the ground, that "the last was *a peace parliament*, and that "now, Prussia having determined to enter "heartily into the war, a *war-parliament* "was wanted to give effect to the plans of "His Majesty's Ministers." According to this notion, a new parliament should be called for upon every new measure; and, it should be, at once, openly avowed, that the parliament is a mere instrument in the hands of the ministry of the day. But, the good part of the thing now, is, that this parliament, which, according to these writers, were called to give effect to the plans of His Majesty's ministers upon the continent, have met just in time to be officially informed that those plans are all completely frustrated, and that Lord Morpeth, who was sent out to back and encourage the King of Prussia, on the part of England, has returned without having been able to find him. So that this *war-parliament* will, in all human probability, have to act the part of a *peace-parliament*.——Absurd, however, as all this may be, I thank the ministers for dissolving the last parliament; and, if they were to dissolve this new one to-morrow, I would thank them for that too. As to the last parliament, the parliament who passed the Pitt indemnity bill and Pitt debt and Pitt monument bill, it was absolutely impossible that any honest man should regret its decease. But, the reason for which I like a dissolution of parliament, is, that, be the motive what it may, from which it takes place, it is sure to make a little *stir*; it is sure to keep alive cer-

him useful recollections. It does, some persons tell us, do no good, while, on the other hand, it renews in our shocked sight scenes which it is not necessary for me to describe in detail, a traffick, which, for the sake of the liberty of the press, may as well be nameless here, though the reader will find it most circumstantially described in the former speeches of Mr. Grey, now Lord Howick. But, this is a good of itself. We should forget these scenes and this traffick, if we were not reminded of them by a dissolution, now and then; and, to forget them would be very injurious to us; because it would cut off the hope of any amendment; and this the Old Whigs (who were just like the new ones) clearly saw, when, with Excise Walpole at their head, they changed the duration of parliaments from three years to seven. I shall be told, perhaps, by some factious persons, some of the enemies of "His Majesty's confidential servants," that, it was not with a view of keeping alive, in the minds of the people, a sense of their political rights, that they advised their Royal Master to dissolve his "faithful Commons;" to which my answer, is, that I am not bound to believe that His Majesty's confidential servants are necessarily the very wisest of the human race; and that, so long as the action tends to what I regard as public good, I shall not, in such a case as this, cavil at the motive.——Besides the general effect of reviving useful recollections, every dissolution does, and will, until things are gone much farther than they have, at present, reached, give rise to some one or more important contest; as, for instance, in the present case, the contests in *Hampshire*, *Middlesex*, and *Westminster*. In the former, indeed, most of the contending parties were, perhaps, as to great political principles, nearly upon a level; yet, though the contest was, as far as they were concerned, confined to very narrow views, and had little more in it than a struggle for power and emolument, or private gratification of one sort or another; and though Mr. Chute, while the really independent part of his voters were doing him the honour to unite his name with that of Sir Francis Burdett, had the folly (folly of which he will hear again) to ride post up to Brentford to vote himself against that same Sir Francis Burdett, yet, the election did good amongst the people of Hampshire. On both sides, the candidates appealed, in words, at least, to the *independence* of the freeholders, they professed on both sides, to be struggling for the independence of the county; on the one side, they made a merit (and justly) of having served long in parliament, without obtaining places or pensions, and, on the other side, one of the candidates actually resigned a place in order thereby to remove one objection against him. All this was paying a great compliment to public principle and to public opinion; it was assuming a virtue, if they had it not; and, though it may prove in the end, that the people were deceived by all these professions of love for independence, yet they, or at least many of them, *thought* they were voting in that cause, and their minds have been prepared for future, and, let us hope, more successful exertions.——Those who see in an election no other object than merely that of seating a member in the House of Commons, will, of course, see no good that has been done by the dissolution in giving rise to the contests in Middlesex and Westminster. But, will such persons, however they may dispute the *good*, pretend to believe, that the sixteen speeches of Sir Francis Burdett, promulgated, as they have been, through every public print in the whole kingdom, together with his several addresses, particularly the last; will they pretend, that all these have produced no *effect*? Will they pretend, that the silly, time-serving, apostatizing letter of the famous Whig, Mr. Whitbread, together with all the answers which it has drawn forth, from various pens, have had no effect? Will they pretend, that all the speeches, all the addresses, all the resolutions, all the numerous publications relative to the Westminster election have had no effect upon the people? Can any man, who saw Westminster at the time, who knows any thing of Westminster; who has had an opportunity of hearing the sentiments of her well-informed electors; and who considers the force which, in due time, their excellent example must have upon the rest of the kingdom; can any such man say, that the Westminster contest has produced no effect? Look, who will, at the elder Sheridan now, and compare what he now is to what he was previous to the Westminster election; look also at Mr. Whitbread, and make, with respect to him, a similar comparison; look at the polling of Mr. Byng, and compare it with the great majority that he always heretofore had in Middlesex; look at the whole of those Whigs, who so long deluded the people with the sound of patriotism and disinterestedness; look at them (for they dare not look at you) and then say, whether the elections in Middlesex and Westminster have had *no effect*!——A dissolution of parliament is always, and always must be, a positive good; because it is sure to give rise to much discussion upon the principles and the conduct, private as well as public, of men aiming at posts of

high trust. At the same time that it creates the subject of discussion, it enlarges for a few days at least, the freedom of discussion; and, as free discussion must necessarily tend to the establishment and the extension of truth, it must, by all those who prefer truth to falsehood, and knowledge to ignorance, be regarded as a good. The hired daily press, that press, which, in one way or another, is almost completely suborned to utter nothing but falsehood; even those prints that put one in mind of Addison's fabled stars that shed darkness instead of light; even the blinding and stupifying effect of this tenebrous constellation is dispelled by the flashes of an election contest like that of Middlesex or Westminster. Therefore, I once more heartily thank the ministers for having dissolved the last parliament, and the sooner they dissolve the present, the sooner will they again merit and receive my thanks.

MESSRS. WHITBREAD AND REDHEAD YORKE.——These persons have, it would appear, both *challenged* Sir Francis Burdett to fight duels. The letter of the former has appeared in the Register; that of the latter has been stated in substance by himself, Sir Francis Burdett not having thought proper to take any public notice of it. The letter of the former does not, indeed, amount to a challenge of itself; but, it clearly indicates, that unless "satisfaction," as it is called, was given, a challenge was to be the consequence.——Before I offer any remarks upon the particular cases of these worthies, I shall beg leave to trouble the reader with a few words upon the subject of duelling in general in this country, laying aside the legal and moral considerations therewith connected, and confining myself, for the present, at least, to a view of it; first, as *a test of courage*, and next as *a mode of deciding disputes*.——As a test of courage, I should be inclined to award it some degree of merit; because the proof, and, perhaps, the only certain proof, of courage, is, a readiness voluntarily to hazard life; and, this is the most admired, and most admirable, quality amongst men, because, of all earthly possessions, life is that which all men naturally value the most. But, there must here be some discrimination; for, to make the hazarding of life a test of meritorious courage, the motive for hazarding it must not be that of the highwayman, or of the felon breaking out of jail; *nor must it proceed from that sort of despair, which is visible, when a blasted reputation renders the chance of death preferable to a life of shame and ignominy*. I shall, for the argument's sake, however, suppose that challenges always proceed from motives in themselves laudable; and then, what is the practice, and how does it come up to our ideas of a test of courage? Is one of the parties *sure to fall?* Is there, except in very few cases, any hazard at all of losing life? Are not the parties, nineteen times out of twenty, perfectly "*satisfied*," with what, in the cant of the science, is called, *exchanging shots?* Do they not, more than nine-tenths of them, go to the place of meeting with their limbs trembling and their hearts palpitating, like those of lambs led to the slaughter? When one has let off with blinking eyes, like Gil Blas in the troop of robbers, and the other has shot his pistol in the air, do they not rush into each other's arms like long-lost lovers? Are they not, after this, from feelings of mutual gratitude, sworn brothers to the end of their lives, extolling each other's courage to the skies amongst whomsoever are silly enough to listen to them? Do we not see amongst duellists, and amongst the *patrons* of duelling, cowards the most notorious; men, who, when in the face of an enemy, from whom they had *real* danger to apprehend, have *uniformly turned their backs*, and brought, as far as in them lay, *dishonour upon the arms of their country?* And, shall we, with these truths before us, call such men brave? Shall a farce so despicable impose upon us, even to the making us regard those who have run away from the enemy as patterns of heroism?

Want of room prevents my pursuing the subject any farther at present. The continuation of these remarks, with the application of them to the particular cases of the worthy Messrs. Whitbread and Redhead Yorke until my next.——The same cause obliges me to defer the promised observations I intended to make upon the conduct of THE SHERIDANS at the Play-Actor's Dinner, where the elder Sheridan affected to treat all that I could say, "*with ineffable contempt*," pretending to think that no one would believe what I said. He knows better. He may disguise his feelings from some people, but he cannot from me. No hare, with half a mile of naked downs before her, and with a brace of my Lord Rivers's best greyhounds at her heels, ever cocked her ear with more anxious solicitude than he will, on Saturday next, to hear the contents of this Register. I speak this, not to his shame, but in his commendation, it being the act of an enemy to represent him as so callous as not to feel what I have said, and what I shall say, of him.

WM. COBBETT.

Bertram House,
10th Dec. 1806.

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" Instead of these narrative and discussion, what shall we see? Disputes about the dispatches of Mr. Fox, as compared with the dispatches of Lord Mulgrave; and about the management of the fourth coalition, as compared to the management of the third coalition. Debates about Mr Windham's training bill, as compared with Mr Pitt's parish bill. We shall hear set speeches of two or three hours long; we shall hear jokes a-propos; we shall hear a loud and unanimous call for sacrifices from the people: but, not one word shall we hear of sacrifices for the people; though, on all hands, it will be allowed, that the crisis is most alarming." ——POLITICAL REGISTER, 20th December 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MESSRS. WHITBREAD AND RUDDIFAD YORKE. —— (*Continued from page* 971)

As *a mode of deciding disputes*, duelling yields not, in any one respect, to the ancient mode of trying orthodoxy in religion by walking blindfolded over red-hot plough-shares. The disputant who has the worst of it, is, of course, the aggrieved party, and, it as regularly follows, that the injury must be in an exact proportion to the degree in which he is in the wrong, and according to that degree must be the magnitude of the "satisfaction" which he has to demand. Philosophers and logicians have long been employed in discovering truth, and in laying down rules for communicating it to others; and, I think, it may safely be asserted, that the patrons of duelling, without either study, or brains wherewith to study, have discovered and applied, as far as they have been able, an infallible mode of securing the empire of ignorance and falsehood.——But, to expose a man to the hazard of his life, or to insist upon the right of calling him a coward, because he has exposed to the world that he possesses more talents or virtue than you possess, absurd as it is, is not more so than the laws and distinctions of the noble science of duelling. You are told, that the principal use of it is, to preserve good manners amongst *gentlemen*; and yet it is a rule, that *clergymen* are not to be challenged. Why not? To answer that question would puzzle a wiser head than any dueller ever yet wore. ——For, a clergyman is, surely, to be considered a gentleman; and, if the pretence be, that duelling is immoral, and, therefore, not to be allowed in a clergyman, then it is *unjustifiable* in other men; and, though, like swearing, it may be more particularly odious and, perhaps, more criminal in a clergyman, yet it will not bear justification in other men any more than swearing will bear it.——But, another rule, is, that none but a *gentleman* is either to be challenged or fought with. What constitutes a gentleman? Is *birth* required? No. Is *station*? No. Is *property*? No. Are *talents*? No. Is *integrity*? No, no! What then? Why, a pretty good suit of clothes, whether paid for or not; a carriage, or, at least, a horse, no matter to whom belonging; a rotten carcass, lank jaws, a dirty-looking skin, sleepy-looking eyes, a voice half nasal and half gutteral, resembling the noise of a hen that has got the roop. To be a bastard of a man of some quality or fashion, or to have fathered the bastard of some such man, is regarded as sufficient to supply the place of many deficiencies; and to profess atheism, either from ignorance or perverseness, while, at the shake of a fever they tremble from apprehensions of an hereafter, is an absolute requisite. ——And these, good God! these are the creatures, to lash whom, collectively and individually, with both tongue and pen, is the duty of every good man; these are the creatures who call themselves gentlemen, and who refuse to notice the lashings and kickings and cuffings, which they receive from those, whom they have the insolence to consider as beneath them!—There is, however, one notable exception to this their rule; and, that is, when they happen to meet with a man, in what they term low-life, who has the ability to expose any such of them as live by plundering the public, they regard such a man as a common enemy; they make common cause against him: they perceive, that, if he lives, they must run the risk of starving; and, as they have naturally an aversion to the gallows, from some family, or other feeling, they choose the safer way of coming at him, if he be fool enough, by that of a duel, from the legal consequences of which they have little apprehensions. From scoundrels of this description, what man, possessed of dreaded talents and integrity, would ever escape?

expressed in the manner he was, that he should be looked at by some, laughed at by others, and that, upon the whole, he should see his political reputation completely destroyed, having no resource left but that of taking shelter under the wings of the Grenvilles, along with the rest of the Whigs, to whose reproaches, instead of whose thanks, he found himself entitled. In this situation, resembling that of the foolish knight in the play, "having sailed into the north of public opinion, where he was hanging like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard," some friend of his, like the wag, Sir Toby, called upon him, I dare say, "to do some thing, either in the way of *valour* or of *wit*, to throw himself into the lide of reputation;" and, speaking, no doubt, from experience, he has said, with his great prototype, "an it be in any way, it must be in "the way of valour," whereupon his Sir Toby has said, "write me then, straight, a challenge to this man, who has had the wit to "put thee down, and expose thee to such "shame and mockery." The letter and the message by his friend may, in a moment of despair, have proceeded from his own mind; but, I cannot help thinking, that they were the effect of some friendly suggestion of others, who had more clearly perceived the consequences of his defeat, because they had not been blinded by that vanity, which served, perhaps, to support him, until they were so obliging as to open his eyes. There was one thing, however, that he himself would readily perceive, and severely feel; and that was, our having (for many of us had had a hand in it), as I expressed myself upon a former occasion, scared him, like a rook from a wheat-field, from that place, upon which he was, before the writing of his letter, just about to settle. He had not only been scared away for the moment, but the eyes of the whole nation had been rendered watchful with respect to him; and, the reader may be assured, that the words which stung him more severely than all the rest that were uttered against him, were those, in which Sir Francis Burdett predicted that he "will soon have both the will and "the power to obtain *a lucrative place under government*, without much embarrassing himself as to the consequences." This was too much to bear; and yet to answer with the *pen* was impossible. He had had enough of the pen, and besides, he was not disposed to deny the *fact*. The further he went in the way of controversy, the further he was sure to sink. To give a new turn to the contest, or rather to create a new contest, to make men forget the old

subject, and to set them to the discussion of a new one, was absolutely necessary to his affairs. Hence these latter proceedings, and not from any nice sense of honour, or from any insult personally offered to him. — But, if his *honour* required satisfaction, in the case before us, how comes it that he has suffered to pass, without the least mark of resentment, Mr. Hewlings's letters to him, which letters have been published in the newspapers, and which should be published here, were it not for my unshaken attachment to *the liberty of the press*, and were I not very far from being certain, that Mr. Whitbread would not have recourse to the law as readily as he has had recourse to the other mode of deciding disputes. Now, supposing his *honour* to have required the mode which he adopted with regard to Sir Francis Burdett, what excuse can he find for suffering Mr. Hewlings's publication to remain unnoticed? He would, perhaps, say, that Mr. Hewlings is *beneath* his notice. Upon what principle is he beneath him? He sells *feathers*, and Mr. Whitbread sells *beer*. His father is a *miller*, I believe; and the father of Mr. Whitbread, even from his own account of the matter, was something lower than a miller. Mr. Hewlings is a taller and a handsomer man, and is certainly a better speech-maker, than Mr. Whitbread. Laying money out of the question, and Mr. Hewlings is by far the most important person of the two. Nay; include the money, look at and hear the men, and I am sure, that there is no one, who, if he had the option of being created a-new, would not choose to be Mr. Hewlings rather than Mr. Whitbread; and, without having recourse to this mode of estimating, I am deceived if there are many well-informed persons, who would not, at this moment, prefer the chances of Mr. Hewlings to Mr. Whitbread's. Upon what principle, then, again I ask, is the former beneath the latter? and how is it that no answer is given to the published letters of Mr. Hewlings? How comes it that Mr. Brand does not pay him a visit, too? The honour of this Mr. Whitbread must certainly be of a very discriminating kind; but it discriminates only with one eye; it can see, that others are, according to his mode of estimating, beneath him, while it seems to be quite blind to his own inferiority. The barrel of his vanity is so full, that even now he appears not to perceive that he is a less man than Sir Francis Burdett. The froth of his conceit has so completely put his eyes out, that he still seems to think himself upon an equality with the man, to whom millions are looking as their last hope. Were he not thus bloated and blinded, he surely would see the real distance between him and Sir Francis Burdett, in every way in which a comparison can be drawn, is far greater than the imaginary distance between Mr. Hewlings and him. Who would not laugh at the absurdity of the thing, if the King of Prussia were now to challenge the Emperor Napoleon? Yet, who is there that will pretend to say, that there is not a palpable analogy in the two cases? Who is there that will pretend to say, that, in point of situation in the world, Sir Francis Burdett is not as much above Mr. Whitbread, as the Emperor Napoleon is above the King of Prussia?——As to the challenge of Mr. Redhead Yorke, that shall not detain us long. Upon what principle, good Lord! is it, that a man like Sir Francis Burdett could be called on to fire pistols with a person (if I may use the word) like this? With respect to the article of *birth*, indeed, Redhead may be the equal, if not the superior, of the Baronet, though the latter is well known to be of a very ancient family; for Redhead, like the Sheridans, boasts, that "royal blood runs in his veins," he being, as he is said to assert, a descendant, on the female side, in a direct line, from Lee Boo, one of the most ancient and venerable of the sable sovereigns of Africa. Of what rank or degree, of what nation, colour, or profession, his immediate male ancestor may have been, I know not, nor does it much signify; for, it is the character of the man himself that we have, in such a case as this, to look to. Sir Francis Burdett is not one amongst those, who, in times like these, have had the unspeakable wisdom to set birth, nay, *pretended* birth, against all other requisites, in public men; and, therefore, it is not to be supposed, that, from any objection of this sort, his silence, upon receiving the challenge of Redhead, proceeded.—But, is it not trifling with the reader, to affect to talk seriously upon such a subject? Redhead, seconded by his inseparable friend, John Bowles, had uttered the most false and calumnious expressions relative to Sir Francis Burdett, at the meeting which was held for the purpose of setting up the Bank-Director against him; and, Sir Francis, in one of his celebrated speeches, speaking of the sort of persons, by whom he had been opposed, gave a most appropriate description of these worthies. To say that the description was *true* will be sufficient to convince the reader, that it was well calculated to excite their rage; and, the consequence, as far as related to Redhead, we know. The result was humourous enough; for, it appears, that, re-

ceiving no answer to his letter, Redhead had so much respect for the law as to give information, or to cause information to be given, to the police magistrates, of his having sent a challenge, upon which he was immediately apprehended, and bound to keep the peace. They need not have *bound* him. A simple admonition would have been enough. If Sir Francis had accepted the challenge, and had deferred the meeting for a week, the chances are, that, if no magistrate could have been found to bind Redhead to the peace, the gallant prince would, in the interim, have died with fear.——Redhead has, indeed, denied, in the newspapers, that he gave the information to the police magistrates, or that he caused it to be given. But, to say as little as may be of the intrinsic worth of any assertion of his, under any circumstances, we have, on the other side, the positive assertion of Sir Francis Burdett, who declares, that *he* never communicated Redhead's letter to any human being, and, when we add to this, the fact, that Redhead is upon terms of such intimacy with the police magistrates, as to be, as their advertisement tells us) *actually engaged in a literary partnership with one of them*, there will, I imagine, remain little doubt as to the source of the information which produced the sureties to keep the peace.——Scrub gives a humourous description of the way, in which the men of honour, in the neighbourhood of my Lady Bountiful, avoid the consequences of a challenge; but Redhead's is certainly an improvement. A sister, or a mother, or a wife might, upon the hint given them, be so malicious as to hold their tongues; but, Redhead, like a truly great general, takes care to leave nothing to others. —The duellers, in general, have a pretty clear understanding before they go to the field; either they load with paper pellets, as in the recent instance of a poet and a critic, or they know very well that the shot (barring effects of a trembling hand) will not come within yards of them; but, if Sir Francis Burdett had happened to be so mad as to go to the field with Redhead, the latter could not possibly hope for any security of this sort; and therefore, he took very good care to get his friends to bind him not to go there.——In taking leave of this subject, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret, that Sir Francis Burdett condescended to give any answer at all to the bluff letter of Mr. Whitbread; not because I think he said, in that answer, any thing unworthy of himself; but, because the answering at all seemed to recognize the *right* of the other to demand "satisfaction," as it is called, at his hands, on account of any thing that he did say, or could say of him, in his speeches or addresses; and because I am certain, that, any man acting upon the principle of such recognition, will, under the circumstances, that will present themselves to Sir Francis Burdett, very soon lose his life. A man, who has devoted his life to the service of his country, acts a very inconsistent part indeed, if he throw it away without the possibility of its doing that country any good. The more Sir Francis Burdett serves his country, the more will he necessarily goad and sting its plunderers, and the more he goads and stings them, the more eagerly, of course, will they seek his life; for, the more clear will their conviction daily become, that his life is death to them.—It is curious enough, that, in their party warfare; in their wrangling for place and power; in all their contests of this kind, though carried on with the utmost acrimony, and giving rise to personalities the most coarse and vilifying, as for instance, when one man calls another the creature, the tool, the cat's-paw, or the *sitting-part* of another; it is curious enough, that, amidst all this, you never hear of *their* challenging one another! "Aye," would would they tell me, "but this is all understood. This is all fair. But, when a cruel "savage, like Burdett, strikes at the very "vitals of us all, the case is different." The case is different, indeed; and a desperate case it is; but it is a case that must not expose the life of Sir Francis Burdett to the pistol of every Irish chairman that his and our enemies may dress up in fine cloaths and admit to their clubs; or, his life is not worth much to his country.——No inconsiderable part of the duels that are fought, proceed from that species of cowardice which render men unable to face the sneers of fools and villains in profligate life; so that, they actually go to the field in order to disguise the fact that they are cowards; in order that they may not be taken for what they really are, and what they feel they are. Amongst soldiers; amongst men, who, from the peculiarities of their situation in life, as well as from their general youth and rashness, I do not say, that there may not be something like reason produced for this otherwise senseless and unjust mode of settling disputes; though, even there, I am sure such reason must always be founded upon facts, which would, if true, prove a total want of wisdom in the formation and discipline of an army; and though, at any rate, it would be utterly impossible to find a justification for the patronizing of duels in one, who has just assisted in passing a law rigidly forbidding

them; but, in common life, to attempt to justify duelling; to regard it as a proper mode of settling disputes of any sort; and especially to introduce it amongst the means of deciding political controversies, and of maintaining or restoring political character, is something too shockingly absurd to admit of an adequate description.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—The appearance of a correspondence, in the daily papers, between MR. PAULL and MR. ELLIOT, the porter-brewer of Pimlico, who is, it seems, also a *colonel*, in which correspondence my name is mentioned, seems to call upon me for a declaration of what I know of the matter.——The state of the case is this. Mr. Paull wrote to Mr. ELLIOT VOYLE, a relation of the "Colonel," who was at the Colonel's house during the election, to ask him to obtain for him, the vote and interest of the "Colonel." The answer of Mr. Voyle the public have seen. When Mr. Elliot came to town, which was, as nearly as I can recollect, the very day, or the day after, the coalition had been openly announced between the Commodore and Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Paull went to Mr. Elliot's house, and, as I was going with him from the Feathers at Pimlico to the lower part of Westminster, I sat in the carriage while he went into the house. He staid some time, and when he came out, a person, who, as he informed me, was Elliot himself, came with him to the carriage door. What had passed between them while in the house, I, of course cannot say; but, this person I saw *shake him cordially by the hand*, I heard him *wish him success*, and bid him good night. And, the moment the carriage door was shut, "Well," said Mr. Paull, "I am glad "I came," Cobbett, though it was against "your advice; for I now know, that I am "safe here. Elliot is resolved not to stir "for Sheridan. He is shocked at the base-"ness of the coalition." I remember well, that, after Mr. Paull was in the carriage, he called out to the "Colonel," and thanked him; and, by the same token, I remember, that I advised him to keep his thanks for other people; "for," said I, "if that brew-"er does not exert his influence against you "under hand, write me down an ass." In a few days we saw him openly join our enemies and the enemies of the independence and honour of the city of Westminster; we saw him a chairman at a dinner of the coalition; we saw him proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Sheridan; and we saw him at a public subscription for the support of Mr. Sheridan; of which subscription he, as Mr. Paull says, agreed to be the Treasurer!——But, upon the face of the matter, without having recourse to my evidence, or that of any other person, does not Mr. Paull's charge against him appear to be well founded? Why not give his *vote* for Mr. Sheridan? What a miserable subterfuge, to say that his promised neutrality extended no further than his *own vote*? Can any man believe, that he would ever have offered such a neutrality? Of what value was it? *He says*, that Mr. Paull *thanked* him. Now, can any man believe, that Mr. Paull would have thanked such a man, in such a case, for the neutrality of a *single vote*? Must not Elliot himself have been certain, that the thanks were given for the neutrality of his *hundreds of votes*? And, if he had not intended this latter neutrality, would he not, if he had been a fair and honest politician, have undeceived Mr. Paull? Is not silence, in such a case, equal to a positive promise? And, therefore, does not this "Colonel," even according to his own confession, stand convicted of a breach of faith?——For my part, I always disapproved of all solicitation to persons of this brewer's description. It was beneath Mr. Paull; it was far beneath our cause, to ask for the aid, or the forbearance, of any such man; and, I am certain, that every moment, spent in this way, was worse than a moment lost.——Mr. Paull in the letters he has written to the "Colonel," hints that the price of his conduct is to be a seat in parliament, for Westminster, at the next election, which, I am of opinion, is *at no great distance*. But there is an old fable about selling the skin before the lion was caught; and, if the "Colonel" should catch him, the act of catching at least, if we all live and do well, he will not find a sinecure. The self same men that his friend Sheridan had to contend with, he, in that case, will have to contend with; and, let him recollect, that they will not come inexperienced to the contest, as they did before. If he thinks that we are *disheartened*, he is the most deceived of mankind. We did all we could. Nothing that was lawful and honourable did we leave untried to carry our point; and as to all the great and *general* purposes, that we had in view, our triumph was complete. Let another contest come; let the ministers, in yielding to their benign dispositions towards the people, give us but another opportunity of trying our principles; and I confidently trust that the "Colonel" will find those principles a great deal stronger and more pure than his porter. The "Colonel" is not aware, I dare say, that the undue influence of brewers, as well as

that of other descriptions of persons, has been shaken in Westminster. The "Colonel," though, doubtless, a great commander is, it is said, no conjuror; which, indeed, is so much in his commendation, for your conjurors, like Pitt, generally do more harm than good. But, upon this particular occasion a little matter of the gift of second-sight would not be amiss in the "Colonel," for whom, if I am not very much out in my reckoning, there is as nice a storm brewing as heart could wish, though there may not be quite so much smoke as issues from his brewery.——But, while this is my opinion with respect to Mr. Elliot, and while I unequivocally approve of the conduct of Mr. Paull in exposing that gentleman in his true light; there is one expression, in the last letter of Mr. Paull, which, as it would now appear, (for I have but this moment seen the news-papers) was intended to lead to a duel, at which I cannot refrain from expressing my regret. Who may have given the information to the magistrates, I know not; but, the parties must both excuse me, if I am of opinion, that they were exceedingly glad that it was done. As to the proposition, which is said to have been made by Mr. Paull, *to take a trip to the Continent*, there is something so wild in it, especially when made to a man like Mr. Elliot, that one can hardly speak of it in serious terms.——How has this challenge altered the state of the case? Has it affected any fact? Will it make sensible men believe that to be right, which they before thought wrong? Is this the way to appeal to the reason and justice of the public? Is this the way for the parties to convince us, that they are worthy of being chosen as the repositories of the interests and the honour of our country? Is this the way for them to convince us, that they have heads calculated for the devising of means adequate to our preservation, in the awful times that are approaching? Is this the way, in which Mr Paull especially, who, only a few months before, *assisted in passing a law to punish duelling*, means to evince to us his respect for the laws of the land, and his inflexibility in maintaining those laws? Believe, me, Sir, that, if England be to be saved from the all-devouring jaws of her enemy; if she be to be preserved amidst the wreck of Europe; if she be to be enabled to recover her ancient liberties, and, along with them, her weight and consequence in the world; it never will be either by the heads or the hearts of duellers.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——The Parliament met on the 15th instant. MR. ABBOTT, the Speaker of the last House of Commons, was re-chosen to that situation, without any opposition. Of the dull ceremony, and duller published speeches, connected with this first act of the House of Commons, it is useless to say any thing; but, it just occurs to me to ask, whether it be possible for any man to be so infatuated as to believe, that the forty reciprocal compliments, passed upon this occasion, would have, upon any one man in the kingdom, any other effect than such as they have had upon me?——In describing the members of the House of Commons, assembled on the first day, the newspapers conclude thus: "Amongst others, we observed, Mr. CAL-"CRAFT, GENERAL FITZPATRICK, and a "large number of *inferior characters*."—Who they mean by these "*inferior* characters," I can neither say nor imagine; whether their eye was, at the time, surveying about the door, or the inside of the House; but, upon reading the words "inferior cha-"racters," an involuntary exclamation of, *Mercy upon us!* escaped from my lips.——On the 10th instant the two Houses met to hear the SPEECH, which was delivered by *Commission*, the King not coming to the House in person. This speech will be found in a subsequent page of this present sheet. Upon the debates, consequent thereon, as those debates are published in the newspapers, the first remark I shall make is, that they have fully realized my anticipations, which I have referred to and quoted in my motto, and which, as the date of the Register will shew, I was writing in Berkshire, at the very moment when the debates were going on.——I mention not this with a view of causing it to be believed, that I am more sagacious than other men; for knowing the parties and their views, a man must be a simpleton indeed not to know pretty nearly what would be the topics they would select, and the sentiments they would utter. ——Is there any thing, in what has been published, as speeches made in this new Parliament, to encourage us to hope, that there is in contemplation any of those great changes, which I have so often represented as necessary to enable us to resist the designs of the foe? There are some loose expressions, in the SPEECH, about combining all *practicable economy* with those efforts which it is necessary to "make against the "formidable and increasing power of the "enemy;" but nothing do we hear specific, either in the SPEECH, or in the debates thereon. No man, on any side, talks of giving up any thing; that way of lightening the burthens of the people, appears not to be at all thought of; and the loose phrase about practical

economy has, therefore, no practical meaning.——We all feel, and we all acknowledge, that the crisis is most perilous. This is also acknowledged in the debates. But, alas! it has been acknowledged every year for these ten years last past, and every year has passed away without any thing being done calculated to meet extraordinary dangers. The consequence to be apprehended, is, that the people will scout the idea of a crisis which lasts for years; and, that in the end, they will be tired of living in an incessant crisis.——Amongst the subjects of more particular remark, presented in these debates, I shall notice, 1st, that of the dissolution of Parliament. Lord Hawkesbury in the upper, and Mr. Canning in the lower House, dwelt upon the dissolution as a matter of censure. My opinion of the good effects of the dissolution has been before submitted to my readers; and, as to the *motives* now ascribed to ministers, they may, perhaps, have been the real motives; but, for the supporters of Pitt, for those who aided him, in his dissolution in 1784, and who were so amply rewarded for that aid; for such men to censure the motives of the late dissolution is, indeed, something surpassing our utmost conception of the powers of face! True, the ministers advised the King to dissolve the parliament at the very moment when, agreeably to proclamation, it was expected to meet, for dispatch of business; true, they took their enemies by surprize, and thereby gained many advantages over them; but, though such a device may call for the censure of us, who are mere spectators of the contest, with what face can the supporters of Pitt, who stuck at nothing in this way; with what face can they, who supported him in his motion for the removing the trial of Lord Melville, after one half of the members of the House of Commons were gone out of town; with what face can they possibly complain of unfair advantages being taken of them? Let them complain. No man who loves his country will join in their complaints, or will pity them. The more completely they are defeated, the better it is for us. They have wallowed long enough in the fruit of our earnings. They have long enough tyrannized over us; and, though their successors were to do the same, or worse, it is, in the meanwhile, a great consolation to see them mortified and degraded.——2nd. That no notice was taken, in the SPEECH, of the battle of Maida, has, in the printed speeches of Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval, been a subject of cavil. But, is it not evident, that the victory there gained, if indeed it was a victory, was of too small importance to find a place in the King's speech? If we look, either at the magnitude of the force, the nature of the combat, or the consequences resulting from it, we shall find that it was of far too little importance to be distinguished by being particularly noticed in the King's speech to his parliament.——3rd. The capture of Buenos Ayres should also, it seems, according to the afore-mentioned speeches, have found a place in the King's speech; but, if it had, the *conduct of the commanders* must have been omitted, or must have been censured; for, if such conduct is to be justified merely upon the score of success, I will venture to say, that success, except as far as *plunder* may go, will very soon desert the standards of both fleet and army. The conduct of Sir Home Popham, in writing his circular letters directly to the traders of Birmingham and elsewhere is highly reprehensible. It is what nothing but a dissolution of the government at home could possibly have warranted; and, if the ministers had suffered him to remain in his command, after such conduct, they would have been considered as amongst the most foolish as well as the most mean of mankind. What Lord Melville is stated in the newspapers to have said about the *Lloyd's Fund* does him great honour, and it is to me, a most satisfactory symptom, that the ministers have mustered up courage to break loose from the degrading trammels of the Change, upon which Pitt and his minions relied for support in all their outrageous attacks upon the properties and liberties of the people. To the Change and all its selfish passions, if passions the cringings of such men can be called, the government of England has long been a slave. Its policy, dictated by the shop-keeping mind of the Change, has gone downwards lower and lower, until, at last, it became too low to be described even by the epithet *pedling*. The consequences are before us! We now *feel* what it is to have been governed for twenty years upon principles engendered at the Change; and, though it may suit the purposes of wranglers for place to endeavour to raise a cry about slighting our commercial interests, I am fully persuaded, that every man of sound sense will rejoice at the hope of seeing those interests no longer predominant, as they have been over all others.——To return, for a moment, to the capture of Buenos Ayres: if the conduct of the commanders was passed over in silence, it is said, that the *value of the thing itself* might have been noticed. I would fain put the best construction upon every thing; and, therefore, in observing this silence, I was in hopes,

as I still am, that it proceeded from a conviction, in the minds of the ministers, that the thing itself was of *no value* at all. That such is really the case, I am, for my part, fully convinced. Nay, I am convinced that it is *injurious* to the country; that it will, in no way whatever, add to its power, to its means either of defence or of offence; while we shall feel, that it makes a considerable addition to the taxes. The *captors*, together with certain lucky speculators, it will enrich. It will transfer another old family estate or two from the present holders to upstarts. It will mould a few more farms into parks, levelling the dwellings of the former tenants, and sending those tenants on their way to the work-house, their sons to wear liveries in some of the streets and their daughters to walk other of the streets of the already over-grown metropolis. But, comfort or relief to one oppressed soul in England it never will give. And this is the atchievement of which we are told the King ought to have boasted! This is the atchievement, illumined with not one ray of glory, attended with not one honourable circumstance, of which, we are told, the King ought to have congratulated his people!—4th. Mr. Perceval, in the debate of the 20th of December, when the report of the Address was brought up, is reported to have said, that "he supposed, that the discussions which related to the commercial intercourse between "Great Britain and America had not been "brought to a close, otherwise it assuredly "would have been mentioned from the "throne. When he recollected the bills "which were introduced into the House "during the last session on this subject, "when he considered their nature and princi"ples, when he remembered that they went "to the destruction of that on which our "naval strength and superiority had been "founded, and when he reflected on the "character and sentiments of the persons "who had been chosen by this country to "carry on the Negociation with America, "he owned that he looked forward with con"siderable apprehension to the period when "that Negociation would terminate"—As to the *sentiments* of the two persons, who, on our part, are conducting this discussion, I *know* nothing; though, if I were to guess at them, it would be they leant too much on the side of concession. But how any inference of this sort can be drawn from the "nature and principles of the American "intercourse bills, passed at the close of "last session of parliament," I am totally at a loss to discover.——The state of the case, with respect to those bills, was this. From the American States our colonies in the West Indies receive various articles, necessary to the very existence of those colonies. Our general laws of navigation prohibited all intercourse between the colonies and other countries, especially by the means of any ships but our own. But, after the American revolution, it was found necessary so far to relax in the enforcement of these laws, as to permit the Americans to carry in their own ships, and under certain restrictions, such of their produce as our colonies stood in need of, and also to carry away, in those same ships, certain articles of our colonial produce, taking care to proportion the quantity, so carried away, to the quantity of American produce brought in each ship respectively. That this intercourse was useful to the planters in our colonies, as well as to the Americans, no one can, I think, deny; and, that it was absolutely necessary to the existence of the former every man, who has a knowledge of the sources of supply, must know. But, this relaxation of our navigation laws; this permitted intercourse, was not so beneficial as it might have been, because it was somewhat precarious, by being made to depend upon the will of the several Governors, or their Lieutenants, who issued their proclamations, every six months, declaring a renewal of the permission. And, though they did in no instance, I believe, for twenty years, fail to issue their proclimations in due time (a pretty good proof of the necessity of the intercourse (yet, the power of permission being lodged in their hands was an obvious absurdity; was liable to produce serious mischiefs to the colonies; and, in some instances, did produce such mischiefs. Now, all the bills, of which Mr. Perceval complains, and of which the Master of the Rolls before complained, have done, is, to prevent the possibility of such mischiefs, by taking the power of permission out of the hands of the Governors (who may be engaged, at times, in warm disputes with the planters in assembly met) and to place it in the hands of the government at home; at the same time, rendering the intercourse less exposed to uncertainty of duration.—— The total ignorance discovered, in the speech of the Master of the Rolls, upon many parts of this subject, and the sophistry visible in other parts of it, shall be noticed upon some future occasion; but, I would ask the printer of Mr. Perceval's speech, above quoted what ground there could be for drawing from the "nature and principle of these bills," an inference, that the ministers are now about to surrender our *right of searching neutral vessels at sea*? To say, that those bills

"went to the destruction of that upon which our superiority at sea was founded," was to discover ignorance of the subject not less profound than that discovered in the speech of the Master of the Rolls. Not one English ship, or sailor the less has been, or ever will be employed on account of the passing of those bills; and to suppose such a thing possible is full as absurd as it was in the Master of the Rolls to include Nova Scotia amongst the sources of supply for the West India Islands, when the fact is, that Nova Scotia itself is fed, in considerable part, from the American States!——No, the maker of the speech, that has been published under the name of Mr. Perceval, is not the man to make a stand upon this subject. He may talk upon it, but, I will venture to predict, that he never brings forth one new idea; that he will be a mere repeater of what I have already said over and over so often, till, perhaps, my readers are tired of it; or that, he will say nothing worthy of attention.—— Indeed, the apprehensions respecting the termination of the discussion, seem to have been suggested to him by the remarks contained in the last Register, which was published *on Saturday noon*; and, the only fault that I impute to him (for plagiarism, with such men is nothing), is, that he has turned my suggestions, which aimed at public good, to mere party purposes; and, as often as he shall do this, I shall most assuredly remind him of it.—The author of this speech (for I know not that it was actually spoken by Mr. Perceval) does not appear to me to have a mind calculated for the discussing of matters of national moment. All that he says savours of cavil; it is all petty and waspish; there is no enlarged view of any subject; it is the acuteness of female envy applied to political concerns, and sharpened, perhaps, by an eagerness to get a possession of power and emolument.—5th. The state of Ireland is, by this speech represented to be somewhat alarming. But, let us take another extract. "There remained "an omission in his Majesty's Speech yet "unnoticed by him. No mention had "been made of the state of Ireland. He "trusted that this silence might be ascribed "to the total want of foundation for the "alarming rumours that had reached this "country. Ministers must unquestionably "be the judges how far the usual prerogatives of the Crown were sufficient to suppress insurrection or rebellion, in whatever quarter it might appear; the decision "rested with them: he only begged them "to consider that the protraction of the necessary delay of punishment was not mercy; and the delay which allowed insurrection to proceed, until it became impossible to quell it without a considerable shedding of blood, was not kindness. He hoped "that the omission of any notice of the situation of the sister island was occasioned by "the absence of any necessity for an extraordinary exertion of the law. Should such a "necessity unfortunately arise, and should "ministers call on the House for an enlargement of the executive power, he could assure them that they should meet with no "opposition on his part to any proper measure of vigour which they might think it "expedient to propose."—If there be any ground for alarm in Ireland, it, surely, should not be kept secret; but, let us hope, that, amongst all the subjects, upon which this gentleman proposes to offer them advice, they will be more backward in listening to him here, than any where else! Yes, there is no doubt, that the author of this speech, and his co-operators, would be very far from opposing any "*extraordinary exertion of the law*" that the ministers might be disposed to adopt! There is nobody doubts their readiness to join heartily in such measures of "vigour;" but, I hope, and I confidently trust, that the ministers will not have recourse to this mode of obtaining their support. How *they* managed Ireland, we know. *Their* tenderness to the "*Sister* Kingdom," is recorded upon the backs of her unfortunate children, few of whom are there but can count a father or a brother, or some relation, who has tasted of their "*mercy*." Let us hope, that the present ministers will, in this respect, at least, shun their example. To remember what they did, is to know what ought not to be done, in almost every respect, but particularly with respect to Ireland. "Vigour" indeed! God knows, they were vigorous enough! It is easy to be vigorous and to talk bold, with fifty thousand men in arms at one's back, against an unarmed and an almost naked and houseless people. "*Enlargement of the executive power!*" What, upon every rumour of discontent; upon every slight appearance of popular tumult, would the author of this speech enlarge the executive power? What an excellent appellation, under which to disguise the most hateful and execrable tyranny! The constitution, in forming barriers against the exercise of despotic power, contemplated times of discontent and of popular effervescence; it was for *such seasons* especially that the laws for the personal safety and liberty of the people were formed, because the free expression of the sense of the people was regarded as the only means of bringing back

their rulers to the path of moderation. But, if, the moment the people, or any part of them, discover symptoms of discontent, if, that moment, the barriers are to be removed out of the way, if, that moment, "an enlargement of the executive power" is to take place; is it not a shameful deception to talk of those barriers, and to hold them up as blessings, to preserve which the people are to shed their blood in a conflict with the army of an invader? This speech has, and particularly upon this subject, revived in my mind the recollection of the acts of the Pitt administration, which, though the present ministers have imitated it in but too many instances, they will not, I am convinced, imitate it in having recourse, unless in cases of the very last necessity, to "extraordinary exertions of the law," and to "enlargements of the executive power." It was under the Pitt administration, that Englishmen lived seven years with the *Habeas Corpus* act suspended. Let this be inscribed upon the monument of their dear deceased leader; but, let us resolve to do nothing that shall open a way for their return to power.—6th.

It is truly curious to hear the author of this speech, published under the name of Mr. Perceval, taunt the ministers with *a want of popularity*, as exemplified in the recent elections, particularly those of Hampshire and Westminster, and to hear him exult at the fall of Mr. Sheridan before Mr. Paull. As to Hampshire, whatever part of the popular voice (in which I include that of all independent men) was heard against the ministerial candidates, was heard also for Sir Francis Burdett; or, at least, was not heard for that set of men, who would fain, if they had the abilities to do it, preserve the influence, which the all-pervading and degrading power of Pitt enabled them to exercise. This must be a great consolation to the author of the speech; who may be assured, too, that, though Mr. Sheridan has been stripped of his popularity, not a rag or a thread of the mantle has passed to him or any of his associates. The fact is, that, wherever the ministers and their friends have lost their popularity, the loss has proceeded either from their not having, by their actions shown their rooted enmity to the Pitt system, or from their having, as in the cases of Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, and Peter Moore, shown themselves the friends of that system. This must be a great consolation, a fine subject of boasting, with the author of the speech before us! It must be very satisfactory for him to find that his opponents have been ruined in reputation by having acted, as to be suspected of having adopted his principles! A truly diabolical satisfaction! for it is thus that Satan is said to rejoice at the perdition of those, whom he has seduced into sin. ——The author of this speech, be he who he may, knows very well, that there is no popularity for him, or his place-hunting faction. He well knows, that the people, though they have seen much to regret in the conduct of the present ministers, in the way both of commission and of omission, though they still see much to regret in that conduct, and though they fear to see much more, yet, that, whatever they have seen in this conduct, they would dread a thousand times more the return to power of the minions of Pitt. The ministers may possibly so act as to gain our hearts; their present opponents never can, and these opponents know it so well, that they make no attempt in that direction; their appeals, and their hopes, are all *another way*; but, that they will see their projects frustrated must be the prayer of every man, for were they to succeed, conscious of our hatred of them, they would rule us upon no other principle than that of fear; with two hundred thousand bayonets at their back, they would strip us of our very skins, or drive us to tear both them and the government to pieces.——"An *extraordinary exertion of* "*the law!*" An "*enlargement of the exe-*"*cutive power!*" Let us not forget these words. They convey the idea of spies, jails, tortures, and gibbets. Let us bear them in mind; and, let us never, in word or in deed, shew our disapprobation of the present ministers, without at the same time guarding our hearts against men who come forward as volunteers to offer their services to oppress, to grind, to degrade, to muzzle, and to stifle us. The day will come; the day *must* come, when we shall have ample opportunity of reminding them of these tyrant-like phrases; and let us still hope, that the present ministers will give us that opportunity; but in the meanwhile let us take care to keep out of the clutches of those, who, from a principle of self-preservation, must, if they were to obtain the power, rule us with scorpions. The speech, published under the name of Lord Howick, has, I must confess, given me some little ground to hope for a change of system. The part about the Duke of Brunswick might, I think, have been omitted. It seems too much like an endeavour to *out-bid* his opponents, and it certainly went further than reason or truth could warrant. But with this exception, the speech was manly, and every way worthy of Mr. Grey. I, for my part, augur good from it; and, if I am disappointed, it will neither be the first time nor the last.

* * * A Mr. Homan, a particular friend of Mr. Sheridan, wrote to me two weeks ago, to ask me if I would admit a letter in the defence of that gentleman. I caused an answer to be given him, that I certainly would. He has not yet sent it; and this is one of the causes for delaying my intended comments upon the Play actors' Dinner to the Sheridans; which, however, cannot be delayed any longer than next week, whether Mr. Homan send his letter or not.—In the meanwhile, however, I insert a letter from a very judicious friend of Mr. Sheridan, signed R. W. Let it go without answer. I have opportunities enough of promulgating my sentiments; and I am always glad to have it in my power to afford others a like opportunity. Others, indeed do not deal thus by me. No one was ever so fully treated by the press as I have been; but, as experience has taught me, that such treatment seldom produces any evil effect, except to those who have recourse to it, I feel little disposed to imitate it.——Immediately after the letter in defence of Mr Sheridan, will be found one addressed to Mr. Whitbread.

"What mighty perils do environ
"The man that meddles with cold iron!"

But not more than environ a conceited man that meddles with the pen and the press! Mr. Whitbread thought he was sallying forth against foes that would fall down at the very sound of his name. How cruelly his overweening vanity has deceived him the world can now judge. His letter to Sir Francis Burdett, and his speeches in favour of Mr. Sheridan, were the effect of unparallaled self-conceit. The consequences will, let us hope, be a useful lesson to him.

☞ Since the above was written, Mr. Homan's Defence of Mr. Sheridan has reached me, and will be found immediately below.

DEFENCE OF MR. SHERIDAN.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTERS.

LETTER I.

Having once taken the field against Mr. Cobbett in his own paper, I resume my pen, though contrary, I know, to the wishes of the man I most respect on earth—thanking Mr. Cobbett at the same time for the indulgence of inserting my last observations, however directly pointed against himself, and for his present promises that he will insert every word I shall, in future, send him in the same cause. Whether I owe this to the rashness of self confidence, or to feelings of real candour and sudden contrition, I am equally grateful for his pledge, and I cannot prove my gratitude better than by abstaining when I mention either him or Mr. Paull (for of their supporters few know their names and fewer their characters) from retorting any part of the scurrility which they have conceived their cause required them to resort to.—The present object of my animadversions is—THE VERACITY OF MR. COBBETT.—We are informed by Mr. Cobbett himself, that Mr. Sheridan in a note to his committee of the Shakespear addressed to Peter Moore, Esq., expressed himself in the following words, "As to Mr. Cobbett, "I must again beg leave to differ from the "Committee. Believe me there can be no "use in continuing to detect and expose the "gross and scurrilous untruths which his "nature, his habits, and his cause compel "him to deal in. Leave him to himself; "rely on it, there is not a man, woman, or "child, in Great Britain, who believes one "word he says." These are certainly strong and contemptuous words, and with all my partiality and devotion to Mr. Sheridan, I would not support him in the application of them, unless it lay within my own reach to know and to be able to prove, that never was there an observation better applied or more fit to be attended to—I mean to enter into a short exposition of those reiterated falsehoods which render Mr. Cobbett wholly unworthy of credit by any "one man, wo-"man or child in Great Britain." In doing this I beg you, Electors of Westminster, to observe that I do not charge Mr. Cobbett with uttering *wilful lies*. But he has *no memory* when his imagination and temper are irritated and inflamed. I so expressed myself in my former letter to him when I said—"There is not one syllable of truth in the "assertion of facts, which you seem so hastily to have picked up from rumour and "hearsay, or so credulously to have adopted "from the interested malignity of faction. In perusing what I now address to your attention you will at once perceive that I only display my canvass and lay in my ground, reserving your attention to the figures and representations that shall hereafter arise therefrom. Mr. Cobbett has announced these my promised remarks as an OFFICIAL DEFENCE of the SHERIDANS, and therefore he is graciously pleased to declare that "He "will abstain from saying any thing more "of the Sheridans until the Public has had "an opportunity of seeing this their de-"fence." I deprecate his mercy, conscious that nothing could offend Mr. Sheridan more than that the officiousness of my friendship in his cause should have suspended one expression of Mr. Cobbett's malignity against him. As to the *official* solemnity which

Mr. Cobbett chooses to give to my correspondence with him, I can only assert that the palpable insinuation by which he means to give importance to that correspondence, namely, that the Sheridans are concerned in it, is an untruth. The dignified contempt with which Mr. Sheridan has through his life refused to notice his libellers, or in any one instance to prosecute them, is too well known to require from me a comment.—The single person to whom I communicate what I write, and to whose comments I acknowledge my obligations, is the gentleman whose attention to the facts I shall produce will be signed by his name—a gentleman not *unknown to Sir Francis Burdett*, but entitled, I believe, to be gratefully remembered by him, and attached to Mr. Sheridan, as I believe, only because he prefers him as the true and tried Friend of genuine liberty.—Now, Gentlemen, in Mr. Cobbett's fourth Letter to the Electors of Westminster, he thus expresses himself respecting me—and I do, with entirely gentlemanly consideration, thank him for the courtesy with which he has treated me.—He says, "He knows me not, and that he "never before heard my name."—I make no pert comment on this assertion, because I think it (although an assertion coming from Mr. Cobbett) very possible to be true: but I will gratify his curiosity, and really without intending to disappoint his malice. I am the son of as good a family as stands in the county of Westmeath in Ireland, a family nearly allied to one of the first in this Kingdom, and the Nephew of the Bishop of Killala, whose admired works are too highly distinguished in the literary world to need a comment from me, and whose published account of the proceedings in Ireland, after he had been made prisoner by the French in his Palace at Killala, are also before the Public. I feel the grievances of Ireland, but I feel no better mode of redressing them, than as an Irishman giving my most eager and ardent support to MY DISTINGUISHED COUNTRYMAN, who appears to me the most resolute and the most able man to support the cause of MY LONG INJURED AND INSULTED COUNTRY.—Thus far, Sir, *I tell you who I am.* I add as a slight excuse for my earnestness in the cause—though sure I am a motive not operating on my mind—that I have the happiness to be allied by marriage to Mr. Sheridan, which has afforded me opportunities of better knowing, and consequently of *increasing* my respect for his character—and now I hope Mr. Cobbett is satisfied who I am.—I now, Gentlemen, mean to announce to you, that unless Mr. Cobbett shrinks and flinches from his pledge of allowing me fair play in his paper, I will follow him through all the attacks he has made, or may hereafter make on Mr. Sheridan; and I pledge myself to refute all his calumnies and to shew that Mr. Sheridan's conduct throughout the Westminster Election has not only been without a blot, but has evinced principles and conduct which justly entitle him to the affectionate esteem which I know the great majority of all that is respectable among you feel for him. If I have not come forward at the time Mr. Cobbett had undoubtedly a right to expect, I have explained my reasons and made my apology to his friend Mr. Wright; and I confess, that after Mr. Cobbett's tremendous annunciation of the vigour of his libel against Mr. Sheridan on Saturday next, I wished to wait to look at it. One remark only more—Mr. Cobbett's boasted attack is to be on the *Play Actors' Dinner* (as he is pleased to style it) at the Old Shakespear Tavern. Mr. Cobbett has an adventurous and ingenious way of assuming that every newspaper report of every public dinner, toasts, speeches, &c. are exactly correct; and he gives the most solemn authenticity to that account, which it best suits his purpose to answer. In the present instance however, he must fail ridiculously. No report was or could be made of what passed at that dinner. It was entirely of a private nature; and I positively assert, that *not one* of the respectable class of gentlemen connected with the press, who occasionally take their tickets at real *public* dinners on *public* occasions was present: any stray paragraphs, therefore, which may have stolen into the papers on the subject have most probably been sent by persons, like Mr. Cobbett, sorely afflicted at the enthusiastic veneration expressed for our Member by those who, however Mr. Cobbett may dare to stigmatize their profession, have had the very best opportunities of estimating Mr. Sheridan's worth and character—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect, yours, &c.

FREDERICK HOMAN.

Tuesday, Dec. 23, 1806.

MR. SHERIDAN.

SIR,—I not only admit the propriety of closely investigating the conduct of public men on all measures, but highly approve of such investigation to the fullest extent; yet, Sir, I by no means admit the justice, or propriety, of holding up a man as void of all principle, and thereby consigning him to

public infamy, as a character never again to be confided in, because it should have unfortunately happened, that his conduct should in some instances have rendered him liable to suspicion, and he should on some occasions have supported measures which might appear inconsistent with the principles and maxims by which his political life has been guided. I must allow, when this apparent change of conduct has taken place upon the individual coming into the possession of place and emolument, appearances are decidedly against him; but, Sir, in that case, let us examine his conduct; let us expose his errors; let us expostulate, but do not let us too hastily attribute a final departure from principle, and condemn his motives: we are at best but frail machines, continually the sport of passions and prejudices; let us then endeavour to bring back such a man to his duty, before we give him up as lost to the public cause. You have yourself, Sir, been in lamentable error; and I know of nothing more honourable to you, than the manliness with which you have acknowledged it. My insignificance has not sheltered me from your attacks, and for opinions which you now highly approve, and which you have since more ably enforced.—These observations have arisen, Sir, from the various attacks you have made on the conduct and character of Mr. Sheridan; I mean not here to vindicate him, nor even to enter into a discussion on the subject; but hope to be allowed to say, that so far as I have been able to form a judgment upon his parliamentary conduct, I have generally approved it; I must be understood to mean previous to his acceptation of office; for, I believe, since, then he has scarcely appeared in the House, which is undoubtedly a subject of heavy complaint against him. His talents, when seriously exerted, are unquestionably great; his sentiments have ever been congenial with the great principles of liberty, upon which our constitution is founded. You know, Sir, what a great philosopher and statesman has proved, "that it is hard to make an empty bag stand upright;" and yet, Sir, Mr. Sheridan, under continual pecuniary embarrassments, as we are led to believe (arising, perhaps, from his own indiscretions), and which would have rendered the seducements of office almost irresistible, and with the object beyond doubt within his reach, has for more than twenty years, discovered a constancy hardly to be looked for, under such circumstances, in these degenerate times, and resolutely withstood every assault of that kind. Some merit must at least be allowed him, in withstanding such temptation. I certainly consider it, Sir, highly insulting to the country, to call upon the suffering people to make sacrifices, and to submit to privations, when the persons thus calling upon them, so far from giving them an example by making any sacrifices themselves, are lavishing the public treasure, and seem solely occupied in providing for themselves and families at the expense of the nation, and out of those taxes which are, according to a phrase from Mr. Sheridan himself, "wrung from the credulity of the people."—Yet, Sir, Mr. Sheridan is but new in office; there are many who have for a length of time been fattening on the corruptions of the state, with whom I should first begin; I conceive, therefore, you do not act with strict impartiality by directing your artillery chiefly at him, and making him appear the most prominent figure in the piece. It is not a new office, nor has it created any additional charge upon the public. I would not quarrel with him merely for accepting that place, provided he abandons not the principles he has professed; nor should I think he receives his salary for nothing, if he yet directs his efforts towards accomplishing those great objects he has at different times declared to be so essential to the peace, liberty, and happiness of the country. As to his son, his places, or pretensions, I know nothing concerning him or them, I shall therefore leave him in your hands. If Mr. Sheridan has not yet proposed or supported, since his elevation into office, any of those measures calculated to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and to restore the country to the full benefits of the constitution, I trust that, at least, it is to be attributed to nothing worse than indolence of disposition; let us hope that he only requires to be called back to his duty, and that we shall see him, with energy and vigour, exerting himself, not merely to reconcile the people to great sacrifices, but to promote those reformations and national objects which the situation of the country so imperiously require. These things, I should hope, have been sufficiently impressed upon him; should he, therefore, remain insensible to his duty, I have no hesitation in saying, he has given up the cause, and ought himself to be given up by every friend to the country. I beg now to give you, Sir, some extracts from a speech made by Mr. Sheridan, some years ago, by which the public, as well as himself, will be reminded of sentiments which certainly did him honour; and if a reformation of the abuses he complained of was then necessary, the increased difficulties of the country since that

period must have rendered them much more so at the present time. On the 15th day of March, 1797, Mr. Harrison moved, in the House of Commons, and Lord John Russell seconded, the following motion:—"That the extent of the supplies voted to Government, since the commencement of the present war, having caused so heavy an increase of taxes, it is the duty of this house to inquire, whether some relief to the burthens of the people, or provision for further expenses, may not be obtained by the reduction of useless places, sinecure offices, exorbitant fees, and other modes of retrenchment in the expenditure of the public money."—Mr. Sheridan, in the course of a long speech, spoke as follows:—"I say, the minister himself holds some things, which ought to be lopped off. Will he tell, exactly what his own fees are? and will he maintain that they are absolutely necessary, and that none of them are received by him but for proper services rendered to the public? He then read a paper, stating, that a gentleman sitting opposite (Mr. Rose) was, with a salary of 3,200l. a year, Clerk of Parliament, that is, Clerk to the House of Lords; 4,000l. Master of the Pleas, with another large salary, and several other offices, which in all make 10,000l. a year. "I am not denying the merit of the hon. gentleman; but, for God's sake, let us understand the thing as it is; let us ask whether all these offices are performed by that hon. gentleman? and then let us ask ourselves, whether there is any thing here that may with safety to the public be lopped off? Suppose we turn our eyes to the situation of the right hon. gentleman himself (Mr. Pitt), I believe he holds some which are not very laborious; or if we take a view of the situation of a noble lord, a near connection of his (Lord Grenville), who for a short time filled that chair, he holds a great sinecure office, which was given him some time ago; and whatever may be his merits, it *is certain that he has not earned that sinecure* by a very long or very laborious employment in the public service." (Alluding, it is presumed, to the sinecure, to enable him to hold which an Act of Parliament was lately passed.) After some other observations to the same effect, Mr. Sheridan continued—"Is there not a general opinion abroad, that these things are grievous, and that, by lopping many of them off, the public may have considerable relief?—The minister seems to be afraid of deluding the people with too much hope from such a resource as this. I can tell him the public have great expectations upon this subject, and if he sets about it properly the public will not be deluded. I do not doubt to relief by a reduction of useless places in a pecuniary sense merely; but I look to the effect which that reduction will have—it will destroy that influence which has contributed so much to our undoing. Does the minister reflect upon the impression he has made on the public mind, by the bribery he has employed to gain votes in this house in advising his majesty to make so lavish a distribution of the peerage? There are no less than 160 peers created since the commencement of the present administration. *When we see the people suffering under their burthens with such admirable patience, have we no reason to apprehend they will reflect on these things? This will shew them, that every public man who obtains rewards from the minister, only thinks on his own interest, without the least regard to the public welfare.*"—Whatever may be your opinion, Sir, of the man, suffer me to hope, that these impressions are not entirely effaced from the mind of Mr. Sheridan; or, should the above extracts fall under his eye, that they may rouse him from his present sloth and inaction, to a noble and persevering exertion of his powers, to reform these shameful abuses, and to restore to the people their constitutional rights, by which he may retrieve his character in the public estimation, and yet be looked to as a friend to his country.—I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient Servant.

Winchmore Hill, Dec. 15, 1806. R. W.

TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ. M. P.

I. Upon Placemen in Parliament.—II. Upon Coalition of Party Leaders.

SIR,——As the agitation of the general election is now over, and the passions which have been roused by it are again allowed to sleep, it is natural that every man who has been much engaged in it should review the part which he has acted; and that "the still small voice" of reason, which may have been unheard amid the rude brawls of party men, should at length call up before us our past conduct, together with the motive to which it owed its birth.—It is my wish, in addressing you, to aid this inward monitor; since *you*, Sir, have deeply implicated yourself in the contests for Middlesex and Westminster. In a printed letter to Sir Francis Burdett, you favoured the public with your reasons for the part you took, and I have neither the right

nor the wish to deny that these were, in truth, the grounds upon which you acted.—They resolve themselves into two.—1. The censure which Sir Francis Burdett had passed, generally, upon coalitions of party leaders; and, 2. The unconstitutional tendency (for so you thought it!) of his language as to the seats of placemen in the House of Commons. Indeed, you touch upon other points: but the two which I have mentioned seem to be the main; and, upon each of these I had purposed troubling you with a letter. But, I have been anticipated as to the latter of them, by Sir Francis Burdett's own address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, where the clause, which he quotes from the 12 and 13, W. 3. the statute which elevated the reigning family to a throne, must convince you that his idea as to the seats of placemen in parliament, is not that unconstitutional novelty you strangely supposed it.——Yet, as a place-bill has been a favourite plan with many of our most esteemed patriots, I will shortly trace, not the history of that measure, but a few facts relating to it:—In 1692, a bill of this nature was carried through the House of Commons. Being thrown out, at that time, by the Lords, (though by a majority of only two), it was again brought forward in the next year, and passed through both Houses, but was rejected by the King.* In 1696, the Commons once more took up the principle, which at last received the sanction of the whole legislature in 1701, when, by a restriction in the "Succession Bill," it became a part of our constitutional law.—I might here enumerate the reiterated attempts which, since the repeal of this measure, have been made to revive it; together with the instructions of whole counties to their representors to that effect, and might name the great and virtuous supporters of the liberties of Englishmen, whom it has found for its advocates, at all times, and both within and without the walls of parliament. But, I will only trouble you with a Resolution which was passed by the Freeholders of Middlesex in 1773.——Resolved, "That it is the opinion of "the Freeholders of the County of Mid-"dlesex that a return to the ancient mode "of representation in short parliaments, "and a bill for the exclusion of placemen "and pensioners from the House of Com-"mons, is the most likely method of obtain-"ing a redress of the various grievances un-"der which the subjects of this kingdom "labour."—So thought the Freeholders of Middlesex in 1773: while you, Mr. Whitbread and your friends† have not only asserted that "doctrine" to be a new one, but as such have urged it against a *candidate* for the very county where the *electors* had long since, and thus publicly made it their own.—Really, Sir, I am much at a loss, whether chiefly to admire your knowledge on this subject, or the time and place which you have so happily selected for displaying it.

Sir, I now come to that part of your letter which relates to the coalition of party leaders, though without pausing to follow you through all your argument or all your declamation: mere general reasoning is a field where we might long wander without meeting. But the history of our country is matter of fact, and a fact, to be disputed, must be fairly met and openly encountered.—You fix upon a coalition of Whig and Tory leaders about the time of the revolution in 1688, not only as throwing light upon the subject at large, but as tending, even to sanctify, in your eyes, other coalitions by its example.—"You assume" (say you to Sir Francis Burdett) "that whenever the lead-"ers of contending parties in a state unite, "that it never is in favour of the people, "and that the history of the world bears "evidence of the truth of your assertion. "It appears to me" (you continue) "that "the doctrine you maintain, that the politi-"cal animosities of honest men must be ir-"reconcileable, is most fatal to the exist-"ence of a popular government, and if car-"ried to the extreme must lead to the sub-"jugation of the country, or to the aban-"donment of liberty, in order to obtain se-"curity from foreign conquest: and to "history I refer you for the fact, that if the "heads of discordant parties could not be "united in the cause of the people, the re-"volution of 1688 in which we glory could "not have been brought about."——Now, Sir, it is clear to me, *that the revolution in*

* Upon this, the Commons resolved, "that whoever gave the king advice to re-"fuse the royal assent to a bill which was "to redress a grievance, and *take off a* "*scandal* from the proceedings of the "Commons in Parliament, is an enemy to "king and country."

† Mr O'Bryen too, has pronounced this "doctrine" to be "neither English, nor "French, nor Greek, nor Roman, but to-"tally original, wholly new," and the public papers represent Mr. Tierney to have sneered at the holders of it as "Patriots of the New School!" What do these Whigs mean? Is all this ignorance? Or what is it?

1688, *was* NOT "*brought about*" *by any coalition of party leaders, but that, it was by a coalition of this kind that its real principles were sacrificed, and the new settlement brought into danger.*—Here, then, we are at issue, and let history decide between us. From that, we learn, that when the Prince of Orange landed in our country, and, indeed, for a considerable time before this, the whole people down to the very soldiery and fleet, being at once alarmed by the prospect of popery and discontented from oppressions, were united, as one man, against their King; and, that all which the party-leaders did, and all, indeed, which they could do, either when they first invited the Prince of Orange, or afterward, when they joined him, was to take advantage, each for his own purpose, of this strong and national feeling.—"When "the news of his" (the Prince's) "landing "was spread through England, he was welcomed by the *universal* acclamations of "*the people*. He had the hands, the hearts, "and the prayers of *all* honest men in the "nation. *Every one* thought the long wished-"for time of their deliverance was come. "King James was deserted by his own family, his court, and his army. The "ground he stood upon mouldered under "him." (*Trenchard's* excellent History of Standing Armies.)—See, Sir, the portrait of those times as drawn by an eye witness of them. Yet, you could discover in this burst of general indignation nothing but a coalition between "the heads of discordant parties." But, with the fact and the authority for it now before us, it is manifest that the Revolution was "brought about" by an union of a very different kind; and one, too, which does not at all bear upon your question with Sir Francis Burdett; for he has never disputed that an union of "the hands and hearts and prayers," as this was, of the whole "people" would be meant at least, for their own benefit.—Afterward, it is true, William became a dabbler in coalitions; and one of party-men, such as that which you speak of, did, indeed, take place, though not till after he was seated on the throne. Even then, some time passed before it was completely formed, and the most corrupt means were employed to cement it. I will not delay you with the particulars of this*, but hasten to the second point which I shall endeavour to prove; I mean, the sacrifices which such a coalition led to.—Led, then, to the sacrifice of a great principle, when it removed the ministers of Justice from responsibility. That coalition was, from its outset, in direct contrast with all manly sentiment, and with the generous maxim of our law, and while it left the Prince an exile, not only screened his "evil counsellors" from inquiry, but even brought them into the closet of the newly chosen King; though William had himself "declared" that he stood in need of an army to protect him from their "violence."——I am as far, Sir, as you can be, from arraigning that righteous judgment which cashiered a king, who had abused those powers which the constitution had entrusted to him, and usurped others which it had not; who had, moreover, influenced elections to the House of Commons, and pretended even, to dispense with the laws themselves. All these were beyond doubt measures of deepest guilt, and such as should have led, likewise, to the punishment both of those who had contrived, and those who had executed them. *Can* we look, without disgust, at such coalitions as not only sheltered those ministers from justice, but restored them to office and power—as placed Lord SUNDERLAND, for instance, first in the favour of the new King, and Kirk (even

* But, though I will not enter into these particulars, Bishop Burnett will. He tells us, that Sir John Trevor, (who was Speaker of the House of Commons) was "a bold "and dexterous man, who knew the most "effectual way of recommending himself to "every government. Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, "provided he was furnished with such "sums of money as might purchase some "votes."

* See the Declaration by the Prince of Orange: where he also says, that a "lawful parliament would bring them to account" and brand them as "conspirators" against the "religion, lives, and liberties of the subject."—The writer of a letter, (supposed to be Mr., afterwards Marquis of, Wharton) to King William, reminds him of the evils which surround him, and points out the measures which brought them on. From this letter (which is well worth the reading) it seems that the people of those days did not think this "union of the heads of discordant parties," was in their (the people's) "favour." For the writer telling him that he had "lost the hearts of great part of his people," ascribes this to his "gathering together King James's army;" and "that many of King James's friends, and others, known enemies to the laws and government of England, were received into his (William's) councils, and promoted to places of greatest trust." [See Appendix to Sir J. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

KIRK!!!) at the head of an expedition for the relief of the Irish Protestants? For consistency's sake, must we not regret that the zeal of an enraged people, and the workings of an "*ardent mind*" should have shortened the life of JEFFRIES? A few months more might have replaced that "venerable" judge upon the woolsack: and the Whigs of our day might have then, held out to us a coalition even more comprehensive" than it was, or boasted of an administration built upon a still "broader basis."——But, the mischiefs, which took their rise from this principle of "uniting the heads of discordant parties," did not end even here; for these corrupt ministers of James, who had been again brought into office under William employed all the means which their situation gave them in aiding their former master; and, for the express purpose of bringing back a king in whose crimes they had, themselves shared, and whose fortunes they had once abandoned, they not only plotted with him the risings of their own countrymen, and the landing of French forces in England, but traitorously gave notice to the French court of those warlike expeditions which the English government was preparing against France, both as to the time and points of attack; so that it is wonderful how the new settlement could ever stand, while it was in this manner betrayed by those "evil counsellors" to whom the coalition of party-leaders had given these powerful means of betraying it, by screening them, in the first instance, from punishment, and, afterwards bringing them into places of trust and power.—Such, Sir, is the point of view in which I and many more have looked at this subject. I might, at first, have questioned your reasoning, and disputed the inference you seem to draw, that coalitions in general are right, because one coalition made, too, under very peculiar circumstances, appeared to you to be so. But, I thought it the more manly way to meet you upon a fact of your own choosing. Differing from you as to that fact, I have endeavoured to show (as I undertook to do) that *the Revolution in* 1688, *was not brought about by any coalition of party-leaders; that on the contrary, it was by a coalition of this kind its real principles were sacrificed, and the new settlement itself brought into danger.*——I trust that I have established my point; though, from a wish that I might not weary you, I have rejected many proofs which crouded on my mind. It is a point of high interest in the history of our country; and, doubly so, now it affects, in some measure, the political parties of our own time; especially that party whose leaders would, by this example, justify their own coalitions; and though a topic of the day has, indeed, called out the remarks which I have made, both as to the Revolution itself, and as to the seats of placemen in the House of Commons; yet if these remarks shall lead, either you, Sir, to reflect upon the facts which they apply to, or any other persons *duly to estimate the present Whig party*, they may be useful in their effects, not only after your letter, Sir, and mine, but even the political animosities which gave rise to them, shall have died away.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,——J. P.—*Dec.* 14, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIAN DECLARATION.

Dated from the Head Quarters at Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.—*Continued from p.* 900.

These were all preludes to the steps he took against Prussia; we now approach the moment which determined his majesty —— Prussia had hitherto derived nothing from her treaties with France, but humiliation and loss; one single advantage remained. The fate of Hanover was in her power: and in her power it must remain, unless the last pledge of the security of the North were annihilated. Napoleon had solemnly guaranteed this state of things, yet he negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of the electorate. The king is in possession of the proofs.——War was now in fact declared, declared by every measure taken by

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume X, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

France. Every month produced a new notification of the return of his army; but on one frivolous pretext or another, it was still continued in Germany, and for what purposes? Gracious Heaven! to eradicate the last trace of sovereignty among the Germans to treat kings as governors appointed by himself; to drag before military tribunals, citizens only responsible to their own governments; to declare others outlaws who lived peaceably in foreign states under foreign sovereigns, and even in the capital of a German Emperor, because they had published writings in which the French government, or at least its despotism, was attacked, and this at the time when that same government daily permitted hired libellers to attack, under its protection, the honour of all crowned heads, and the most sacred feelings of nations. These armies were in no manner diminished, but continually reinforced and augmented, and continually advanced nearer to the frontiers of Prussia or her allies, till they at length took a position which could only menace Prussia, and were even assembled in force in Westphalia, which certainly was not the road to the mouths of the Cattaro.—It was no longer doubtful that Napoleon had determined to overwhelm Prussia with war, or to render her for ever incapable of war, since he was leading her from humiliation to humiliation, till she should be reduced to such a state of political degradation and feebleness, that, deprived of every defence, she could have no other will than that of her formidable neighbour.—The king delayed no longer. He assembled his army. General Knoblesdorff was sent to Paris with the final declarations of his majesty. Only one measure remained which could give security to the king, which was the return of the French troop over the Rhine. The time for discussion was past, though the cabinet of St. Cloud appeared still desirous to protract it. General Knoblesdorff had orders to insist on this demand. It was not the whole of the king's just demands, but it was necessary that it should be the first, since it was the condition of his future existence. The acceptance or refusal of it must shew the real sentiments of the French Emperor.—Unmeaning professions, arguments, the real value of which were known, by long experience, were the only answers the king received. Far from the French army being recalled, it was announced that it would be reinforced; but, with an haughtiness still more remarkable than this refusal, an offer was made that the troops which had advanced into Westphalia should return home, if Prussia would desist from her preparations. This was not all. It was insolently notified to the king's ministers that the cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubec, would not be allowed to join the northern confederation, but that France would take them under her protection, in the same manner as in the other confederation she had given away cities and promulgated laws, without permitting any other power to make the least pretension. The king was required to suffer a foreign interest to be introduced into the heart of his monarchy. Another contrast of conduct incensed the king to the utmost. He received from the emperor a letter full of those assurances of esteem which, certainly when they do not accord with facts, are to be considered as nothing, but which the dignity of sovereigns renders a duty to themselves even when on the eve of war. Yet a few days afterwards, at a moment when the sword was not yet drawn, when the minister of the emperor endeavoured to mislead those of the king by assurances on assurances, of the friendly intentions of France, the Publiciste of the 10th of September appeared with a diatribe against the king and the Prussian state, in a style worthy of the most disgraceful periods of the revolution: insulting to the nation, and what in other times than ours would have been considered as amounting to a declaration of war. The king can treat slanders that are merely abusive with contempt, but when these slanders contribute to explain the real state of things, it would be unwise to treat them merely with contempt.—The last doubt had now disappeared; troops marched from the interior of France towards the Rhine. The intent to attack Prussia was clear and certain. The king ordered a note to be transmitted by General Knobelsdorff, containing the conditions on which he was ready to come to an accommodation. These conditions were—1. That the French troops will immediately evacuate Germany.—2. That France would oppose no obstacle to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that the confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states, not included in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.—3. That a negotiation should immediately be commenced, for the adjustment of all differences still in dispute: a preliminary article of which should be the restoration of the three abbeys and the separation of the town of Wesel from the French empire.—These conditions speak for themselves: they shew how moderate the king, even at this moment, has been in his demands, and how much the maintenance of peace, if France wishes peace, depends upon France herself.——The term

peremptorily fixed by the king for the decision of peace or war has elapsed. His majesty has not received the answer of the cabinet of St. Cloud, or rather the preparations he sees around him, daily give him that answer. The king can henceforth confide the [illegible] safety of his crown only to arms, [illegible] recourse to them with pain, since a [illegible] caused by the tears of his people [illegible]; but he has recourse to [illegible] fortitude of confidence, [illegible] cause is just.

To be continued.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Kings Speech.—On Friday the 19th of December 1806, the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission with the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,—His Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that, in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great Satisfaction to Him to recur to the Firmness and Wisdom of His Parliament, after so recent an Opportunity of collecting the Sense of his People.—His Majesty has ordered the Papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negociation with France to be laid before you. His Majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquility on terms consistent with the interests and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.—The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events. After witnessing the subversion of the ancient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandisement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with His Majesty; nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility. —Yet, in this situation, His Majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of calamities which ensued opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose. In the midst of these trying circumstances, the good faith of His Majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the King of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists—It has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence; and His Majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the best remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honor and independance of your country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to His Majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his Majesty's wishes by combining all practicable economy with those efforts which is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,—The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe could not fail to affect in some degree many important interests of this country. But under every successive difficulty His Majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an increasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations.—The unconquerable valour and discipline of His Majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre: the great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been at any time more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independance of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.—With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of divine Providence, His Majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis, assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people.

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from June 1806 to November, 1806, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.													
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried Males	Total Buried Female
June	849	808	347	139	54	39	106	119	129	102	67	49	28	5	601	583
July	920	870	362	141	58	42	111	123	130	115	68	29	26	6	620	592
August	964	836	519	151	65	63	98	115	124	117	104	55	34	6	770	681
September....	723	705	486	113	53	31	85	131	136	11	87	62	20	4	785	656
October.....	1134	1004	628	234	107	90	142	219	204	176	177	107	60	12	1132	1034
November ..	728	742	463	173	57	44	96	130	145	108	125	85	33	8	768	699
	5228	4965	2805	951	394	329	638	837	868	933	637	394	201	41	4676	4245

Total Christenings.. 10193 — Total Burials.. 8921

Table of the Prices of *Meat, Sugar, Salt,* and *Coals,* in London, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Beef ..	5 8	5 0	5 0	5 0	4 6	5 0	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Mutton	4 10	5 0	5 8	6 0	5 2	5 2	
Pork ..	5 4	5 4	5 4	6 0	5 8	6 0	
Sugar	40 3	40 11½	46 4½	42 10	41 11	37 10	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	48 0	50 6	49 6	52 6	54 3	50 6	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

June		July		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
6	1. 1¼	4	1. 1	1	1. 1¼	5	1. 0½	3	1. 1	7	1. 1
13	1. 1¼	11	1. 1	8	1. 1¼	12	1. 0½	10	1. 1	14	1. 1
20	1 1	18	1. 1	15	1. 0½	19	1. 0½	17	1. 1	21	1. 1
27	1. 0	25	1. 1	22	1. 0½	26	1. 1	24	1. 1¼	28	1. 1

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	61⅛	63	62½	62⅞	63⅛	61¼
2	61¼	—	63¼	62⅝	63	—
3	61⅛	—	64	62⅛	62⅝	61⅛
4	—	63⅛	—	62¼	62⅞	—
5	61¼	63¼	65¾	62⅞	—	—
6	61⅛	—	65⅞	63⅛	62¾	61¼
7	61½	63¼	64⅞	—	62⅝	61⅜
8	—	—	64⅝	63⅜	62½	61½
9	61½	—	64⅞	63⅜	61½	—
10	61⅝	63	—	63½	60⅞	61⅞
11	—	63	63¼	—	61⅛	61⅝
12	61⅝	63⅛	63⅞	63⅝	—	61¾
13	61½	63⅜	64⅛	63⅜	60⅞	61⅞
14	—	—	64¼	—	61⅛	61¾
15	61¾	—	63	63¼	61¼	61½
16	—	63	62⅝	63⅜	61⅝	—
17	62¼	63	—	63½	61¼	61⅝
18	63	—	62⅛	63¼	—	61¼
19	62⅝	—	62⅝	62⅞	—	61⅛
20	63½	62⅞	61¼	—	63⅛	61⅜
21	63⅞	62¼	61½	—	61⅛	61⅞
22	—	—	62½	63½	61⅝	61¼
23	63	—	—	63⅛	61½	—
24	62½	62¼	—	62⅝	61⅜	61¼
25	—	—	63⅜	62¾	—	60⅞
26	63⅛	62⅞	62⅝	63⅛	—	61
27	62⅜	—	62⅛	63¼	—	60¼
28	63	—	62½	63⅞	61⅛	—
29	63¼	63½	63⅞	63⅛	61⅛	60½
30	—	—	63⅛	—	61⅝	—
31	—	—	—	—	61¼	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from June to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	61.80	—	67.20	—	—	71.15
2	—	—	—	66.75	64.30	—
3	—	63.75	—	—	—	—
4	62. 0	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	63.80	—	66.80	64.30	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	72. 0
7	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	—	67.10	—	64.25	72.10
9	62.10	64. 0	—	66.80	—	—
10	—	64.10	—	—	64.25	—
11	—	—	67.20	—	—	72.80
12	62.15	64.50	—	66.50	64.30	—
13	—	64.75	—	—	—	—
14	—	—	67.25	—	—	—
15	—	—	—	—	—	72.80
16	—	—	—	—	64.30	—
17	63	65.20	—	66.25	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	67. 0	—	—	72.90
20	—	66. 0	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—	72. 9
22	63.10	—	67. —	—	—	—
23	—	67.20	66.90	66. 0	69. 0	—
24	63.10	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	67.20	66.90	—	69. 0	—
27	63.20	—	—	—	—	—
28	3220	—	—	65.10	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	70.10	—
30	63.50	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from June to November, 1806, inclusive

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
65	49	72	86	73	63

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